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VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 7, July 1983

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SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

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No. 7, July 1983

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

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THOROUGHLY UNDERSTANDING THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MANAGEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 83 pp 1-7

[Editorial]

[Text] In order to provide good socio-economic management, we must adhere to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the management of the economy and society. Of these principles, democratic centralism is the most basic.

It is necessary to achieve democratic centralism because the socialist economy, which is based on the public ownership of the instruments of production and planned and balanced development, demands centralized, unified management by the state, by the central level. Democratic centralism must be practiced because the socialist economy is an economy of which the people are the masters, an economy that is built and managed by the people. Democratic centralism must be practiced because the socialist state can only strongly and steadily develop when there is smooth coordination between the centralized, unified management provided by the state and the creative labor of the people.

Democratic centralism means that for the sake of the common interests of all society, all levels, sectors, localities and installations must strictly obey the centralized, unified leadership of the central level concerning such fundamental issues as the economic line, the strategy for development and the management strategy, various "national policies" and the primary relationships and balances of the national economy. Democratic centralism also means that we must, under the centralized, unified leadership of the central level, regularly concern ourselves with broadening the practice of democracy and tap the spirit of ownership of the sectors, levels, localities, installations and the masses in economic and cultural development and socio-economic management.

Centralism and democracy are an entity, are the two sides of the matter. We cannot and should not view centralism and democracy as opposites. Both theory and practice have proven that the more democracy is broadened, the more the conditions exist for achieving centralism and, the more that centralism is achieved, the more it is possible to broaden the practice of democracy. In other words, centralism can only be achieved on the basis of true democracy and democracy can only be guaranteed under correct centralized leadership.

There can be no democracy under bureaucratic centralism and centralism cannot be achieved on the basis of democracy that is democracy in form only.

We have been applying the principle of democratic centralism in socio-economic management relations for a long time and have recently made a number of advances in this area. Some party and state agencies have given their attention to struggling against bureaucracy, conservatism and stagnation, to listening to, studying and supporting the innovations and new factors of localities and installations and to revising unsuitable policies and regulations. Many localities and installations have displayed a high spirit of initiative and creativity, applied the policies of the party, of the central level in a manner consistent with local circumstances, been sensitive to the new and adopted correct policies and measures for developing production and stabilizing the standard of living of the people. The initial changes that have occurred in the management mechanism, such as the use of product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers within agricultural cooperatives, the broadening of production and business independence within enterprises and the improvement of some distribution and circulation policies, have resulted in an intense movement to work and produce among the masses and led to changes of significance within the national economy.

Generally speaking, however, we are still committing the two shortcomings that were criticized at the 5th Congress of the Party: "Within the party and state agencies, besides hasty thinking, the lack of sensitivity, bureaucracy and serious conservatism are the main cause of the present stagnation. This situation is impeding the full acceptance of and thorough compliance with lines and policies, thwarting the creativity of the masses, of cadres and party members and impeding the effort to improve the management mechanism and revise outmoded policies and regulations"(1); and, "in recent years, the principle of democratic centralism has not been thoroughly implemented at many places. A lack of organization, a lack of discipline, partialism and localism have widely developed to varying degrees."(2)

Lenin pointed out that democratic centralism is totally different from bureaucratic centralism and also from anarchy. Therefore, we must be determined to correct these two shortcomings in order to correctly implement democratic centralism. Under present conditions, that is, in view of the fact that the economy still consists of many different segments, the fact that small-scale production still predominates and so forth, we must, in order to thoroughly implement the principle of democratic centralism in economic and social management, correctly establish the following three types of relations:

- The relations between the state and the people;
- The relations between the upper level and the basic level;
- The relations between the central level and the locality.

According to the line of the party, to build the system of socialist collective ownership in order to thoroughly implement the principle of democratic centralism in economic and social management, it is first of all

necessary to correctly establish the relationship between the state and the people and to do so under the guideline "the state and people working together."

Building socialism is the undertaking of the masses. Under the leadership of the party, the people participate on a daily basis in economic construction and cultural development. Over the past several years, because we have begun to bring about changes in management and policies, a new spirit has emerged in economic and social life. Within agriculture, the policy of using final product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers has resulted in an intense labor movement among farmers. Within industry, the expanded use of contracts and piecework wages has resulted in a creative labor movement among manual workers. The emulation movement to rationalize production and make technological improvements among manual workers and civil servants has recorded noteworthy achievements.

Facts have proven that the capabilities of the masses are large and inexhaustible. Building socialism is not merely the work of state agencies and state-operated installations, it is the undertaking of all the people.

In order to successfully implement the guideline "the state and the people working together," it is necessary to completely abolish the management mechanism characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization, which has not only thwarted the creativity of the masses, but has also created the attitude of relying upon the state. We must truly uphold the right of ownership of the masses in economic and social management, in everything from production to distribution, from economic activities to science and technology. We should allow the people to take care of and do whatever they can take care of and do and only have the state provide them with guidance and assistance, not take over their work or perform it for them.

We must implement the economic line and policies of the party well. In the advance from small-scale production, in conjunction with developing the state-operated economy, full importance must be attached to developing the collective economy, utilizing the private economy well and providing incentive for the household economy. We must mobilize and properly organize more obligatory labor to build water conservancy projects, develop communications-transportation and so forth. We must intensify the movement to plant trees, raise fish and develop the trade sectors within agricultural cooperatives. We must maintain and develop the movement to plant mulberry trees, raise silkworms, reel silk and weave silk cloth in order to provide additional cloth to the people. We must soon complete the work of putting forest land and forests under the management of the people and the work of contracting with cooperative member families to plant and care for forests in accordance with the planning of the state and the plan of the cooperative. Small industry and the handicraft trades must be strongly and widely developed in the cities and the countryside. We must further expand the movement to have the people participate in the construction of cultural, welfare, public health and other projects.

To perform economic work, we must give consideration to the economic interests of the state and the economic interests of the people, harmoniously combine

the interests of the state and the interests of the people and guarantee that the interests of the state are satisfied while giving appropriate attention to the interests of the individual laborer. A mechanism must be established whereby personal interests and common interests converge and are appropriately balanced so that the laborer satisfies common interests when acting in his own personal interest.

One very important matter in establishing a good relationship between the state and the people is that the agencies of the state and cadres who perform economic work must always maintain close contact with the masses, keep abreast of the production situation, living conditions and developments within the mass movement, promptly discover that which is new, support that which is correct, rectify that which is incorrect and make precise proposals in order to suitably amend positions and policies. They must attentively listen to the opinions and aspirations of the masses concerning economic issues and their living conditions and must make an effort to satisfy their legitimate aspirations in a timely fashion. In addition, the state must strengthen the socialist system of law, adopt stern measures for struggling against negative phenomena and actions that violate the right of ownership of the people, harshly punish cadres who violate the law and take determined steps to suppress hoodlums, thieves, those who offer or accept bribes and profiteers while maintaining political security and social order and safety.

Mobilizing the people to perform economic work is a matter that is also closely associated with the activities of the mass organizations because the laboring people not only exercise ownership by means of the state, but also through their mass organizations. The various mass organizations must concern themselves with upholding the right of economic ownership of the masses so that they truly participate in socio-economic management and the management of the state. The mass organizations must improve the way they operate and stop conducting activities that are bureaucratic, lack substance, are divorced from reality, are remote from the masses. They must restore the party's tradition of mass agitation, maintain close contact with the masses and teach and persuade the masses so that they clearly understand the economic positions and policies of the party; at the same time, they must promptly and accurately reflect the opinions and aspirations of the masses to the party.

"Without the support of the people no job, regardless of how easy it might be, can be completed; with the people's support, every job, regardless of how difficult, can be completed." This is a principle that has been proven in the realities of the revolution. In the present situation, the correct coordination of the strength of the state with the strength of the people is the factor of foremost importance in overcoming our difficulties, changing the situation and moving socialist construction forward.

The enterprises, cooperatives and so forth are the cells of the national economy, are the places that directly carry out production, distribution, trade and marketing. They are the "dynamic" subsystems of the economic system. The enterprises, cooperatives and so forth must function, change, acclimate to conditions and develop as cells in order for the entire organism to develop. However, for many years, the bureaucratic centralism in management has caused the various levels and state management agencies to

intervene much more than is necessary in the production and business functions of the units on the basic level, tied the hands of these units, caused them to become passive, prevented them from fulfilling their functions well and, as a result, made it impossible for them to develop their economic potentials.

Therefore, another important matter in thoroughly implementing the principle of democratic centralism in economic and social management is the need to establish the correct relationship between the state management agencies and the basic level. On the one hand, the management agencies of the state (the ministries and commissions) must concentrate on fulfilling their state management function well by, for example, formulating economic development strategy and plans, researching and promulgating laws, policies and regulations governing economic management, determining policies and guidelines for scientific and technical development, training cadres, training technical workers and so forth; on the other hand, they must truly give installations independence in their production and business operations.

The granting of independence to installations in production and business must not simply involve granting them additional rights, rather, it is necessary to closely link the responsibility, authority and interests of installations to the results of their production and business, thereby insuring that installations can conduct their business expeditiously and have the export-import flexibility needed to develop their production in a manner that yields high returns. Specifically, the installations are responsible for managing the labor and assets assigned to them well and developing every internal and external potential so that they can produce many products, raise their labor productivity and operate at a profit. The installations have the right to do everything that is necessary and beneficial in order to fulfill its responsibility while correctly complying with the policies and laws of the state. As regards material responsibility, those who produce well will receive much; those who produce poorly will receive little; those who produce defective products must pay damages; and those who commit mistakes must be disciplined.

We must uphold the right of installations to be the masters of their plans. The legal plans assigned to installations by the state focus on several primary norms, such as those governing the output of primary products and actual output value; profits and payments for inclusion in the budget; the output-based wage fund and the investment capital, equipment and materials distributed by the state. We must truly formulate plans from the basic level upward by having installations, on the basis of the control figures of the state, look for every way to balance their plans through many different supply sources (their own capabilities, the capabilities of the upper level, the capabilities resulting from cooperation with other installations and the capabilities resulting from export-import activities"; at the same time, they must establish trade relations and sign economic contracts with concerned agencies and units (supply, marketing, building, transportation and so forth) so that they can formulate their plans and report them to the upper level. The legal plan assigned by the state to installations is a unified plan that is realistically balanced because it is formulated by installations through economic contracts instead of being a plan that is handed down from the upper

level or a plan formulated through haggling, as was long the case with our plans.

The financial autonomy of the installations must also be defined in detail. Once they have made all the necessary payments for inclusion in the budget, installations have the right to allocate and utilize their various types of capital and funds and implement the most suitable forms of wages and bonuses that benefit its production and everyday life.

In addition, we must also uphold the right of ownership of installations in the other areas. Installations have the right to decide how to improve the organization of their production and management and organize their staffs in a streamlined manner that reduces the number of intermediary levels and increases their effectiveness. The heads of installations have the right to select and assign cadres in a manner consistent with requirements and the right to hire and fire workers. Installations have the right to eliminate any backlog of materials or goods, make full use of discarded materials and defective products and establish relations of economic, scientific and technical cooperation with concerned agencies and units. Installations that have the necessary conditions also have the right to directly enter into export and import relations in accordance with the regulations of the state and under the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

Thoroughly implementing the principle of democratic centralism by strengthening the economic-administrative management function of the state agencies and broadening the production and business independence of the installations is a process closely linked to the process of improving economic management. We have only begun to do this in the recent past and have been neither comprehensive nor thorough in our efforts, consequently, we must continue to supplement and improve upon what we have done in order to achieve perfection at an early date.

In its economic construction line, our party asserts: "We must simultaneously build the central economy and develop the local economy and coordinate the central economy with the local economy within a unified national economic structure." The guideline for developing the local economy is "the central level and the locality working together." In order to implement this line well, one of the fundamental requirements in applying the principle of democratic centralism is the need to establish the correct relationship between the central level and the local level.

Concerning this relationship, Lenin pointed out that the system of democratic centralism insures the absolute coordination and unity of the activities of the various economic sectors, such as the railroad, the post-telegraph sector and the other transportation sectors...; on the other hand, it is designed to enable the full and free display of not only the special characteristics of the locality, but also of the innovations of the locality, the initiative of the locality and the varied nature of the localities themselves as well as the methods and means employed to achieve the common objective.

The 5th Congress of the Party also pointed out that in order to adapt to the present economic situation, "there must be a dynamic management mechanism that

is capable of eliminating bureaucratic centralism, conservatism, stagnation and sweeping subsidization"(3); this mechanism "must broaden the independence of the installations, localities and sectors while insuring that the central level tightly controls those jobs and elements that it must manage."(4)

On the basis of this principle and this mechanism, the relationship between the central level and the locality must be established in such a way that the locality is assigned those jobs that it can perform well while the central level focuses its efforts on performing major jobs for the entire country. It is the responsibility of the central level to cause the localities to develop, to create the conditions for the localities to become prosperous under the unified management of the central level.

The central level will concentrate its efforts on performing several major jobs well, such as formulating the strategy for socio-economic development; formulating the overall charts for the development and distribution of production forces throughout the country; deciding economic law and major policies; determining the major balances and principle norms of the state plan; reserving exclusive rights regarding the important fields, major projects and primary products of the national economy; organizing international cooperation and unifying the management of foreign trade...

Each locality (province and municipality as well as district) is a comprehensive planning level. The plan of the locality must represent an effort to successfully balance the production and consumption of each locality (optimum balance) and must, at the same time, contribute more and more to meet the needs of the entire country. The economic relations between the central level and the local level are relations of reciprocal obligations: the central level supplies the locality with what it needs to stimulate the development of the local economy and the localities must supply the central level with what it needs to develop the economy of the entire country. These obligations are expressed in a number of primary plan norms, such as the total value of products and goods and the main products and goods delivered by the locality to the central level; the total value of supplies and goods and the primary supplies and goods delivered by the central level to the locality; the amount of investments in local capital construction made by the central level; the total amount of local labor sent to meet the needs of the central level; the total amount of technical labor and cadres sent by the central level to the locality; several primary norms regarding the standard of living of the population within the territory; total revenues and expenditures in the local budget...

To insure that the needs of the locality are met and that obligations to the central level are fulfilled, the localities have the right, within the framework of the laws, policies and management regulations of the state, to determine the plans for the development of the local economy and determine reasonable economic-technical plans designed to develop upon the locality's strengths. The localities have the right to apply the common policies of the central level in a manner consistent with local circumstances and promulgate specific policies of a local nature. They have the right to expand their scientific and technical cooperation with the central level and other localities. They also have the right to directly export and import goods and

to use foreign currency in accordance with the regulations of the central level and under the guidance of the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

In order to thoroughly implement the principle of democratic centralism in the relations between the central level and the locality, it is also necessary to correctly implement the principle of coordinating management by sector with management by locality and territory.

Management by sector means that the ministries provide direct and comprehensive management of the economic organizations subordinate to them while providing administrative and economic management of the economic installations within their sector that are directly managed by the local level. The ministries provide unified management of their sectors throughout the country and perform such tasks as formulating the strategy, planning and plans for the development of the entire sector; formulating the economic and technical plans of specialized sectors; researching, promulgating or proposing that the state promulgate policies and regulations regarding specialized sectors; conducting scientific and technical research; training cadres and workers; and inspecting the activities of the entire sector.

Management by locality and territory means that the people's committees of the localities provide direct and comprehensive management of the economic installations under the jurisdiction of the locality while participating in the management of the installations of the central economy that are within the locality. The localities provide unified economic management by territory and perform such tasks as formulating the plans for the development of the local economy and the economy of the territory; organizing associative relations and regulating the coordination of economic activities within the territory; supplying local labor and raw materials to the installations of the central economy located within the territory; protecting production and protecting the environment; and inspecting the implementation of the policies and regulations of the party and state by all economic installations within the territory.

Establishing the correct relations between the central level and the locality in exact accordance with the principle of democratic centralism is an urgent and fundamental requirement in economic and social management. By thoroughly implementing this principle, we will correct the entire problem of bureaucratic centralism and disorganization, thereby helping both the central economy and the local economy to develop in a smoothly coordinated manner within the unified national economy.

Democratic centralism is the fundamental principle of economic and social management. It is also the immediate target in our effort to improve economic management. The various levels and sectors must thoroughly understand and correctly apply this principle in order to create a large, combined strength, rapidly extricate our country's economy from its present difficulties and successfully achieve the socio-economic goals set forth by the 5th Congress of the Party.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Report on Party Building by the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 5-1982, p 17.

2. Ibid.
3. The Guidelines, Tasks and Principal Objectives Regarding the Economy and Society During the 5 Years from 1981 to 1985 and the 1980's, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 122.
4. Ibid.

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ENDEAVORING TO TAKE NEW STRIDES FORWARD IN THE BUILDING OF THE CAPITAL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 83 pp 8-11

[Speech by Le Duan at the 9th Congress of the Hanoi Municipal Party Organization]

[Text] Dear Delegates,

Your congress is being held under the light of the resolution of the 5th Congress of the Party. Early this year, the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum and the Political Bureau resolution on the work of the capital were adopted. Thorough preparations were made for this congress of the Hanoi Party Organization in accordance with the guidelines set forth in these resolutions. The tasks of transforming and building the capital were clearly set forth in the reports presented at the congress.

Today, I have come to attend and celebrate your congress and present a few additional thoughts.

The world is presently experiencing a period of very sharp struggle between the two systems. The U.S. imperialists and their allies are insanely intensifying the arms race and creating a situation fraught with peril. The tragedy of nuclear war is threatening the peace and the life of mankind. The upcoming peace congress in Prague is a manifestation of the iron will and the huge forces of the nations struggling to block the hands of war of the imperialists, to push back and eventually eliminate the threat of nuclear war. The 55 million compatriots of Vietnam are solidly united with the peace militants on all contingents. Our people are determined to always make a worthy contribution to the cause of safeguarding world peace.

In Southeast Asia, the Chinese expansionists, in collaboration with the United States and other reactionaries, are frantically waging a very insidious and sharp multifaceted war of sabotage against our people and the peoples of the two fraternal countries of Kampuchea and Laos. Their objective is to weaken in order to eventually annex our country and abolish the banner of national independence and socialism that is being brandished by the Vietnamese revolution. This strategy of the Chinese reactionaries has never changed. The U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers are acting in concert with them in a vain attempt to crush us.

Our entire party, all our people and our entire army must be clearly aware of this situation. We must build the highest possible determination and create the strongest possible forces in order to succeed in winning victory over this war. We have the heroic people's armed forces. We have the combined strength of the system of socialist collective ownership. We have the special militant alliance of the three countries of Indochina. We have the complete cooperation of the Soviet Union, the solidarity of the other fraternal socialist countries and the support of the revolutionary and progressive forces of the entire world. We will surely be victorious.

In the recent past, our people have recorded tremendous achievements. Hanoi has also made commendable progress. These are the basic aspects of the situation. However, to complete the two tasks of building and defending the fatherland, we must work hard for many years and overcome many difficulties and challenges. The same applies to the revolutionary undertaking within the capital.

In the years ahead, Hanoi must make very large efforts to develop its economy and stabilize the standard of living. We must develop every potential that we have in our sectors, trades, arable land, labor, science and technology and accelerate industrial, small industry, handicraft and agricultural production, especially the production of food products. Within industry, special attention must be given to improving product quality and economic efficiency. Within agriculture, special attention must be given to intensive cultivation and to rapidly raising crop and livestock yields. The industrial goods of Hanoi must be the best, the agricultural yields of Hanoi must be among the highest in the country. We must join with the related ministries in organizing cooperation and exchanges between Hanoi and the provinces and municipalities for the purposes of stimulating production and developing additional sources of goods, especially creating significant grain reserves.

Extraordinary efforts must be made to develop domestic sources of raw materials and produce many export goods of high quality. On the basis of accelerating our exports, we must import the machinery and materials needed for the industrial and agricultural production of the city. Exporting goods is the task of foremost importance. All sectors, levels and installations must produce export goods.

We must mobilize the forces of the people and the army to join the state in building and renovating the city. Every effort must be made to overcome the difficulties we face in order to build additional housing, gradually improve sanitation conditions and the electricity and water systems, repair housing, improve roads and expand the service network.

We must work more vigorously to restore socialist order in distribution and circulation in order to stimulate production and stabilize the standard of living. We must rid ourselves of profiteers and smugglers, abolish private commerce and organize and transform small-scale producers and peddlers in a manner closely linked to strengthening the socialist production relations. We must strengthen our control of goods and money. The state must control all products of the state-operated economy and combat misappropriation, losses and spoilage. Enterprises must uphold the discipline involved in the delivery of products to the state. The state must control the majority of agricultural

products and the goods of small industry and the handicraft trades through two-way contracts. The state must control the majority of commodity grain and eventually achieve a monopoly in grain. We must strengthen and expand socialist commerce, stabilize prices on the organized market and insure the full supply of essential goods under ration standards to manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces. We must tightly and continuously manage prices on the free market.

To strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people. Hanoi must launch a truly intense movement of the masses to exercise collective ownership. We must turn this revolutionary movement into a festival of the masses within each subward, each village, each enterprise, each agency and unit...

Collective ownership must be exercised in order to accelerate transformation, construction, production and the practice of frugality. Every able-bodied person must work. Everyone who works must work the correct number of hours and days, work in a disciplined manner, not be lazy or tardy, work in the technically correct manner and not do sloppy or careless work.

We must exercise collective ownership in order to firmly control distribution and circulation. Every citizen of the capital must implement and wage a positive struggle to implement the laws concerning market management to insure that distribution is fair and reasonable.

We must exercise collective ownership in order to build the new culture and mold the new, socialist man. We must firmly maintain and enhance the 1,000 year civilized tradition of the capital and maintain and cultivate the spiritual values of the nation. We must sweep away the reactionary, decadent culture and oppose bad customs and superstitions. We must thwart the schemes and tricks of the enemy as they look for every way to commit sabotage in a vain attempt to confuse the thinking, erode the virtues and corrupt the lifestyle of our people and youths.

We must exercise collective ownership in order to defend the fatherland and maintain political security and social order and safety. Collective ownership is our greatest strength in the fight to win victory over the multifaceted war of sabotage being waged by the enemy.

Hanoi, more than any other place, must endeavor to become the symbol of the system of collective ownership. In Hanoi, every person must be a master and must exercise this right each and every day. The Hanoi Trade Union, the Hanoi Youth Union, the Hanoi Women's Union and the Hanoi Association of Collective Farmers must be the strongest collective ownership organizations in the entire country.

Regardless of how serious its difficulties become, Hanoi must take the lead in building the new culture, molding the new man, establishing the pure and wholesome style of life and caring for and raising children and teenagers.

Hanoi and the entire country must always be ready to deal with every war situation and must be determined to not allow the army of the aggressor to reach our capital.

The Hanoi Party Organization must make every effort to increase its fighting strength and improve its leadership ability. The victories and achievements that have been recorded must be strongly affirmed. We must be clearly aware of our weaknesses and failings. We must face difficulties and shortcomings squarely in order to overcome and rectify them. We must strengthen the discipline of the party and maintain state discipline. We must display greater responsibility in managing the economy, managing society, protecting public property and serving the people. We must praise worthy cadres and party members and reward persons who perform a meritorious service. We must be determined to expel from the party persons who degenerate, become deviant or are corrupt.

Cadres determine everything. Each cadre and party member must always endeavor to maintain his good qualities and improve his skills. As Uncle Ho taught, "We must be worthy of being the leaders, the truly faithful servants of the people." Fully qualified, key cadres must be selected for the wards, districts, enterprises and agencies of the city in order to stimulate the movement at each place.

The Municipal Party Committee and the various ward and district party committees must display initiative and creativity and not wait for or rely upon others. They must combat the malady of bureaucracy, concern themselves with building the basic level and encourage and review the innovations of the masses while expediting work that is of practical importance.

The central agencies, which have the major responsibility in transforming and building the capital, must truly work with the city to implement the political bureau resolution on the work of the capital well.

The Hanoi Party Organization must uphold its glorious tradition and endeavor to fulfill its important mission in the revolutionary undertaking of the entire country.

I wish the 9th Congress of the Hanoi Party Organization success, success that will lead to new strides forward in the building of the capital.

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BROAD UNITY, SWEEPING SUCCESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 83 pp 12-15

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The 11th Congress of the Vietnam Fatherland Front was a fine success. The congress unanimously adopted the Program of Action and the Appeal to the Compatriots of the Entire Country and elected the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front. The success of the congress once again proves that the compatriots of all walks of life in our country always act in accordance with the teaching of the great President Ho Chi Minh:

"Unity, unity, broad unity,
Success, success, sweeping success."(1)

During the past 6 years, the Vietnam Fatherland Front has made tremendous contributions to the cause of strengthening the solidarity of all the people, uniting the fraternal nationalities that live together in the beloved land of Vietnam and strengthening the political and spiritual unanimity within society while developing the revolutionary zeal and the spirit of socialist collective ownership of the people and mobilizing all the people to enthusiastically emulate in socialist construction and the protection of the socialist fatherland.

Fulfilling its role as the firm base of the dictatorship of the proletariat state, the Vietnam Fatherland Front made positive contributions to accelerating the process of reunifying the country in every respect by encouraging all strata of the people to participate in building, strengthening and protecting the people's government. It has regularly mobilized the people to accelerate production and practice economy and has taught all the people to display high vigilance in the face of the schemes and actions of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists to sabotage and commit aggression against our country. It mobilized all strata of the people and the people's armed forces to promptly retaliate against and win victory over the two wars of aggression unleashed by the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles and their lackeys.

In the liberated southern provinces, the Fatherland Front has constantly concerned itself with propagandizing and explaining the policies of the party and state and helping our compatriots feel secure about building the new life and devoting their talents and knowledge to socialist transformation and socialist construction. It has mobilized the laboring people to oppose exploitation by bourgeoisie in both the cities and the countryside and has helped these persons embark on the course of earning their livings collectively. The Front has sincerely helped businessmen in industry and commerce to accept the transformation policy of the party and state.

The Front has patiently mobilized and united the various nationalities and promptly thwarted and defeated the schemes of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, the imperialists and counter-revolutionary elements to divide the nationalities.

The Front organizations on the various levels throughout the country have coordinated with their member mass organizations to encourage the laboring people to participate in the management of state work and the management of society; participate in drafting and implementing the socialist Constitution; participate in the movement to maintain political security and social order and safety; participate in building and strengthening the national defense system and implementing the army's rear area policies well; and participate in building the new culture and molding the new, socialist man.

The Vietnam Fatherland Front has constantly struggled to strengthen the friendship and cooperation between our people and the people of the great Soviet Union, the peoples of the two fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea and the peoples of the other countries within the socialist community while uniting with the peoples of the other countries of the world in the struggle to safeguard peace, demand disarmament and oppose the bellicose policy of aggression and the arms race policy of the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists.

Another achievement deserving of attention that has been recorded by the Front during the past 6 years has been the virtual completion of the establishment of the Front network on all four levels throughout the country, with appropriate attention being given to establishing the Front on the basic level. The establishment of the basic level Front network with a wide range of activities has created favorable conditions for the entire system of front organizations to be directly linked to the daily lives of the various strata of the people living within the locality; achieving a unity of action among the members of the Front right on the basic level; and helping the front conduct effective activities with a view toward rallying and uniting the people to display the spirit of socialist collective ownership and work together to overcome difficulties and build the new life where they live.

These achievements indicate the tremendous role played by the Fatherland Front and, at the same time, prove that "of all the different types of revolutionary work, Front work is very important."(2)

Under the banner of the party, the nation of Vietnam has fought bravely, worked diligently and overcome every difficulty and hardship in order to

successfully build socialism and firmly defend the fatherland, thereby making positive contributions to the struggle by the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

It is clear that "our Vietnamese fatherland, our nation of Vietnam have never been as stable or strong as they are today."(3)

However, our country is advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. The class struggle between the working class and bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism is still a sharp struggle. We have recorded many important achievements but also face large difficulties. Our country must contend with a multifaceted war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists; at the same time, we must be ready to deal with the possibility of the enemy launching a large-scale war of aggression.

The achievements of the 28 years of socialist transformation and socialist construction in the North and the 8 years of socialist transformation and socialist construction in the South have brought about profound changes in our country's society.

However, in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, due to the uneven development of the socialist revolution in our country, the various areas of our country still differ in terms of their economic and social structure, the degree of transformation that has taken place, the level of socialist awareness and so forth.

This situation faces the Vietnam Fatherland Front with large and complex tasks.

The resolution of the 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party pointed out: "Upholding the tradition of solidarity of our people, the Vietnam Fatherland Front must propagandize and mobilize the various strata of the people, religious followers, the ethnic minorities and well known personalities to enthusiastically participate in revolutionary movements, build and strengthen the government, strengthen the socialist system of law, strengthen the political and spiritual unity of our society and uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people in the cause of building socialism and protecting the fatherland."(4)

In order to successfully carry out the two strategic tasks of building socialism and firmly protecting the socialist Vietnamese fatherland under extremely difficult and complex conditions, each person must be more clearly aware of the position, the function and the tasks of the Vietnam Fatherland Front as codified within the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The revolution is the undertaking of the masses. We must build the Vietnam Fatherland Front so that it is worthy of being the broadest socio-political organization, an organization that represents a broad coalition and is of a profound mass nature. It is necessary to develop upon the role played by the Vietnam Fatherland Front as the common representative of the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, as the thread linking the broad

strata of society to the party, as the solid base of the state. The Vietnam Fatherland Front, which has been built on the basis of the alliance of workers and farmers under the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, together with its member mass associations, is a constituent component of the dictatorship of the proletariat system and of our collective ownership mechanism.

The largest task of the Vietnam Fatherland Front in the present stage of the revolution is "to establish a good alliance of workers and farmers, closely unite intellectuals and the various strata of laboring people and unit the nationalities, religious followers, personalities and persons of Chinese ancestry who have long been residing in Vietnam with the people of Vietnam, with the Vietnamese who are now living in foreign countries and want to contribute to the building of the country in order to achieve the common objectives of successfully building socialism and firmly protecting the socialist Vietnamese fatherland and contributing to the maintenance of peace in Southeast Asia and the world."(5)

The Vietnam Fatherland Front and the member organizations of the Front must coordinate and unify their activities with a view toward carrying out the tasks set forth in the resolution of the 5th Congress and the resolutions of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party and implementing the Program of Action of the Front that was recently adopted at the Front Congress.

To perform these large, historic tasks well, the Vietnam Fatherland Front must, under the leadership of the party, strengthen the coordination between itself and the government in organizing and guiding the people in fulfilling their obligations and exercising their rights by voluntarily and actively participating in the building and strengthening of the state apparatus and in the performance of those tasks and jobs that are national in nature. The Front committees on the various levels must adopt plans for helping the elected representatives of the people strengthen their close ties with the people; encourage and help voters to keep abreast of and contribute their opinions concerning the activities of state agencies and their elected representatives; educate, mobilize and organize the people to contribute their opinions in the drafting of laws and the implementation of the Constitution and the laws of the state; and guide, assist and create the conditions for the masses to widely and regularly participate in economic and social management.

There must be a unity of action among the members of the Front and between them and the agencies of the state. Each socio-political organization that participates in the Front as one of its members must fulfill the task that it has regarding each stratum of the people and walk of life which it is responsible for mobilizing by means of suitable forms of activity and must coordinate its activities with the other member organizations in jobs and movements that are common to all organizations and in accordance with the Program of Action of the Front. This unity of action must be achieved in exact accordance with the principles of negotiation, democracy, united action, respect for the independence of the various organizations, close cooperation, the practice of criticism and self-criticism and helping one another make progress, as stated in the statutes of the Front. The Front committees on the various levels play an important role in organizing this unity of action.

We must strengthen the organization and improve the methods of operation of the Front so that they are flexible, diverse and consistent with the new situation. The activities of the Front committees must be coordinated with those of the member organizations and with those of the state agencies well. In particular, importance must be attached to building a strong and solid Front organization on the basic level (villages, subwards and towns) because these basic Front organizations have both the task and the capability of bringing Front work and mass agitation to the various strata of the people, to each family and mobilizing revolutionary movements of the masses within each residential area by means of suitable forms of organization and interesting methods.

The key to insuring that the Front fulfills its role is to strengthen the leadership provided by the party. The various party organizations must give their cadres and members a clear understanding of the importance of Front work in the present stage, correct mistaken viewpoints and thinking concerning Front work and quickly strengthen the apparatus that performs this work. The various party committee echelons must appoint competent, trusted cadres to specialize in Front work. On the ward, district, subward and village levels, the member of the standing committee of the party committee who is in charge of civilian proselyting must take charge of Front work. The party organizations must concern themselves with developing suitable forms of organization through which they can gain everyone's eager participation in Front work and create the conditions needed for Front cadres to fulfill their tasks.

It has been the major, unswerving policy of our party to consolidate and strengthen the United National Front and unite every force and every Vietnamese who loves his country, loves socialism, in the struggle to firmly maintain our independence and freedom and build the new, socialist life. Each party committee echelon, government agency, mass organization, cadre and party member must have a fuller awareness of this major, unswerving policy of the party and implement it better.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 280.
2. Ibid., p 277.
3. Speech by Pham Van Dong, member of the Political Bureau and representative of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party at the 2nd Congress of the Vietnam Fatherland Front.
4. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, pp 132-133.
5. The directive of the Party Secretariat on strengthening the party's leadership of the work of the Vietnam Fatherland Front in the new stage (18 April 1983).

THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM IN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

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[Article by Nguyen Duy Trinh]

[Text] In recent years, economic management has been considered to be one of our weakest areas and we have made many efforts to improve it. All of the programs, policies and measures that have been adopted to improve economic management are related to the application of one of the most important principles of socialist management: the principle of democratic centralism. In this article, I shall present some thoughts concerning the principle of democratic centralism in economic management and the implementation of this principle in the present stage.

Everyone knows that democratic centralism is the most important principle of organization, a principle of a decisive nature, in the building of a truly revolutionary political party and the building of the revolutionary movement led by such a political party. It is the organizational principle of the new society--socialist society. The Statutes of the Vietnam Communist Party clearly state: democratic centralism is the basic organizational principle of the party."⁽¹⁾ This principle reflects the nature and the collective consciousness of the working class, reflects the historic mission of the working class, namely, to liberate itself, it must simultaneously liberate the entire nation. The significance of this principle lies in the fact that it creates the fullest and most effective conditions possible for tapping the revolutionary energies of the laboring people and their vanguard political army, the working class, encouraging the masses to widely participate in the liberation struggle, bringing a sense of organization to this struggle and leading this struggle to its objective by means of the most direct course.

After political power is won, the revolution enters a new stage, a stage in which the strategic tasks of the revolution change: the party assumes power and leads the people in building the new society, carrying out the socialist transformation of the old economy and building the new economy. At this time, management becomes the main task and the principle of democratic centralism becomes the most important organizational principle in management. With the establishment of the new social system and the new economy, new socio-economic, material-technical, political and spiritual bases exist for the implementation of this principle.

The socio-economic base of the principle of democratic centralism is the public ownership of the instruments of production, which closely links the various sectors and localities within a single entity and brings laborers together as the social labor force while insuring that each collective and each individual laborer is the master in management activities.

The material-technical bases of this principle are large-scale socialist production and the scientific-technological revolution. Large-scale socialist production demands centralization, specialization, federation and cooperation in production of an increasingly thorough nature. The creative nature of science and technology demand that each effort made by the mass of scientists, those who apply science and managers be tapped and combined.

The political base of this principle is the political and spiritual unanimity of society. In socialism, class antagonisms are abolished, the interests of laborers are identical, their level of knowledge is constantly raised and the initiative and creativity of collectives and individual laborers are tapped to their full extent in order to achieve the common goals of society.

The spiritual base of this principle is Marxist-Leninist ideology, which becomes the common ideology of socialist society.

Democratic centralism manifests the profound revolutionary and scientific nature of the socialist system. It reflects the dialectical relationship between the whole and the part, between the community and the individual in the development of society, the development of the economy and between the decisive role played by the whole and the relative independence of each of its parts.

In economic management, the economic content of the principle of democratic centralism is specific and clear. On the one hand, this principle takes into consideration the level of socialization of production and the need for the state to provide centralized management of large-scale production; on the other hand, it takes into consideration the inevitable need to gain the participation of more and more laboring people in economic management because they have become the owners of the instruments of production and bear the primary responsibility for social production.

The need to provide centralized management arises as a result of the socialization of production. Under capitalism, the private ownership of the instruments of production and the nature of the class ruling society do not permit this. The private ownership of the instruments of production destroys the unity of will that is so necessary in the management of the entire system of social production. In the course of carrying out the socialist revolution, one major problem, a problem that consists of two closely linked factors, must be resolved, namely, carrying out the socialization of the instruments of production so that they laboring people become the masters of the production system and establishing a centralized, democratic economic management system.

Democratic centralism in economic management means the organic coordination, the close unification of centralism, that is management from a center, strict discipline and the one-person-in-command system with democracy, with the right of ownership of the laborer, with the initiative and creativity of the masses

and with the relative independence of each element in economic management and the diversity of methods and means in order to achieve the common objective. The dialectical relationship between centralism and democracy was defined by Lenin as follows: "Centralism, which is to be understood as true democracy, makes it possible--for the first time in history--to fully and freely develop not only the special characteristics of the locality, but also the innovations of the locality, the initiative of the locality and the varied nature of policies, methods and means for the purpose of achieving a common objective."(2) And, "as this varied nature becomes more profound--provided, of course, that it does not become distorted--we become better able to implement the system of democratic centralism and build a socialist economy in a more stable and rapid fashion."(3)

Centralism is the necessary prerequisite to insuring the socialist nature of economic development and insuring the coordination of all elements in the management of the national economy. Lenin also pointed out that this centralism is not bureaucratic centralism or dictatorship, rather, it is "democratic centralism." He stated: "We are advocates of democratic centralism. However, it must be clearly understood that democratic centralism is, on the one hand, truly different from bureaucratic centralism and is, on the other hand, truly different from anarchy";..."democratic centralism...gives the localities and even the communes of the country the fullest possible freedom with regard to determining the different forms of political, social and economic life."(4) The forms of political, social and economic life can differ from one locality to the next "but the system of law must be the same." He maintained: "The greatest danger in our life, as well as in our underdeveloped cultural state, is that we tolerate the age-old attitude of Russia and the semi-barbarian habits of wanting to maintain a legal system in Kaluga Province that is different from the legal system in Kazan Province."(5)

Lenin harshly criticized the mentality of localism, departmentalism and partialism that impeded the establishment and management of a unified, nationwide socialist economy. He advised: "Those comrades of ours who enjoy the greatest prestige must resolutely state and make it widely known within the various localities that local agencies must become accustomed to the fact that we compel them to scrupulously implement the policies of the central government...otherwise, it will be impossible to build socialism because this work is the work of building a centralized economy, an economy from the central level downward."(6)

The economy is a developing and dynamic system. The economic management system must always be improved to keep pace with the development of the economy. Correctly implementing the principle of democratic centralism with attention to the special characteristics of each stage of economic development is the prerequisite to the normal operation of the economic management system. This means that, on the foundation of the principle of democratic centralism, the relationship between centralism and democracy and the forms employed to apply the principle of democratic centralism differ as progress is made in improving the economic management system. The results achieved in transforming the old economy and building the new economy are very heavily dependent upon the development and implementation of a flexible management mechanism that is suited to each stage of development and upon the timely

adjustment of the relationship between centralism and democracy within the framework of democratic centralism. When we say that the economy is regulated from a center in accordance with a unified plan that requires an appropriate degree of centralization on the central level, we are talking about democratic centralism on the central level. When we talk about granting greater independence to and tapping the creativity of the lower levels, the basic level, we are talking about democratic centralism on the lower levels, the basic level. The performance of the tasks set forth for each enterprise collective and each sector demands initiative, creativity and the resolution of problems by the actual persons who are performing these tasks. While emphasizing the need to develop the independence, initiative and creativity of the economic units, light attention cannot be given to the unified and planned nature of the national economy, which must be used as the premise and the guidelines for developing the independence and initiative of the economic units. There is one viewpoint which holds that all jobs performed on the central level fall into the category of centralism and are designed to strengthen this centralism and that the work performed on the lower levels, on the basic level is designed to broaden the practice of democracy. This is a mistaken point of view because it separates centralism and democracy and ignores the fact that democratic centralism is an entity, is a unified principle. One of the causes of our shortcomings in economic management in the recent past has been the failure to promptly change the mode of management, to adjust, at the correct time and to the correct degree, the relationship between centralism and democracy on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism whenever the situation has changed or our strategic task has changed. Another reason is the fact that we have not fully realized the negative impact of the psychology of the small-scale producer or taken good measures to correct it.

Democratic centralism within the economy is expressed within the management apparatus and in operating procedures in the following ways: the minority obeying the will of the majority; the lower level obeying the upper level; the interests of the part being subservient to the interests of the whole; the masses complying with the Constitution and laws; the masses electing or removing from office persons to represent them in management work, etc. Democratic centralism within the economy is also concretely, clearly and profoundly expressed in the form of the economic structure, the management mechanism, the management apparatus and cadre work.

In recent years, our economic management has been characterized by both bureaucratic centralism and decentralization in the structure of the economy, the management mechanism, the management apparatus and operating procedures. In The Proceedings of the 5th Congress of the Party, it states: "In recent years, the principle of democratic centralism has not been thoroughly implemented at many places. A lack of organization, a lack of discipline, partialism and localism of one degree or another have developed widely" and "the bureaucracy, conservatism, stagnation, irresponsibility and decentralization within the organization of implementation are serious."(7)

The economic structure makes it possible to take initiative and voluntary action in applying the objective economic laws in establishing the division of social labor among the economic sectors and economic regions through ratios and forms of trade and association among sectors and products, among the

different segments of the economy and among the various economic regions. The changes that occur in the structure of the economy over time lead to the planned, goal-oriented formation of an optimum structure for the national economy. Our shortcoming in the recent past regarding the structure of the economy has been that we have, at times, only given attention to the central economy, to the sector and not realized the position or special characteristics of the locality and installation. On the other hand, we have, at other times, overly emphasized the role of the installation and unilaterally stressed the local economy, thereby eroding the position of the sector, of the central level. At the same time, we have not recognized the need to build the structure of the economy in a manner consistent with the laws of socialist construction with economic laws and the requirements of the scientific-technological revolution, rather, we have considered the structure of the economy to be something that is immutable.

Within the management mechanism, "we have allowed bureaucratic management characterized by subsidization and restrictive, rigid planning methods to exist for many years, have not increased the responsibility or broadened the independence of the installations, localities and sectors and have not appropriately centralized those elements that must be managed by the central level"(8); we have given sole attention to vertical relations, no attention to horizontal relations and light attention to commodity-money relations in management. Conversely, there has been a tendency to employ the market mechanism, pursue partial interests and relax the effort to transform the non-socialist segments of the economy. This is a dangerous trend, one that will lead to serious consequences and must be corrected.

Also within the management apparatus and operational procedures are manifestations of bureaucratic centralism and methods of working that are characterized by authoritarianism and a lack of democracy, by a failure to respect the opinions of the masses, of the lower level, a failure to appropriately increase the authority and responsibility of the lower level and by a desire to embrace each and every job and function at a time when the skills needed to do so are lacking. The manifestations of decentralization and fragmentation are a lack of discipline, a lack of organization, abuse of authority, the failure to correctly and fully implement the directives and resolutions of the upper level, the failure to respect laws, etc.

There is a very close reciprocal relationship among the economic structure, the management mechanism, the management apparatus and the cadre organization. The shortcomings of one component are simultaneously the effects and the causes of the shortcomings of the other components. Bureaucratic centralism and subsidization have led to a lack of discipline and responsibility and have prevented the birth of a new economic structure; the lack of discipline and responsibility have led to increased bureaucratic centralism and subsidization, increased decentralization and fragmentation and increased stagnation and conservatism within the management system.

We must be determined to combat both of the incorrect trends described above: bureaucratic centralism and decentralization and fragmentation. Both are contrary to Lenin's viewpoint concerning democratic centralism.

Within state management, economic management and the management of society at this time, we must be determined to correctly implement the principle of democratic centralism.

1. Of utmost importance is the need to insure that centralism and unity exist regarding the lines that are adopted and regarding thinking and actions. In view of the fact that the party is in political power and leading the effort to build and develop the economy, centralism and unity must first be thoroughly established within the party. "The unity of our party is firmly based in Marxism-Leninism, the correct political line of the party and the principle of democratic centralism in the organization and life of the party." (9) Centralization that is not firmly based in ideology is meaningless. An organization that is based on viewpoints and actions that are not those of the party, that are contrary to the line of the party, is an extremely dangerous organization. We must take determined steps to implement the system of collective ownership of the laboring people on each level, in each sector, in each locality and in each field of life. Therefore, we resolutely oppose the concept of exercising ownership in the style of guilds or in any way that is contrary to or fails to implement the resolutions of the party. The line of the party must be creatively concretized in the form of party resolutions and state management policies. These specific resolutions and policies must comply with the line of the party and must lead to an increasingly high level of unanimity. It is absolutely necessary for the party to strictly maintain the principle of centralism and maintain tight discipline. All resolutions of the upper level absolutely must be thoroughly implemented by the lower levels. At this point in time, we must recall and follow the teaching of Lenin: "Due to the state of economic chaos that exists, we do not see any improvement; however, we can only overcome this chaos by means of centralism, by means of foresaking purely local interests, which are clearly the interests that have caused us to oppose centralism, but it is precisely this centralism that is the only way to extricate ourselves from this situation." (10)

To implement the principle of democratic centralism within management, there must be centralism and unity regarding lines, thinking and actions, first within the party and then among the revolutionary forces, among the mass of laborers.

2. It is necessary to strengthen the economic foundations of the principle of democratic centralism, that is, necessary to raise the level of the socialization of production. This demands, on the one hand, that we make every effort to strengthen and strongly develop the state-operated economy so that it is the solid pillar of the national economy and each state-operated economic unit is a robust cell filled with vitality. We must strengthen and develop the collective economy into the main force supplementing the state-operated economy within the unified national economy, into a force that has a strong impact upon the private economy.

On the other hand, we must truly accelerate the socialist transformation of the other segments of the economy. In the provinces of the Mekong Delta, together with completing the redistribution of cropland, we must bring farmers into collective production; develop the marketing cooperatives in order to

eliminate the influence of private merchants; and develop credit cooperatives so that farmers are able to help one another more conveniently and in order to put an end to high interest loans. We must review the use of contracts within agriculture, especially in the northern and central provinces, correct the deviations that have occurred in the implementation of the contract system and develop the contract mechanism into the mechanism for managing the entire cooperative. We must carry out the socialist transformation of commerce, transportation and building. We must strengthen and develop state-operated commerce and marketing cooperatives; rid ourselves of the bourgeoisie in commerce, including the newly emerged businesses in public food and services; reorganize peddlers and tightly manage the market so that the socialist market, especially state-operated commerce, firmly maintains its leadership role.

In the initial stage of the period of transition, besides the socialist economy, non-socialist segments of the economy also exist. The problem we face is that we must utilize the non-socialist segments of the economy in a correct and reasonable manner in conjunction with accelerating the transformation of these economic segments while insure that the state controls the key, most essential elements of the economy and, on this basis, guiding every economic activity of the entire national economy. Further developing and reorganizing the structure of the economy and accelerating the transformation of the economy will raise the level of socialization of production and insure that laborers truly become the masters of the instruments of production and develop production. The strict and correct implementation of the principle of democratic centralism is a necessary prerequisite to our winning decisive victory in the struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism and is a sharp struggle at this time on the economic front, especially in view of the fact that the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in an intense multi-faceted war of sabotage against our country.

3. To correctly implement the principle of democratic centralism, it is necessary to successfully establish a new and increasingly efficient economic structure. Our national economy must be a highly unified economy that has a well balanced structure, broad and diverse relations among the economic sectors, economic fields and economic units based on association, cooperation and a division of labor and is flexible and smoothly coordinated in terms of economic activities.

It is necessary to establish the correct relationship between the central economy and the local economy and basic level, necessary to build the central economy at the same time as building the local economy within a unified national economic structure. The central economy is that portion of the economy that is directly managed by the central ministries and participates in the management by territory provided by the local government. The local economy is that portion of the economy that is directly managed by the locality (province, district) under the unified guidance of the central level and the management by sector provided by the ministries. The installations (enterprises, worksites, state farms, stores, cooperatives and so forth) are the basic units of the economy. We must insure that every installation

becomes a dynamic, vital cell in order for the economy to develop rapidly. In the present situation, the central level can directly manage the large, key economic installations that are of important economic-technical significance and have a decisive impact upon the development of the national economy, thereby insuring that the central level directly controls the important products of the entire country, primary export goods and a number of other special installations. Installations that do not fall into any of these categories are put under the management of the localities.

Within the unified national economy, the structure of the central economy and the structure of the local economy must be consistent with the economic-technical requirements of each sector and the socio-economic conditions and natural resources of each locality as well as the level of development of the entire country and each locality.

Establishing the correct relationship between the central level and the locality and among the sectors, localities and installations means that both the central level and the local level must have specific responsibilities regarding each economic unit and each economic activity. The central enterprises located within the locality have the obligation of helping the locality and contributing to the sources of local budget revenues. The economic units of the central level that lack labor, lack raw materials and so forth must be assisted with their problems by the locality. Local enterprises must receive technical and management assistance as well as professional guidance from the sector; the operations of the central enterprises located within the locality and the guidance provided by the ministry or general department must be closely linked to the socio-economic entity within the locality, must stimulate and assist the local economy and must support the daily lives of the local people.

The installations always occupy two positions: one as a constituent component of the unified national economic system and another as a relatively independent economic organization that has the task of insuring that its production and business activities are highly efficient, are consistent with the circumstances of each unit. The laboring people are the masters at installations and are, at the same time, among those who are the masters within the locality, the masters throughout the country. In order for the national economy to develop rapidly, both the central level and the local level must provide assistance to and provide every possible condition for the installations to develop, regardless of whether they are part of the central economic structure or the local economic structure. Implementing democratic centralism is the correct way to develop the mastery exercised by the laboring people. The more the laboring people truly become masters, the more the principle of democratic centralism is guaranteed.

An efficient economic structure must reflect the relationships among the various elements of the process of expanded reproduction: production, distribution, circulation and consumption, all of which must proceed unimpeded with one element stimulating and assisting the development of another. At the same time, the suitability of production relations and production forces to each other must be increasingly insured. As the structure of the economy becomes more efficient and production forces develop, the new production

relations, must be strengthened. Conversely, as the new production relations are strengthened, they provide a firm foundation for insuring that production forces develop in the correct direction and create the premises needed to establish an increasingly efficient economic structure.

4. Another very important requirement is to establish and successfully operate an economic management system that is consistent with the present stage of development. Here, there are two types of related work that must be resolved, the work of the management mechanism and the work of the management apparatus. In this article, I will focus my attention on the management mechanism.

The present improvement of the management mechanism is designed to rapidly abolish management characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization (including those supply measures that were necessary in war time but are now no longer suitable), implement socialist business management based on the state plan, implement cost accounting and make correct use of the various economic levers. The management mechanism usually has a rapid and direct impact.

The plan is the central tool of management, is the second platform of the party. The plan reflects the political line and the economic line of the party. The plan is the management law of the state. Implementing the plan is the obligation of each citizen, of each economic organization. In planning over the past several years, one problem has arisen, namely, that of closely linking the plan to the use of market relations, to commodity-money relations, and closely linking the plan to the various policies concerning economic levers. Concerning this matter, the basic spirit of the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee is to make widespread use of market relations and the various policies regarding economic levers but to do so on the basis of the plan.

Our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition and the economy is under the impact of a system of economic laws in which the economic laws of socialism are assuming an increasingly dominant position. Within this system of laws is the law of value. We must comply with the requirements of the economic laws of socialism and must create the conditions needed for these laws to have an increasing impact within the national economy. We advocate the widespread use of commodity-money relations on the basis of the plan as the center of our activities, that is we advocate the application of the law of value for the purpose of implementing the plan more effectively.

At present, there is a tendency to give light attention to the centralized, unified plan and a desire to carry out development "outside the plan." This is an incorrect tendency. Admittedly, there are shortcomings in our planning and both the contents and methods of planning must be improved. However, this does not mean that we should narrow the scope of planning, that we should place market relations above planning. Some places and installations have broadened the use of market relations to the point where many norms of the state plan cannot be met and the dominant forces and role of the national economy have been weakened. At a time when they have failed to fulfill their obligation to deliver products to the central level in accordance with the centralized, unified plan, some installations and localities have allocated

supplies and energy provided to them by the state for "the production of goods outside the plan" and have held back products in order to engage in "trade outside the plan."

We must make use of the various categories of value and of commodity-monetary relations; attention must be given to providing material incentive to laborers. However, if we place the law of value on a par with (or even above) the laws of socialism, place the market (that is, the "free market") above the state plan and overemphasize the principle of providing material incentive, we will commit the mistake of being rightist opportunists. Conversely, if we give light attention to, disregard or want to eliminate the law of value, the various categories of value, commodity-money relations and so forth, we will surely commit the mistake of being "leftist" and will cause the management system of the national economy to become increasingly bureaucratic, stagnated and ineffective.

At present, the "three interests" are not being correctly understood or implemented. While citing the need for activities that are in "the three interests," many places have only given their attention to the individual interests of the laborer while giving light attention to the interests of society and the interests of the collective or using collective interests as a way to conceal the illegitimate satisfaction of individual interests, thereby violating the interests of society. This is a deviation from the principle of democratic centralism and is foreign to the system of collective ownership of the laboring people. The relationship among the three interests is the relationship between the whole and its parts, between the community and the individual. If light attention is given to the interests of the community, not even the interests of the individual can be guaranteed (especially over the long range).

The purpose of increasing the financial autonomy and the independence in production and business of the lower level, of the basic units is to open the way for the development of production, open the way for each installation, each sector, each level and each laborer to fully develop and make the best possible use of each potential so that the process of reproduction is organized in a more scientific and efficient manner, in a manner more consistent with reality and so that the relationship among the three interests is a tighter relationship and the relationship between the state and the cooperative becomes increasingly close. This is not, of course, an opportunity to extract wealth from the state or the people nor is it an opportunity to weaken the material-technical bases of the national economy.

The link between planning and the various policies regarding economic levers, between planning and the other management measures is still a weak link within our management mechanism. Above everything else, it must be stated that the plan is the strongest of the various economic levers. The plan embodies the essence of economic policies and the specifics and requirements of cost accounting and socialist business. Cost accounting must have the plan as its center. The plan itself must embody the specifics and requirements of socialist business. And, socialist business must primarily be conducted in accordance with the plan and business "outside the plan" must also be brought within the orb of the plan. When formulating plans, as well as in the process

of implementing them, we must fully comply with economic policies and management measures. These policies and measures are a way to balance the plan, are a moving force behind the implementation of the plan. Each and every plan corresponds to a specific set of economic policies and management measures. And, the results of the implementation of a plan are dependent upon the promulgation and implementation of economic policies and management measures. The 1982 agricultural product procurement plan was completed and exceeded partially because procurement policies were improved to a certain degree. The development of agricultural production has, in large measure, been due to the correct implementation of the contract policy within the reciprocal impact of integrated technical-management measures. To an important degree, the industrial enterprises have developed their production rather steadily amidst the difficulties common to the economy because they have used the common policies of the party and state as the basis for developing and implementing a management mechanism and management measures that are consistent with the circumstances of each specific unit. Production has developed but the state has not been controlling all the products that have been produced. On the one hand, this is due to the fact that basic units have not been fully complying with the discipline involved in delivering products to the state; on the other hand, it has largely been due to our failure to adopt good management policies and measures, a failure that has allowed many products to find their way to the outside.

From the examples presented above, the close link between the plan and economic policies and management measures becomes even more obvious. If we adopt correct policies that provide incentive for the development of production and enact suitable and effective management measures, the plan can be implemented and exceeded. If we adopt a plan but do not adopt suitable policies and measures, the plan is not a reliable one. Closely linking planning to correct economic policies and management measures at the very outset is very important and necessary, especially now, when the non-socialist segments of our economy are still quite large. Direct planning cannot yet be applied to these segments of the economy, rather, we must use indirect plans, use economic policies, administrative measures, educational measures and so forth to bring them within the orb of socialism.

Democratic centralism is the most basic organizational and management principle. Implementing this principle correctly is an extremely important guarantee that the line of the party will be thoroughly implemented and that the difficulties we face will be overcome, thereby opening the way for the development of the economy. Each and every person, most importantly communist party members, must do everything they can to insure that the principle of democratic centralism is implemented in a correct and serious manner in party life, in the work of organizing and managing the national economy and in the work of organizing and managing the state and managing society.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Statutes of the Vietnam Communist Party, p 12.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 186.

3. Ibid., p 187.
4. Ibid., p 185-186.
5. Ibid., Volume 45, p 232.
6. Ibid., Volume 37, p 519.
7. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, pp 25 and 17.
8. Ibid., Volume II, p 14.
9. Ibid., Volume I, p 178.
10. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 37, p 526.

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CSO: 4210/12

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 80TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE CPSU (30 JULY 1903-30 JULY 1983): 80 YEARS OF BRAVE STRUGGLE AND GLORIOUS VICTORY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 83 pp 26-29

[Editorial]

[Text] Eighty years ago, on 30 August 1903, the Russian Democratic-Socialist Worker Party(1) held its 2nd Congress. The congress adopted the Platform, which consisted of the minimum platform (completing the democratic-bourgeois revolution, toppling the Russian autocracy and establishing the democratic republic) and the maximum platform(carrying out the socialist revolution and toppling capitalism). For the first time in the history of the international socialist movement, the platform of a party of the working class embodied the requirement of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat which, in theoretical terms, Marx and Engels had proven as necessary. At the congress, a sharp struggle ensued when the Platform and Statutes of the Party were being discussed. Lenin advocated that Article I of the Statutes read as follows: "Anyone who recognizes the Platform of the Party, supports the party materially and belongs to an organization of the party is recognized as a party member." Martov, on the other hand, presented a formula which did not demand that a party member belong to an organization of the party, which would open the party to unstable petty bourgeois elements. However, at the congress, the supporters of Lenin were in the majority. Because of this, the supporters of Lenin were called the Bolsheviks while the supporters of Martov were called the Mensheviks.

The primary result of the congress was the founding of a Marxist Bolshevik party, a new style proletarian party. Lenin wrote: "From 1903 onward, Bolshevism has existed as an ideological and political movement and as a political party."(2)

The date 30 July 1903 has been recorded in history as the date of the birth of the Russian Bolshevik Party, that is, the present day Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The founding of the Bolshevik Party at the 2nd Congress of the Russian Democratic-Socialist Worker Party proved the political growth of progressive Russian workers. It was closely associated with the name and the career of

the great V.I. Lenin. A brilliant Marxist, Lenin learned the laws of development of Russian history and the Russian worker movement and set forth ideological, political and organizational principles for the building of a totally new proletarian party.

By the start of the 20th century, capitalism had developed strongly in Russia. Within industry and the communications-transportation sector, there were nearly 3 million workers, strikes were of a broad mass nature and Marxism had defeated Populism. It was under these conditions that the task of coordinating Marxism with the Russian worker movement and establishing the party was faced. And, V.I. Lenin excellently completed this task. While still imprisoned in Siberia, Lenin devised a plan to publish a newspaper--THE FLAME--and prepared to establish a revolutionary, Marxist party in Russia. He considered this newspaper to be a wooden scaffold around the edifice he was building, the party, and the party itself to be an Archimedean lever that revolutionaries would use to topple the regime of that time. All that was needed was to select the correct fulcrum. Thus fulcrum was none other than the young Russian proletariat, the most progressive and revolutionary class in Russia. The plan of V.I. Lenin was completed at the 2nd Congress of Russian Democratic-Socialist Worker Party.

The Bolshevik Party founded by Lenin differed in principle from all the parties of the 2nd International, which were parties that had fallen into revisionism and opportunism and, as a result, were incapable of conducting revolutionary activities. The Bolshevik Party was a party that was based on Marxist-Leninist doctrine and which developed this doctrine in a creative manner, in a manner that insured the oneness of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice; it was the collective political leader of the working class, was the highest organization and the vanguard unit of the working class and had the source of its strength in its close alliance with the laboring masses; it was built on the basis of democratic centralism, of constantly strengthening the ideological and organizational unity within the party while strengthening the self-imposed discipline and tapping the zeal of party members; it waged an unrelenting struggle against every manifestation of factionalism and cliques, against every manifestation of revisionism, opportunism and demagoguery; and it fully complied with the principles of proletarian internationalism.

These principles of a new style proletarian party were applied by Lenin in "The Alliance Struggling To Liberate the Working Class" founded by him in 1895, in documents that he drafted that were in the nature of a platform, in his famous work "What Is To Be Done?", in THE FLAME Newspaper founded by him in late 1900, etc. These principles were also tested in the resolute struggle waged by Lenin against opportunism and reformism.

Therefore, the significance of the founding of the Bolshevik Party in 1903 went beyond the framework of Russia and marked a fundamental turning point in the entire international worker movement.

After it was born, the Bolshevik Party led the struggle to liberate the proletariat and people of Russia in the three revolutions and led them to victory in the great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new era

for mankind, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale.

After the October Revolution, the first dictatorship of the proletariat state in the world faced large tasks in building and defending the fatherland. Concerted attacks were being launched by both domestic and foreign enemies. Although their country had been ravaged and was under economic and political siege by the capitalist countries, the fraternal people of the Soviet Union overcame countless difficulties and obstacles and, by means of their heroic fighting spirit and spirit of steadfast labor, ultimately defeated each scheme of the enemy and completed their fundamental tasks: industrializing the country, collectivizing agriculture and carrying out the cultural revolution. As a result, socialism was established. An entirely new social system came into being, one that set an example for all mankind. It is a system based on the public ownership of the instruments of production, a system that puts an end to class and national antagonisms, abolishes exploitation and unemployment, brings true freedom back to the people, establishes a beautiful material and spiritual life and establishes social relations of equality, friendship and mutual help in the spirit of comradeship.

The strength of the new social system was challenged during the years of the anti-fascist war. Under the leadership of the CPSU, the Soviet people won victory of historic significance to the entire world, saving the nations of the world from the danger of fascist enslavement.

Following that war, the Soviet people quickly healed the serious wounds that the war had inflicted and won new, unparalleled victories in the economic and cultural fields.

The Soviet Union completed the construction of developed socialism in the late 1960's and is now in the initial period of the long stage of building communist society. This period involves perfecting developed socialism in order to gradually advance to communism by means of further developing production forces, strengthening and perfecting the socialist production relations, strengthening the Soviet state and Soviet democracy, strongly developing science-technology and carrying out strong cultural development. The 26th Congress of the CPSU adopted the line of increasing the efficiency of social production, accelerating the development of production in depth and, on this basis, constantly raising the standard of living of the people. This line has brought new victories to the Soviet people.

Today, the Soviet Union has become the most powerful socialist country, has become a country with tremendous economic and military might. Soviet science and technology are always at the pinnacles of world development. The exploiting classes have been abolished and a new, classless social structure is being established within the historic framework of developed socialism. The nationalities problem left behind by the system of exploitation has been completely and thoroughly resolved and a new historic community of man--the Soviet people--has taken shape and is developing. The system of socialist democracy has constantly been broadened, thereby gaining the participation of large numbers of persons in the management work of the state. The Soviet Union is the country that has the highest level of educational and cultural

development. The standing of living of the people is continuously being improved.

The leadership provided by the CPSU is the origin of the victories mentioned above. Over the past 80 years, starting as a small organization of Marxist revolutionaries, the party of Lenin has become a large and powerful corps consisting of more than 18 million members. The unshakeable unity of the party's ranks, a unity based on the Leninist principles of party building, is a guarantee that the party will complete each task.

Ever since it was born, the CPSU has unswervingly adhered to the principles of socialist, proletarian internationalism. On the one hand, the party has led the Soviet people in successfully building a new society that has had a positive impact upon the entire course of the world revolution. On the other hand, the party has assisted and supported the revolutionary and progressive movements in the world. This is clearly evident in the role played by the Soviet Union in the formation of the socialist community and in the relations of equality, friendship and mutual assistance that exist between the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. It is also clearly evident in the Soviet Union's attitude of uniting with the struggle being waged by the working class of the capitalist countries and supporting and assisting the national liberation and national independence movements.

The CPSU has resolutely retaliated against each ideological enemy, against each of their campaigns to attack real socialism. Together with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, the CPSU has waged an active struggle against revisionism and opportunism within the international communist and worker movement.

The communist party and state of the Soviet Union have always taken the lead in the struggle to maintain and safeguard peace, determined to oppose imperialism, primarily the U.S. militarists, who are organizing a "crusade" against communism and scheming to push mankind into a nuclear holocaust.

The domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU, the brilliant achievements that have been recorded by the Soviet people in past periods of their history and the prestige and influence of the Soviet Union in the international arena are eloquent proof that the CPSU is the greatest Marxist-Leninist party, that the Soviet Union is the most powerful socialist country, is the citadel of revolution and peace in the world.

For these reasons, the enemies of socialism are focusing their efforts on the Soviet Union. They are constantly trying to tarnish the image of the Soviet Union, to distort the lines and policies of the Soviet Union and make every effort they can to weaken the Soviet Union. Opportunists are also attempting to diminish the role of the CPSU, deny the experiences of the October Socialist Revolution and deny the experiences gained in socialist construction within the Soviet Union. In particular, the Beijing reactionaries, masquerading as disciples of Marxism-Leninism, have impudently called the Soviet Union a "socialist imperialist"; they consider the Soviet Union an enemy, consider the leader of the imperialists a friend and do everything they can to oppose the Soviet Union under the guise of "opposing hegemony." They

are focusing their efforts on dividing the socialist countries from the Soviet Union and plotting to undermine the unity of the socialist country and isolate the Soviet Union and Vietnam. They have taken the side of the United States and NATO in spreading the argument that "the Soviet Union is the source of the serious threat to peace in Asia and the world."

However, none of the smoke screens being erected by the imperialists and reactionaries can conceal the light of truth that emanates from the land of the soviets, the country of the great Lenin. Today, protecting the Soviet Union, protecting the CPSU against each attack by the imperialists and reactionaries, against each assault by opportunism is the obligation of all communists in the world and is in the interest of our entire movement. To our people and our party, uniting and cooperating completely with the Soviet Union, with the CPSU is an immutable strategic principle.

FOOTNOTES

1. In 1898 (the 1st Congress), it was called the Russian Democratic-Socialist Worker Party; in 1917, it was called the Russian (Bolshevik) Democratic-Socialist Worker Party. In March, 1918, at the 7th Congress, the name of the party was changed to the Russian (Bolshevik) Communist Party. In 1925, on the occasion of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the Soviet Union), the 14th Congress decided to change the name of the party to the All-Union Communist (Bolshevik) Party. At the 19th Congress in 1952, the party's name was changed to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Russian version, 5th printing, Volume 41, p 6.

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REORGANIZING AND REARRANGING COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 83 pp 30-34

[Article by Dong Si Nguyen]

[Text] The tasks of developing the economy, stabilizing and improving the standard of living of the people and building the national defense and security systems face the communications-transportation sector with large requirements. These requirements are: gradually building a well coordinated communications-transportation system that links one place to another and providing high quality, timely service that meets the requirements of industrial and agricultural production, building, export activities, the national defense system, the maintenance of security and the daily lives of the people.

One of the important measures in being able to gradually meet the transportation needs of the national economy is to reorganize and rearrange the communications-transportation system from the central to the basic levels, from the scope of the entire country to each region, area, city, industrial, agricultural and forestry zone and site, etc.

Up until now, when talking about communications and transportation, we have usually only given thought to the main-axis communications-transportation system or only to the communications-transportation system within the major centers; rarely have we given any thought to the cells of this system, that is, to communications-transportation in the villages, the districts and the industrial complexes, state farms and state forestry sites. These are the places that are the foundation, are the starting point as well as the end point of the communications-transportation chain. As a result of this thinking, all areas of work, such as planning, the formulation of specific plans, the organizing of management, the organizing of production and so forth, have only focused on the intermediary elements and given little attention to communications-transportation as a complete and well coordinated chain, in which the starting point is communications-transportation within the district. As a result, today, in addition to the few districts that have organized communications and transportation well, communications-transportation within the districts have, generally speaking, changed slowly,

lack coordination, are not closely linked to and do not promptly support agricultural or industrial production and do not meet the requirements involved in building the district. And, this is one of the main causes of the disorder and breakdown of the entire communications-transportation chain.

Building the districts and strengthening the district level are a major policy that was adopted by the 4th and 5th Congress of the Party. In order to implement this policy, the 3rd Party Plenum pointed out: "Under the centralized, unified leadership of the central level and the provinces and municipalities, it is necessary to tap the initiative and creativity of the districts and installations, reorganize production, redistribute labor and build an agro-industrial, agro-forestry-industrial or agro-fishing-industrial district structure."

Confirming the important socio-economic position of the district is the same as confirming the important position of communications-transportation within the district.

Within the districts as well as the industrial zones and complexes, it is communications and transportation that connect the basic units to one another economically and connect industry and agriculture through the trading of goods, the exchanging of labor forces and the fulfillment of product delivery obligations.

During the period of transition to socialism, the economy still consists of many different segments, consequently, in addition to further developing the dominant role played by state-operated communications-transportation forces, we must also attach importance to the other segments of the economy. The transportation cooperatives of the collective economy are providing a significant amount of transportation as the force supplementing the state-operated transportation forces. At present, besides the public transportation forces and the transportation forces of the various sectors, there are, within our country, more than 1,000 transportation units, cargo handling units and units which build and repair means of transportation that are organized as cooperatives, enterprises and collectives and employ approximately 150,000 laborers; this number includes 800 highway transportation cooperatives with a transportation capacity of tens of thousands of tons of cargo and roughly 400,000 passenger seats, which annually transport 20 million tons of cargo (1 billion ton-kilometers) and 150 million persons (3 billion person-kilometers). In addition, there is a rather large semi-professional transportation force within agriculture which utilizes the various types of rudimentary means of transportation (animal drawn carts, improved vehicles and pack horses). Within the scope of the district, this transportation force is clearly a considerable force, one which, if reorganized, would make it possible for the district to take the initiative in building its economy and stabilizing and developing the standard of living of the people.

Developing communications and transportation is a factor in establishing commodity relations. Within the district, communications-transportation play an important role in the exchange of goods between families and collectives, on the one hand, and state-operated installations, on the other. In our country's present situation, communications-transportation within the district

play a major role in increasing commodity trade and strengthening the ties between workers and farmers.

The district is also the place that directly applies the achievements of the technical sciences and brings the technical sciences into the first elements of the communications-transportation system. And, the development of communications-transportation within the district is the prerequisite to maintaining national security in peace time as well as time of war.

Clearly, communications-transportation within the district play a very large role and must be reorganized and rearranged at an early date. However, in recent years, the effort to rearrange and reorganize communications and transportation within the district has proceeded very slowly; at many places, the transportation capacity of the collective transportation force has declined by a large amount, the communications system has not been replanned in the direction of the development of the economy of each locality, the standard of living of cooperative members is unstable and many negative phenomena have arisen.

The situation mentioned above exists partially as a result of the common difficulties we are encountering in production and everyday life; however, the basic causes are the facts that the organizing of production, the organizing of management and the socialist transformation of the private transportation forces have not been carried out uniformly or well.

The policy of building and strengthening the district level has faced the communications-transportation sector with the task of strongly developing the communications network within the scope of the district. The development of communications-transportation on a nationwide scale as well as within every district requires long-range planning and specific plans for gradually achieving this development. The characteristics of communications-transportation activities is that they are conducted along individual communications-transportation lines and within a unified network. Therefore, when building projects, even small projects, attention must be given to insuring that they are suited to the immediate and the long-range development of the locality and the entire country in every respect. Acting in a haphazard, spontaneous fashion without planning or a specific plan leads to a situation in which we must tear projects down and rebuild them at great expense many times and still not be able to establish standard procedures or order within communications-transportation work.

The development of communications-transportation to support the requirements involved in local economic construction demands that communications planning be closely linked to the overall planning of the district from the very outset, demands that we consider the district to be a planning level for agriculture, small industry and the handicraft trades. In the Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, Le Duan said: "...The district is the base for redistributing labor, reorganizing production, making good use of labor, arable land and forest and ocean resources, initiating intensive cultivation and specialized farming, developing crop and livestock production, expanding the trade sector..." The base for formulating communications-transportation planning within the

district is the specific task involved in building the district. The district is not only the place that reorganizes production and establishes the division of labor, it is also the place that, with the assistance and unified management of the central level and the province, insures that the new countryside is built. On the basis of the requirements involved in economic development and the geographical characteristics of each district, it is necessary to calculate the volume of transportation coming to the district from the outside and the volume of transportation going from the district to other places and then select suitable modes of transportation that yield the highest possible economic returns.

On the basis of developing the spirit of self-reliance and developing and making full use of each existing transportation capability on the central, local and basic levels, we must establish a division of transportation labor and a division of communications-transportation management responsibilities between central and local transportation forces and between the transportation of the communications-transportation sector and the transportation forces of the other economic sectors. The reorganizing of communications-transportation within the district must be carried out in a well coordinated, unified manner within the communications-transportation system of the entire country. Therefore, the goal of the reorganization is to establish a unified transportation system extending from the villages, districts and provinces to the central level.

1. On the village level, we must strengthen the transportation units within the cooperatives and production collectives and coordinate them with the means of transportation of families, primarily boats, oxcarts, buffalo carts, horse draw carts, bicycles, motorcycles, three-wheeled vehicles and so forth, in the work of delivering goods to storehouses, processing plants, ports and railroad stations within the district and province and bringing goods from them to the worksites, state farms, forestry sites, enterprises and other villages and cooperatives. In the development and reorganization of communications-transportation within the scope of the district, communications-transportation in the villages and at worksites, state farms and forestry sites must be considered the first threshold, the threshold through which it is necessary to pass in order to efficiently carry out the transportation process.

2. Depending upon the characteristics of each locality, the provinces and districts can organize state-operated transportation units, transportation cooperatives and transportation collectives tasked with transporting goods to the storehouses, processing plants, ports and railroad stations of the province or area and transporting goods from these places to markets.

Places that are stipulated as points for the pickup of cargo by means of transportation of the central level must have the following:

- A seaport, wharves and cargo handling yards;

- A storehouse (the capacity of which depends upon the stipulated quota);

- Adequate cargo handling personnel and equipment;

--An organizational apparatus capable of managing and coordinating daily operations.

In transportation, the collecting and handling of cargo are a very important stage; at present, however, it is in this stage that the most serious blockages are occurring. Therefore, the localities must give their full attention to the collecting and handling of cargo.

In addition, in their work of organizing transportation, the provinces and districts also have the task of organizing passenger transportation to serve the travel needs of the people within the province or district by means of mechanized vehicles, horse drawn vehicles, rudimentary vehicles, motorized boats, sailboats and so forth.

3. On the central level, the amount of transportation work that must be performed must be divided in a reasonable manner among the various means of transportation, between the central level and the localities and between the transportation forces managed by the Ministry of Communications and Transportation and the transportation forces still being managed by the other economic sectors. The general guideline is to concentrate on strengthening the transportation forces under the management of the communications-transportation sector. The other ministries and economic sectors only manage those transportation forces that operate within the production line and special purpose transportation forces. In principle and in terms of its nature, special purpose transportation is also public transportation; therefore, it must be put under unified management to serve the requirements of production and everyday life.

On the basis of the above mentioned principle of establishing a division of labor in transportation and a division of management responsibilities, we must replan the system of railroad stations and seaports; define the radius of operation of railroad stations and seaports, the scope of operation of truck transportation enterprises and the scope of the construction and communications support of the communications enterprises and projects within the area; on this basis, we must help the districts to reorganize their communications-transportation systems so that they can take the initiative and assume greater responsibility in the transportation process. As regards the development of means of transportation within the villages and districts, full importance must be attached to rudimentary means of transportation and maximum use must be made of the various means of water route transportation; in highland areas and the mountains, special attention must be given to developing the use of pack horses and means of transportation drawn by animals. As we build and provide communications, we must rely primarily upon local materials and universal technology and avoid the thinking of waiting for and relying upon the state. We must tap the initiative and creativity of the localities with regard to developing the potentials and the strengths of traditional forms of transportation.

The development of communications-transportation within the district is broad in scope and long range in nature and demands that we rely upon the efforts of the people in order to succeed. Therefore, when mobilizing capital and labor, we must fully adhere to the guidelines "the state and the people working

together" and "the central level and the locality working together." Over the past several years, facts have shown that wherever the guideline "the state and the people working together" is implemented well, the potentials that lie in the labor, the materials and the rich experience of the people are mobilized and very large savings accrue to the state. Of course, at these places, the communications-transportation organizations on the various levels must properly fulfill their function as the staff providing professional and technical assistance to the various party committee echelons and levels of government. Recently, in a number of provinces, such as Hau Giang, Long An, Tien Giang, Phu Khanh, Quang Nam-Da Nang, Ha Nam Ninh, Thai Binh, Cao Bang, Vinh Phu and Ha Bac, certain districts have been performing communications-transportation work quite well and some places have begun using small, special purpose trucks to deliver cargo to villages. As it studies the experiences of the localities that have taken the lead, every province must select a few districts within which to carry out a revolution in communications-transportation within the scope of the district and then apply what it learns to the other districts.

Once we have established a division of the actual volume of transportation work and a division of transportation needs, cargo handling needs and equipment manufacture and repair needs, we must rearrange transportation forces and reorganize the transportation-cargo handling network and the equipment manufacture and repair industry in an efficient manner between state-operated enterprises and cooperatives and between mechanized and non-mechanized means of transportation. On this basis, we must establish forms of organization based on the guideline "the state and people working together."

As regards communications on the village level, it is necessary to establish units that specialize in road construction to support agriculture and the welfare of the people within the village. These units must have certain forces as their nuclei but consist primarily of forces mobilized among the people. The repair and manufacture of rudimentary means of transportation must be undertaken by the existing organization within villages that repairs farm implements.

On the district level, we must establish specialized construction units that are in charge of providing technical guidance but whose bridge and road construction forces are still mobilized among the people.

The districts must organize engineering teams and units that are responsible for repairing means of transportation and construction tools and equipment. In the years ahead, we must coordinate rudimentary means of transportation with semi-mechanized and mechanized means of transportation within the districts, with immediate importance attached to rudimentary means of transportation; as regards means of water route transportation, attention must be given to developing the use of the various types of steel reinforced cement boats.

The improvement of the overall management mechanism as well as the management mechanism within the communications-transportation sector demands that we display greater initiative and creativity, that we dare to think and take

action, that we boldly improve our organization and adopt reasonable policies designed to provide incentive for every laborer to work efficiently.

In conjunction with changing and improving the management mechanism, it is of pressing importance is the work of strengthening the district level to assign more management cadres and more scientific and technical cadres to the districts and villages. The basic guideline for the years ahead is to transfer competent, young cadres who possess the correct viewpoints and have a knowledge of economics and technology from the central and provincial levels to the districts and installations in conjunction with strongly expanding the training of cadres and workers at work-study installations and having the state and people, the central level and the locality assume responsibility for the elementary and advanced training of manual workers and management cadres for the districts and installations.

Reorganizing and rearranging communications-transportation within the scope of the district or, in other words, carrying out a revolution in communications-transportation within the districts, is a pressing and important requirement in implementing the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum on consolidating and strengthening the district level. With the experiences that have been gained, with the new changes that have occurred in the organization of communications and transportation in the past year and with the appropriate concern of the various levels and sectors and the close leadership of the various party committee echelons, communications-transportation work within the district will surely achieve better results in the years ahead and meet the requirements of consolidating and strengthening the district level.

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STRICTLY COMPLYING WITH THE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL TAX LAW

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 83 pp 35-41

[Article by Chu Tam Thuc]

[Text] Part I

Of the major policies that have been promulgated by the party and state with a view toward bringing about a fundamental change in our country's economic situation, the industrial and commercial tax policy is a policy of important significance and impact. This policy is designed to help establish the new socialist order on the distribution and circulation front, thereby helping to accelerate production and stabilize the standard of living of the people. The role that industrial and commercial taxes play in providing incentive for production, restoring order on the distribution and circulation front, competently participating in the struggle between "the two ways of life," broadening the position of socialism, thwarting the spontaneous development of capitalism, regulating the income of the various strata of the population so that it is fair and reasonable and so forth must be strongly developed.

Under present conditions, that is, in view of the fact that the national income generated by the collective and private segments of the economy still constitutes a significant portion of total national income, the state must employ suitable forms of taxes to adjust the incomes of the various strata of the population that consume commodities and are supplied with services as well as encourage each installation and individual in production and business to fulfill their obligation to contribute to the state budget, contribute to the effort to limit the imbalance between revenues and expenditures and implement a positive national financial policy, one that is consistent with the present stage, on the basis of displaying a high spirit of self-reliance in socialist construction. Industrial and commercial taxes must also have a stronger impact in appropriately regulating unreasonable and excessively high incomes; putting an end to activities that are not good for the national economy; struggling against illegal production activities and businesses, against speculating in and hoarding goods, against smuggling and the disruption of the market; implementing state inventory and control within the private segment of the economy; and combating the spontaneous capitalist tendencies of small-scale producers.

In the recent past, the industrial and commercial tax policy has had the effect of stimulating the development of production and business within industry and commerce, thereby helping to stimulate socialist transformation and the strengthening of the new production relations. However, in view of the fact that the situation surrounding industrial and commercial activities is undergoing many changes and compared to the requirement that the contributions made be fair and reasonable and provide incentive for the development of production, for socialist transformation and the strengthening of the new production relations, many points in the industrial and commercial tax policy were still unsuitable even though this policy had been amended and revised many times.

The business tax and the business income tax together with the goods tax are the three forms of taxes that account for the largest portion of the industrial and commercial tax code.

The old business tax was collected monthly and computed on the basis of the business revenues of collective and private production installations; there were only five tax brackets, ranging from 1 to 5 percent. In a situation such as the present one, in which the development of private, collective and individual activities in industry and commerce is accompanied by many negative phenomena, the old business tax consisted of two few tax brackets and did not clearly differentiate between sectors, trades, products and services that should be encouraged and those that should be restricted. On the other hand, tax rates were low compared to the requirement that taxes be used to regulate a portion of the income of the businesses in industry and commerce. Even in the classification of the types of sectors that are subject to taxation, the placing of the support sector within the same category as the food and beverage sector ignored the differences between the two sectors and did not correctly reflect the position of the support sector as a sector that conducts necessary activities in an organized society.

Deserving of attention is the fact that the taxable income brackets that were used as the basis for applying the tax rates contained within the three income tax tables were established on the basis of the commodity prices and monetary situation that existed in the 1970's. Both prices and monetary activities have undergone many changes; if we had continued to generate revenues on the basis of the rates mentioned above, we would have limited the impact of this important tax in every respect and would, in particular, prolong the unreasonable situation that existed, namely, large businesses paying taxes at a lower rate than medium and small businesses: the income tax rate for large businesses was 8.3 percent while the rate for medium-sized businesses was 9.5 percent and small businesses was 9.2 percent of business income. The revenues from the income tax in the recent past showed the unreasonable nature of the old tax tables: large businesses (of which there are more than 20,000) that have an income of more than 10,000 dong per month used the same tax table as small businesses (of which there are about 200,000).

The old tax tables did not have the effect of regulating the income of industrial and commercial businesses in a reasonable or satisfactory manner, particularly in the commerce sector and the food and beverage sector and especially with regard to those persons who have high or very high incomes,

which are unreasonable; in addition, they did not help to prevent cases in which the difficulties now being encountered with the economy and in everyday life were used in schemes to satisfy personal interests, speculate, raise prices and earn income in an illegitimate and illegal manner.

The impact that the old income tax had with regard to guiding private businesses in developing their sector or trade in a manner that benefited the economy and standard of living and in encouraging collective operations and the establishment of relations with the state was very limited.

As regards the goods tax, only 17 non-commercial imported products were subject to taxation; as a result, the impact of this tax in managing non-commercial exports and imports in the form of presents and gifts exchanged between persons within the country and emigres overseas was negligible.

Another point deserving of attention is the fact that within the structure of the industrial and commercial tax code, there was no tax that was truly an effective economic measure that competently supported the various administrative measures for the purpose of establishing routine state inventory and control over all businesses in industry and commerce and the services provided by collectives and individuals.

Part II

Due to the above mentioned limitations of the industrial and commercial tax policy, the improvement of the tax policy was a necessary and pressing requirement.

On 26 February 1983, the Council of State promulgated the Law Revising Points in the Industrial and Commercial Tax Code. This is a tax law of economic and social significance, is a major policy of the party and state regarding industrial and commercial businesses in the new situation, one that will help to establish the new socialist order in distribution and circulation.

This law, which revises some of the regulations on industrial and commercial taxes, focuses mainly on the business tax, the business income tax and the goods tax and incorporates a new commercial license tax within the industrial and commercial tax code. The revisions made under this law also focus on the regulations concerning the business, income and goods tax tables. These revisions are designed to strengthen the impact of industrial and commercial taxes in a manner consistent with the requirement of building the national economy in the stage ahead, helping to stimulate the development of production and reorganizing and transforming collective and private production and business in industry and commerce.

The revisions and amendments to the industrial and commercial taxes are designed to insure that these taxes help guide the development of the sectors and trades in a manner that benefits the economy and the standard of living, restricts those sectors and trades that must be restricted in accordance with the requirement of reorganizing the national economy and, at the same time, helps to stimulate socialist transformation and the strengthening of the new production relations within industrial and commercial activities. The

revisions also attach importance to the role of taxes in generating revenues for the state in accordance with a positive national financial policy and accumulating capital from within the national economy. However, the main revisions that have been made are to adjust the contributions made by collective and private businesses in industry and commerce so that they are more fair and reasonable and appropriately regulate the income of businesses that have unreasonable incomes (high and very high) with a view toward redistributing national income in a reasonable manner that benefits the working class and laboring people.

In order to guide the development of the activities of private industry and commerce in accordance with the state plan, it is first of all necessary to place all private industrial and commercial activities under the management, inspection and control of the state by means of suitable measures. The commercial license tax that was recently amended to the industrial and commercial tax code is designed to achieve this objective.

This is a tax on all organizations and individuals that operate businesses on a regular basis or in individual shipments. The commercial license tax is assessed at the start of each calendar year; organizations and individuals that go into business during the first 6 months of the year pay the commercial license tax for the entire year; those that go into business during the final 6 months of the year pay 50 percent of the commercial license tax. Organizations and individuals in business that have paid the commercial license tax and moved to another locality or shift their businesses to another sector, trade or product must reregister and repay the commercial license tax as though they were starting a new business. The commercial license tax is only collected from businesses that have been issued business licenses. Coordinated with the registration of private businesses in industry and commerce, the commercial license tax is an economic measure that has the effect of establishing inspection and control over all collectives and individuals in industry and commerce.

The effect of industrial and commercial taxes in stimulating the development of private industry and commerce in a direction favorable to the economy and the standard of living is heightened through the revisions and amendments to the business tax and the business income tax.

The new business tax not only classifies the business sectors by type as the old tax did, but also differentiates among occupations, services and products in order to establish different tax rates. The support sector, which was previously placed in the same category as the food and beverage sector, is now a separate category and taxed at a lower rate than the food and beverage sector, which is consistent with the position and impact of this sector within society. Within each sector, a distinction is also made among the different occupations and products so that each is taxed differently; trades that are needed by the economy and needed to support the standard of living or serve the universal needs of the laboring masses are taxed at a lower rate under the business tax than are other trades and products.

The impact in stimulating the development of production and business in the correct direction is also heightened through the new revisions to the business

income tax; in particular, a surcharge of 10 percent is added to the income tax computed in accordance with the tax table if an installation is doing business in a sector, trade, product or service that must be restricted within each locality. As is the case with the business tax, the business income tax places sectors in one of three categories with three different tax rates; an income tax of 500 dong per month represents a tax rate of 12 percent for the production, building and transportation sectors, 16 percent for the support sector and 24 percent for the food and beverage sector within commerce.

The revisions and amendments to the Law on Industrial and Commercial Taxes are also designed to strengthen the role that these taxes play in stimulating socialist transformation and the strengthening of the new production relations within private industry and commerce. Collective organizations in industry and commerce are given preferential treatment over private businesses, both in terms of the commercial license tax and the business and income taxes. A private business that has an income in excess of 5,000 dong per month pays a commercial license tax of 5,000 dong per year. Cooperatives and cooperative teams that have an income of 50,000 dong per month or more only pay 5,000 dong per year in commercial license tax.

As regards the business income tax, production, building and transportation cooperatives and cooperative teams and those cooperatives and cooperative teams that do business within the support sector in accordance with the directed prices of the state and earn an income in excess of 3,000 dong per month are only required to pay taxes at the highest rate, not pay taxes at the highest rate plus a 5 to 20 percent surcharge as private businesses are required to do.

The preferential income tax rate for cooperatives is dependent upon the level of production relations: the income tax is reduced by 5 percent for production, building and transportation cooperatives that have reached a medium level of development and 10 percent for high level cooperatives.

The tax rate applied to private business in industry and commerce is dependent upon the degree of their economic relations with the state: private production installations that have economic relations with the state have their income tax obligation reduced by 5 to 10 percent.

The mobilization of contributions that are reasonable by private businesses in industry and commerce is accomplished through the adjustment of contribution requirements among the various sectors. Under the new tax rates, installations in the production, transportation and building sectors pay income taxes at a lower rate than previously. The support sector pays approximately the same or lower taxes. The businesses within the commerce sector and the food and beverage sector pay a higher income tax than previously. The 10 percent surcharge that is added to the highest tax rate on the table is applied to private businesses that have an income in excess of 3,000 dong per month and is an appropriate way to regulate high and unreasonable income in private industry and commerce and redistribute national income in a manner consistent with the interests of the state, the laboring people and all society. The special 100 percent tax rate, which is applied to income derived from speculation and price gouging, is a way whereby the state

can reclaim for society the illegally gained income of persons who take advantage of the common difficulties we face to further their own interests and live lives of luxury and extravagance.

Part III

Financial work, in general, and tax activities, in particular, are related to many strata of the people. The organizing of the implementation of industrial and commercial taxes under the economic conditions of our country, a country whose economy still consists of many segments and is advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, is, in essence, a part of the struggle between socialism and capitalism. This struggle is a sharp and complex struggle in every field of social life and is a long-range struggle filled with difficulties.

Giving everyone a correct understanding of the finance policy and the tax policy of the state so that they clearly realize their responsibility and obligation to contribute to state finances is the first factor in insuring the completion of the collection of industrial and commercial taxes in exact accordance with policy and laws.

In the present situation, generating revenues for the state is an extremely important task. The revision of the industrial and commercial tax policy is, in essence, the first step in bringing about a change in the finance policy in accordance with the guideline "quickly establishing a positive national finance policy, one suited to the present stage."

At present, the finances needed for the tasks of building and defending the fatherland must come primarily from generating revenues from within the national economy on the basis of displaying a high sense of self-reliance. Each person has an obligation to the fatherland and must exercise his right of collective ownership, be ready to fulfill his tax obligation and be ready to share the burden of the country in a fair and reasonable manner. At this time, fulfilling the obligation to pay industrial and commercial taxes in exact accordance with the policy and laws of the state is an expression of the sense of socialist awareness of each patriotic citizen, each citizen who loves socialism. We must correct the vague concept that exists concerning the struggle between socialism and capitalism, the lack of vigilance and the relaxation of the dictatorship of the proletariat among cadres and party members as well as within the state apparatus. It is necessary to struggle against every act of making false declarations, cheating on taxes, paying taxes late and evading the obligation to contribute to the state. Each of our cadres and party members must understand that, in the present stage of the revolution, closely coordinating socialist construction with socialist transformation and coordinating the teaching of ideology and the upholding of the right of collective ownership of the laboring people with the strengthening of the socialist system of law and the strong use of the measures of compulsion and dictatorship to insure that the line of the party and the laws of the state are scrupulously implemented are extremely necessary. V.I. Lenin once said: "Anyone who thinks that the shift from capitalism to socialism can be made without the need for compulsion and

dictatorship is being extremely stupid and showing himself to be an extremely absurd utopian."(1)

It is necessary to heighten the militant nature of ideological activities, deeply analyze and criticize the ideological manifestations of the small-scale producer, determinedly combat bourgeois thinking and correct the distorted, vague concepts and the misunderstandings of the class nature of tax activities. In particular, attention must be given to the fact that some cadres, party members and personnel within the state apparatus, within the mass organizations and within the armed forces have family ties to persons who are subject to the industrial and commercial tax or are themselves participating in industrial and commercial business activities. In such a complex situation, each person must arm himself with the important thinking expressed in the party's line on the socialist revolution and its line on building the socialist economy to insure a high degree of unanimity concerning the tax policy of the state. On this basis, everyone must actively support tax activities; everyone must voluntarily fulfill his obligation to pay taxes in exact accordance with the policy and laws; everyone must actively contribute to the struggle against tax evasion, tax cheating, profiteering and price gouging, beginning among relatives who are subject to taxes; everyone must resolutely expose activities that distort the tax policy and the psychological warfare arguments of the enemies of socialism.

The results of the struggle to scrupulously implement the tax policy of the state are determined by the leadership role of the party, the exemplary role of cadres and party members, the ownership role of the masses and the close coordination of state agencies and the various sectors and levels with the finance and tax sectors as well as the close coordination of the three different types of measures: economic, administrative and educational.

In the struggle to implement the tax policy of the party and state, the mass organizations play an important role. Their responsibility is to educate the masses, to help them clearly understand the tax policy of the party and state so that they actively participate in its implementation.

On the basis of realizing the important economic and political significance of the industrial and commercial taxes in the new situation, the various party committee echelons and local governments took positive steps to organize and guide the implementation of the Law of the Council of State on Industrial and Commercial Taxes as soon as this Law was announced. The effort to propagandize and disseminate the industrial and commercial tax policy and the new points within the policy so that they are thoroughly understood by the various strata of the people has been prompt and rather widespread. On the other hand, all localities have established tax affairs guidance committees and sent cadres to delve into an re-examine the situation surrounding the activities of business installations and investigate, research, classify and accurately determine the basis for computing taxes, business revenues and profit rates. During the final days of April in practically all areas of the country, especially in Hanoi, each business was informed of its tax liability based on the new tax tables and business taxes, income taxes and the commercial license tax in accordance with the plan.

The initial experiences of the places that have implemented this law well show that it is necessary to launch an intense movement of the masses to support tax work and actively cooperate with tax cadres in the struggle against tax evasion, false declarations and tax cheating. At those places where the masses have been widely mobilized, the masses have encouraged one another to pay their taxes and have struggled in a manner that conforms with both reason and sentiment with those businesses that have not correctly stated their business revenues; in many cases, the business revenues and income used as the base for computing taxes have been raised three to four times or more compared to the former declaration of revenues or income. This time, the declaration of income for tax purposes has been closely coordinated with the registration of businesses within the locality, the registration of product and service prices, the posting of prices and the use of posted prices as the base for the computation of taxes in accordance with the provisions of the new law. Cases in which goods have been decentralized or hidden, activities and income have been falsely declared or one excuse or another has been used as a reason to temporarily close stores have been promptly exposed and criticized and have been dealt with in a harsh manner.

These are only the initial results that have been achieved so far; the struggle continues to be a difficult and complex struggle and has assumed more subtle forms. The localities are analyzing these initial results, comparing them to the targets that have been set and gaining experience in order to put the payment of industrial and commercial taxes on a regular basis in accordance with the requirements of the assigned task. Many localities have adopted plans for strengthening the management of prices on the market, strictly enforcing the regulations on posting prices and selling products at posted prices and preventing and eliminating the practice of businesses looking for ways to raise the prices of their goods and services and place upon consumers the taxes that they are obliged to pay in a vain attempt to reclaim for themselves in the form of income all taxes they have paid. This struggle is continuing; it must be waged in a steadfast, routine and continuous manner, as this is the only way that the impact of the industrial and commercial taxes can be increased, thereby helping to stabilize the standard of living of the people and restore order on the market and on the distribution-circulation front in keeping with the requirements of the tasks of the revolution in the present stage.

We must promptly encourage persons who earn their livings in a legitimate manner to pay their full taxes and must harshly criticize and appropriately deal with persons who earn their livings illegally and evade or cheat on their taxes; dishonest merchants, profiteers, smugglers and those who disrupt the market must be punished. The system of tax collection organizations must be strengthened and consolidated in a timely fashion; tax cadres must display a high spirit of responsibility, be thorough, display high revolutionary virtues, be honest, pure and devoted and not become corrupt, accept bribes or intimidate the masses.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 237.

CREATING CULTURAL LIFE ON THE BASIC LEVEL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 83 pp 42-46

[Article by Nguyen Van Hieu]

[Text] Endeavoring to constantly improve the material life and the cultural life of the people is always the strategic objective of our party. From the Thesis on Culture of the party in 1943 to the program to create the New Life that was launched by President Ho Chi Minh immediately after our country declared its independence and throughout the various stages of the savage war as well as in the period in which the entire country is advancing to socialism, our party has never given light attention to any aspect of life and has never only given its attention to material needs but not to the cultural needs of the people. This is because the life of our people, of our society, of each one of us is the embodiment of both material and spiritual activities. This is because "the socialist revolution in our country is a process of comprehensive, continuous, profound and thorough revolutionary change. It is the process...of building a new economic base as well as a new superstructure and creating a new material life as well as a new spiritual and cultural life."(1) It was in this spirit that the resolution of the 5th Party Congress pointed out: "One task of the ideological and cultural revolution is to bring culture into the daily lives of the people. Special importance must be attached to creating cultural life on the basic level, to insuring that each factory, worksite, state farm and forestry site as well as every unit of the armed forces and the people's public security force, every agency, school, hospital and store, every village and every cooperative, subward and hamlet has a cultural life."(2)

I. Creating Cultural Life on the Basic Level Is an Important Task, One That Conforms with Laws and Is of Pressing Importance in Several Respects

Why does our party say that "special importance must be attached to creating cultural life on the basic level"?

Everyone knows that the installation is the "final unit" of the system of social organizations and that each locality, each sector and the entire country can only be strong when the installations are strong and develop uniformly. We say that our system is the system of socialist collective ownership. Every citizen must exercise his right to be the collective master

in every respect, politically, economically, culturally and socially, at installations, within the locality and throughout the country, but primarily and most specifically at installations. Here, we are talking about the right to be the collective masters of the culture. Every citizen of our country lives, works, produces, studies, fights and so forth at least at a few installations. If each installation provides a wholesome and beautiful cultural life, every citizen of every age group, occupation and nationality in each and every area of our country can enjoy and participate in cultural creativity. In this way, the socialist culture is brought to each and every person and cultural equality is established among the various strata of the people, between men and women, among nationalities and among the localities of the entire country.

Of course, the creation of cultural life at installations cannot and must not be restricted merely to the scope of ideology and culture, but must be accomplished within the dialectical relationship among the three revolutions that are being simultaneously carried out: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. Man is the most important production force. The molding of the new, socialist man is, at the same time, the strengthening of production forces. And, the purpose of creating cultural life is to create the beautiful products of the new man, of the fully developed man who is well balanced in terms of intellect, ethics, physical conditioning, aesthetics, thoughts, feelings, work skills, etc. The cultural life at installations also has a reciprocal, positive impact upon the other activities conducted in socialist construction. Facts have proven this. At those installations that have given their attention to the cultural life of each person, the emulation movements to study culture, develop physical fitness, provide health care, build the new life, develop the literature and art of the masses, read books and newspapers, listen to news on the radio, teach tradition, set examples of good persons and good work and so forth have competently contributed to the effort to raise labor productivity, raise combat efficiency, properly comply with the lines and policies of the party and state, maintain order and security and thwart negative phenomena. Conversely, at those installations at which cultural life is allowed to "drift" and is, as a result, poor and underdeveloped, the remnants of the old lifestyle and the poisons of the neo-colonialist culture arise again, exert an adverse influence and impede and undermine the material and spiritual lives of the people. When revolutionary culture, socialist culture is not in the dominant position, the reactionary, bourgeois culture intrudes and causes harm. There is nothing unusual about this.

Therefore, the purpose of creating cultural life on the basic level is not only to give material form to the right of the laboring people of our country to be the collective masters of the culture, but also to help create the combined results of the three revolutions, bring the achievements of socialism to the basic level and gradually mold new persons and create the new culture in concrete and living form at each installation, thereby helping to further enrich the socialist culture of the entire country.

Creating cultural life at installations is not only an important task that conforms with the laws of socialism, it is also a matter of pressing significance. This is because the cultural life at installations is, generally speaking, still poor and the level of cultural enjoyment varies very widely among the different nationalities and population areas, with many installations only organizing "spring and fall festivals" and then conducting a few cultural activities in an unscheduled, form for form's sake manner. There are some mountain villages in which a movie or an artistic performance has not been seen in several years. At some places, there is even an acute sparsity of books, newspapers and loudspeakers that bring the voice of the revolution, of the party, to the people, which has created empty spaces that have been filled by old customs, backward practices, superstition and the psychological warfare of the enemy.

II. What Is Involved in Creating Cultural Life on the Basic Level?

Our cultural life on the basic level must be a wholesome and beautiful socialist cultural life. It is both an objective and a moving force behind the socialist revolution at installations. As a result, the creation of cultural life at installations must be carried out under clear guidelines that comply with the spirit and content of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress and the resolutions of the Party Central Committee in order to closely link ideological and cultural work to the political task of the installation; improve the quality of cultural activities, with importance attached to their ideological nature and the effectiveness of the support they provide; avoid the tendency to place heavy emphasis upon numbers and employ forms of culture that are ostentatious in nature; gradually bring the level of cultural enjoyment of the people in the different areas of our country closer together; take determined steps to remove the reactionary, decadent culture and negative phenomena from our cultural life; endeavor to develop progressive cultural units within each province, municipality, ward and district; and attach particular importance to the areas in which former revolutionary bases exist, ethnic minority areas, border areas and the islands.

Creating cultural life at installations means creating for it a reasonable structure consisting of regular activities, a good apparatus and the various cultural systems. These three elements are closely interrelated and affect one another.

Without the necessary cultural systems, material bases and technical means, such as libraries or reading rooms, museums, the wired radio network and so forth it is difficult to expand and increase the effectiveness of cultural activities. However, if we only concern ourselves with building large museums and beautiful stage settings but do not have a solid apparatus and do not conduct intense, effective cultural activities, there can be no cultural life at installations and the various cultural systems have no effect. Under our present economic conditions, it is necessary to make full use of existing installations, such as conference halls, drying yards and so forth, coordinate athletic fields with outdoor movie theaters, and improve that which is old; new construction must be carefully considered and carried out in accordance with unified planning and under the guideline "the state and the people working together."

It is necessary to establish a strong and solid cultural apparatus on the basic level to serve as the competent staff of the party committee echelon and government in the formulation of plans for the creation of cultural life and in organizing and guiding implementation. We must build and strengthen both the specialized corps and the semi-professional corps of persons who work in the field of culture as well as the corps of non-professional persons in the fields of culture, education, public health, physical culture, sports and so forth. At present, hardly any installations have a cadre who specializes in cultural work in the way that other cadres specialize in public health and education, rather, they only have semi-professional cadres or cadres that also perform other functions; this is an unreasonable situation, especially at installations that are large in scope and densely populated, such as villages, subwards, worksites, state farms and so forth.

When talking about cultural life on the basic level, it is first of all necessary to talk about cultural activities, about the cultural movements of the masses on the basic level. It is these activities, these cultural movements that constitute the basic and truly vibrant fiber of cultural life at installations.

Cultural activities are of very many different types: education and the enhancement of knowledge; motivational information; the reading of books and newspapers; the development of physical fitness; health care and the maintenance of a clean environment; the building of the new lifestyle; viewing films and artistic performances, mass literature and art; the teaching of traditions; the teaching of aesthetics, etc. Each installation need not simultaneously conduct all of these activities. Under present conditions, the majority of our attention should be given to establishing the new lifestyle, because this activity is of pressing importance and can be carried out at each installation. The resolution of the 5th Party Congress pointed out: "In the present stage, both objective and subjective conditions permit us to begin to create a society that is beautiful in terms of its lifestyle, in terms of the relations between one person and another, a society within which the laboring people feel happy even though their standard of living is not high.

If the cultural activities mentioned above are developed into broad mass movements, such as the "two goods" emulation movement in education, the disease prevention movement, the "five thorough" movement in public health and so forth, the cultural life of the people at installations is further improved and more competently supports the effort to build installations that are strong and solid in every respect.

III. The Methods and Measures for Creating Cultural Life on the Basic Level

Cultural life on the basic level must, of course, be created in a manner consistent with the specific characteristics and conditions of each installation. This work is performed first and primarily by the masses under the leadership of the various party committee echelons and under the management and organization of the basic level government, that is, the installation itself takes the initiative in performing this work without relying upon or waiting for the upper level, even though the central level, the province, the municipality, the ward and the district have responsibilities to the basic level.

The creation of cultural life at installations requires correct and specific planning and plans. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct investigations, conduct research, assess the situation and the potentials for cultural development at the installation and determine who it is that will enjoy and create cultural values. For this reason, the cultural sector has the policy of delving deeply into each area and each different field: the cities, the countryside, the lowlands, the mountains, industry, agriculture and so forth. The investigations that were recently conducted in some areas show: very few localities and installations have fully assessed the state of development of their cultural life, consequently, there are, generally speaking, no true plans for creating cultural life at installations.

Creating cultural life at installations is something brand new to us, something that must begin with pilot projects. In the immediate future, every locality and every concerned sector should concentrate on guiding the development of a few key installations, gain experience and develop universal models as well as models of each type installation in order to eventually widely initiate the creation of cultural life at the installations under its management.

Because the geographical characteristics, demographic characteristics, cultural traditions and so forth of installations differ, the mode of cultural activities must be flexible and consistent with each type installation in each area. For example, for the installations in the Mekong Delta with its many canals, a suitable and effective form of cultural activity is "cultural launches": boats that carry motivational information, "book" boats, mobile libraries and so forth. In some sparsely populated highland areas along the northern border, the use of outdoor markets as cultural centers is highly efficient and effective. Also because the state of development of cultural life and the specific conditions of installations differ, the steps that are taken to create cultural life at installations cannot be identical. In the northern border areas, motivational information can be the leading form of cultural activity but, at other installations, these activities can begin to build movements by means of establishing the new lifestyle, by means of teaching tradition, by means of mass literature and art, etc.

Every cultural activity (such as club activities) and every cultural movement (such as the movement to establish the new lifestyle) as well as the entirety of cultural life at installations cannot achieve good results if we do not make well coordinated use of economic, administrative, organizational, educational, ideological and cultural measures and the close collaboration of the sectors and mass organizations on the basic level.

To support the creation of cultural life on the basic level, the agencies of the state must make an effort to overcome their difficulties and provide many suitable, high quality cultural and art products to installations; the professional cultural and literary-art forces must develop their role as the nucleus of the cultural and literary-art movement at installations; all responsible sectors and levels must regularly send cadres down to installations to effectively support installations in keeping with their function.

The direct guidance of installations by the district level is extremely important. Therefore, we must improve the cultural work performed on the district level, in everything from the building and strengthening of the professional cultural agencies and the agencies that produce or do business in cultural products, building the corps of management cadres and professional cadres, building the various cultural systems and building material bases for culture and the cultural networks to the methods of guidance and management, the organizing of advanced training and professional guidance, the distribution and delivery of cultural products to installations, etc.

Creating cultural life on the basic level is the undertaking of our entire party and all our people, is the common responsibility of all sectors, beginning with the cultural sector, the educational sector, the literary sector, the public health sector, the physical education and sports sector, the mass media and so forth. Within the scope of its responsibility, the cultural sector must try to perform good work in the areas of mass literature and art, motivational information, the establishment of the new lifestyle, the reading of books and newspapers, listening to news and the radio, viewing films, attending art performances and so forth as well as the teaching of tradition.

Under the leadership of the party, with the close collaboration of the sectors, mass organizations and localities and through the great efforts of the installations themselves, the creation of cultural life in our country will surely undergo a strong change and develop well, thereby meeting the requirements set forth in the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum: "We must endeavor to establish a cultural organization and cultural activities in all basic units in the countryside and the cities by 1985."

FOOTNOTES

1. The Resolution of the 4th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 18.
2. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 101.

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COMPLETING THE REDISTRIBUTION OF CROPLAND AND ACCELERATING THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF AGRICULTURE IN THE PROVINCES OF NAM BO

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 83 pp 47-52

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Over the past several years, the socialist transformation of agriculture in the provinces of Nam Bo has recorded noteworthy results: in the redistribution of cropland among farmers, 271,785 hectares of cropland have been distributed to farmers who had no cropland or lacked cropland; farmers have been gradually brought into collective production through the establishment of 8,528 production collectives and 186 cooperatives (accounting for 15.5 percent of farm families and 11.5 percent of cropland) and the establishment of 24,662 production solidarity teams. Agricultural production has begun to be reorganized, material-technical bases have been strengthened, agricultural output has increased and the living conditions of the people have been constantly improved.

The initial results have brought to farmers a feeling of excitement, of confidence in the new system. Over the past several years, facts in the provinces of Nam Bo have proven that in order to advance to socialism, it is essential to transform the production relations within agriculture, abolish every form of colonialist, feudal and bourgeois exploitation and bring farmers socialist collective production.

Besides the results that have been achieved, there are still some shortcomings in the socialist transformation of agriculture within the provinces of Nam Bo. To begin with, the redistribution of cropland is being carried out slowly and less than thoroughly, thereby posing more than a few obstacles to the effort to mobilize farmers to join cooperatives. In some rural areas, exploitation is still very serious. Deserving of attention is the fact that some new exploiters have emerged (including even some cadres and party members who have abused their authority to appropriate cropland, hire manpower, make high interest loans and so forth) but have not been promptly stopped or dealt with in an appropriate manner. The socialist transformation of agriculture is being carried out slowly; transformation is not closely linked to building nor is the transformation of agriculture closely linked to the transformation of commerce; class antagonisms continue to occur; and urban bourgeoisie have coordinated with bourgeoisie in the countryside to control the majority of money, supplies and goods. In addition, the multifaceted sabotage being

conducted by the imperialists and the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists has made the difficult and complex class struggle even more difficult and complex.

The cause of these shortcomings and weaknesses lies in the low level of socialist awareness of cadres and party members. The teaching of politics and ideology and the teaching of the socialist revolutionary stand both within the party and among the masses have not been carried out in a thorough and routine manner, consequently, some cadres and party members are not suited to the requirements of the new situation and tasks and the will of many persons to engage in revolutionary struggle has become paralyzed. In many cases, cadres have only a vague understanding and do not realize the complex nature of the struggle between socialism and capitalism during the period of transition to socialism; a number of other cadres, because their party stand is not strong, because they are controlled by impure relations, by unwholesome motives, have hesitated, wavered, lacked resolve and even impeded the effort to abolish the various forms of exploitation and impeded the agricultural cooperativization movement.

The resolution of the 5th Party Congress set forth the task: "Continuing to accelerate agricultural cooperativization in the provinces of Nam Bo and gradually developing the impact of cooperativization in the advance by agriculture to large-scale socialist production and in the building of the new countryside."(1)

To develop upon our strongpoints and, at the same time, correct that which is not good and advance the socialist transformation of agriculture in Nam Bo to the point where it meets the requirements of socialist construction throughout the country, we must firmly adhere to the major thinking and viewpoints of the party concerning the socialist transformation of agriculture within the provinces of Nam Bo.

The agriculture found in the provinces of Nam Bo is a commodity production agriculture that is closely linked to industry and to the market, was once monopolized by the compradore bourgeoisie and which, even today, is still controlled to some degree by bourgeois elements within commerce in the cities. Therefore, agricultural transformation must be closely linked to the transformation of industry and commerce and the transformation of the rural market and agriculture must be closely coordinated with industry.

The socialist transformation of agriculture involves a class struggle between laborers and the exploiting classes, the struggle between the two ways of life during the period of transition. The main targets of this struggle are the bourgeoisie in the countryside and wealthy farmers. Our solid base in this struggle is the solidarity of the laboring people under the leadership of the party. As regards middle farmers, in general, we must adopt the correct policy and encourage them to participate in collective production. The most suitable, initial form of cooperativization for gaining the participation of middle farmers is small-scale, low level cooperatives--that is, they continue to be paid income for their cropland (production collectives).

On the basis of thoroughly comprehending the thinking presented above, the various levels and sectors must focus their efforts on properly preparing for and carrying out the task of accelerating agricultural transformation in Nam

Bo. To begin with, they must fully complete the redistribution of cropland. The cropland issue is a fundamental issue to farmers, consequently, confiscating the cropland of landowners, reactionary traitors and so forth and distributing it to farmers as well as redistributing cropland among farmers for the purpose of abolishing the colonial and feudal styles of exploitation at their very origin and laying the foundation for agricultural cooperativization are very important matters that cannot be postponed. Therefore, we must "continue to redistribute cropland to insure that each laboring farmer has cropland; at those places where transformation has not been carried out, we must immediately redistribute cropland and lay the foundation for cooperativization."(2)

To implement the policy of fully completing the redistribution of cropland, we must thoroughly understand and creatively apply the class line of the party in the countryside. We must urgently conduct investigations of the bourgeoisie, the wealthy farmers and the landowners who still own cropland and exploit farmers, explain the policy of the party and state to them and encourage them to give cropland to others; if they do not fully comply, we must purchase cropland from them on a confiscatory basis and allow them to keep only that amount of land that they can work on the basis of their own labor, only enough to provide them with a living. We must adopt a resolute attitude and take positive measures regarding this stratum of exploiters and must comply with the teaching of Lenin: "In all activities conducted in the countryside, communist party members must pay full attention to the struggle against this social stratum, pay attention to removing the vast majority of the laborers and exploited persons among the rural population from the ideological and political influence of these exploiters, etc."(3) Only in this way is it possible to abolish at their roots the various forms of colonial and feudal exploitation and insure that cropland is given to laborers.

As regards middle farmers, we must adopt a flexible attitude when educating and persuading the upper stratum of middle farmers to give up that portion of their cropland that cannot be worked by the labor of their families. Middle farmers belong to the stratum above laborers, consequently, persuading them to give up some of their cropland is part of the effort to redistribute cropland among farmers.

In addition to the cropland of the social strata mentioned above, there are also types of land in the rural areas of Nam Bo that are being used by agencies or cadres. In principle, these lands must be distributed to farmers. However, due to the need to achieve self-sufficiency in grain production, some of this cropland can, depending upon the specific situation of each locality, continue to be used by agencies and units or the subsidiary household economy of cadres; the remaining portions of these lands will be distributed among farmers who lack or have no cropland. The purpose of allowing agencies and units or individual cadres, manual workers and civil servants to retain some land for production is to make full use of the labor of collectives and individuals, not to enable agencies, units or cadres to lease land and collect payments, hire manpower and so forth and engage in colonialist or feudal styles of exploitation. The speed with which the cooperativization movement advances depends primarily upon how the cropland issue is resolved. As a result, all levels and sectors must adopt plans for completing the redistribution of cropland in 1983.

The socialist transformation of agriculture and the redistribution of cropland in the provinces of Nam Bo are two closely related matters. The successful redistribution of cropland is a step in the returning of cropland to those who till the soil, abolishing the remnants of colonial and feudal exploitation and creating the fundamental premises for agricultural cooperativization. Bringing farmers to the path of earning their livings collectively develops upon the positive nature of the redistribution of cropland, forever abolishes the origins of exploitation and eliminates the spontaneous capitalist nature of private, small-scale production. Giving cropland back to farmers and bringing farmers to the path of earning their livings collectively are an objective necessity in the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. The important thing is that we must successfully establish forms of organization and stages of development that are both consistent with the long-range development of cooperativized agriculture and attractive to farmers.

Party Secretariat directive number 19/CT-TU stated: on the basis of redistributing cropland and establishing direct economic relations between the state and farmers we must widely assemble farm families within production solidarity teams in each hamlet under the leadership of the hamlet production committee and the Association of Farmers. In the years ahead, the production solidarity team must be widely used as the form of organization of farmers in the various fields of production and business. Through the activities of the production solidarity teams, we must teach farmers about socialism, cause them to love labor and hate exploiters and parasites, heighten their revolutionary awareness and combat the economic sabotage and disruption of order by the enemy. This is a phase of practice for farmers so that they can advance down the path of earning their livings collectively.

Together with strongly and widely developing production solidarity teams, we must accelerate the establishment of credit cooperatives and marketing cooperatives, which are economic organizations that farmers readily accept because they are consistent with their initial level and provide them with practical benefits. V.I. Lenin: "Every social system is only born with the financial assistance of a particular class."(4) Credit cooperatives and market cooperatives, which are the links between the state and farmers in the granting of loans and the marketing of products, support the daily lives of the people and, at the same time, actively participate in the struggle against exploitation, high interest loans, profiteering, smuggling and the disruption of the market, thereby creating the conditions for the establishment of production collectives and cooperatives. On the basis of organizing production solidarity teams well, credit cooperatives and market cooperatives further strengthen existing production collectives and cooperatives and lead to the establishment of new ones at places where the necessary conditions exist.

Production collectives and agricultural production cooperatives are socialist collective economic organizations in which laboring farmers participate on a voluntary basis under the leadership of the party and with the assistance of the state. Establishing production collectives (low level cooperatives) and advancing to the establishment of agricultural production cooperatives are objective requirements in the socialist transformation of agriculture. The speed with which this process occurs depends upon the level of development of production forces and the quality of the management organization. Of

is the need to struggle to "correct the tendency toward hesitating, wavering and not taking positive actions in guiding the cooperativization movement and, at the same time, avoid acting in an impetuous manner, doing everything in a rush and acting in a manner that is all form but not substance."(5)

In order to further strengthen existing production collectives and cooperatives and establish new production collectives at places that have the necessary conditions, we must first intensify the inspection of the collectivization of cropland and the other instruments of production within the production collectives for the purpose of strengthening and improving the system of socialist collective ownership. This is an important milestone in differentiating between socialism and capitalism.

The superior nature of a production collective lies in the effective utilization of collectivized instruments of production and labor for the purpose of achieving a higher labor productivity and a larger output of products than are achieved in private production. To accomplish this, production collectives must establish correct production guidelines, expand their businesses, develop the trade sector, build material-technical bases, apply technological advances, accelerate the practice of intensive cultivation, strengthen their management and improve the use of product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers.

As we strengthen the production collectives, we must also strengthen the tractor collectives and cooperative teams. Incentive must be provided for the development of various forms of joint businesses and economic association among production collectives and joint businesses among production collectives, solidarity teams and tractor teams in the fields of production, processing, circulation, the building of material-technical bases and so forth.

Once the existing production collectives have been strengthened well, we must expand and develop production collectives at places that have the necessary conditions.

To achieve success in the socialist transformation of agriculture in the rural areas of Nam Bo, it is necessary to bring about profound changes in organizational work and cadre work, further strengthen the leadership provided by the various party committee echelons, increase the management effectiveness of the various levels of government and launch an intense emulation movement among the mass of farmers.

Positive steps must be taken to build the corps of collective economic management cadres, especially at installations and on the district level. We must select cadres from among active and progressive farmers within the mass movement for training. One matter of importance is the need to adopt a training program and plan that are suited to each type cadre in order to achieve practical results and rapidly develop a well coordinated corps of cadres, thereby promptly meeting the requirements of developing the agricultural cooperativization movement.

In order for districts to be fully capable of guiding the cooperativization movement, it is necessary to strengthen the district level and successfully

establish a system of economic-technical organizations and a distribution-circulation system based on the economic structure of the district in order to assist the cooperativization movement, develop production, establish direct economic relations with farmers and effectively struggle against private merchants. To begin with, we must again strengthen the district people's committees and attach importance to assigning additional cadres who possess good qualities and virtues and above average skills in organization, management and their specialized profession to insure that the districts have a large corps of cadres who are fully capable of managing the economy, providing administrative management and carrying out the transformation of agriculture well.

The socialist transformation of agriculture is an extremely difficult and complex matter which demands that we further strengthen the leadership provided by the party and state. We must build strong and solid party organizations that effectively lead agricultural transformation within the province, the district and the installation. Agricultural transformation in Nam Bo must be established as the central, constant task of the local party committee echelons and must be under the constant guidance of the Secretariat and the Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers. The various party committee echelons must adopt detailed plans for strengthening the party organization, the government and the mass organizations on the basic level, intensifying the teaching of politics and ideology and raising the sense of organization and discipline of cadres and party members in the implementation of party directives and resolutions.

Through the cooperativization movement, we must re-examine the ranks of party members, resolutely expel from the party elements that have degenerated or become deviant and not fully complied with the line of the party and accept into the party outstanding persons who emerge within the agricultural cooperativization movement.

In order for the agricultural cooperativization movement in the provinces of Nam Bo to move steadily forward, the active participation of the various levels, departments, sectors and mass organizations is required. Each sector should, depending upon its task and function, adopt a plan for supporting agricultural transformation in a practical and effective manner.

All levels and sectors must more closely inspect and supervise the implementation of policies, such as the tax policy, the procurement and price policies, the policy that provides incentive for agricultural production in the countryside and so forth; at the same time, they should research and propose to the party and state necessary amendments and revisions to current policies or propose the promulgation of new, suitable policies designed to stimulate the advance of the cooperativization movement.

The socialist transformation of agriculture in Nam Bo is the common undertaking of the class of farmers, the working class and the people of the entire country. In the coming period, it requires stronger leadership in every area by the various party committee echelons, close guidance from the various levels and sectors and assistance in many areas from the state.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 66.
2. Ibid.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, p 696.
4. Ibid., p 806.
5. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 66.

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THE HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 83 pp 53-57

[Article by Truong Son]

[Text] I. The Necessary Existence of the Household Economy

The family is not only a social organization, it is also an economic organization, a producing and consuming unit, a form of division of labor. The household economy, which is closely associated with families, emerges, exists and develops together with the emergence, existence and development of families.

As society develops, the national economy develops and the household economy also develops, becoming increasingly diverse and abundant in both content and form. There is a reciprocal relationship between the household economy and the national economy. A major portion of national income is consumed within the household economy to replenish the energy expended in production. Within the household economy, means are accumulated in order to be shifted to the national economy.

When production is still natural, subsistence production and in small-scale commodity production, the household economy first manifests itself as a production unit (with the full economic value of a production unit), not merely as a consuming unit. In countries that have developed economies, the production activities of the household economy are not decisive in nature and are sometimes called the "subsidiary" household economy because the income from the household economy (which accounts for 30 to 40 percent of total income) is usually less than the income earned from the national economy. Or, when we sometimes call this economy the "subsidiary" personal economy it is because it only constitutes a small economic segment based on the labor of the individual and is only a supplemental source of income to the laborer; the main segment of the economy is based on collective labor and is the laborer's main source of income.

Under socialism, the household economy is not a "private" or "personal" economic segment, rather, it is a part of the socio-economic system. The socialist economy consists of three segments: the state-operated economy, the

collective economy and the household economy. As a result, "the household economy is a part of the socialist economy"(The Scientific Encyclopedia of the Soviet Union).

Under socialism, the household economy is socialist in nature. Within socialist agriculture, the state-operated agricultural economy (state farms) and the collective agricultural economy (farms or cooperatives) play the dominant role, with the household economy fulfilling the function of supplementing, to a rather large degree, the production of fresh vegetables, fruit, meat, eggs, milk and many other food products (which the state-operated and collective agricultural economies do not yet produce in sufficient quantities) for supply to the families themselves and to society.

In the Soviet Union, the household economy presently supplies to the people 26 percent of their grapes, 29 percent of their wool, 29 percent of their honey, 50 percent of their potatoes and so forth. Generally speaking, the household economy in the Soviet Union accounts for 25 to 27 percent of agricultural output and 30 percent of the gross income of state farm families. In Hungary, the household economy supplies 25 percent of beef and mutton, more than 50 percent of pork, 40 percent of milk, more than 60 percent of eggs, about 40 percent of grapes and other fruits, 40 percent of green vegetables and so forth. A similar situation exists in a number of other countries.

In our country, the household economy is now supplying more than 90 percent of vegetables, fruit, meat, eggs and fish, 30 to 40 percent of grain and a portion of the consumer goods for society. The household economy, therefore, provides 50 to 60 percent of the income of agricultural cooperative members and 10 to 20 percent of the income of many families of manual workers and civil servants. In the countryside, a garden that measures only 1 sao annually produces agricultural products worth several tens of thousands of dong and a small pond annually yields a fish output worth thousands of dong. The income from fruit orchards and medicinal plants of economic value is also very high. Generally speaking, the harvests of the garden economy are four to five times higher than the harvests from the same amount of land used to raise rice. Many farm families harvest from their 5 percent plots an amount equal to 60 to 70 percent of the products distributed to them by their collective. The family of a manual worker or civil servant that only raises chickens or hogs annually earns a few hundred dong or more in additional income.

The development of the household economy in the manner mentioned above is a highly effective way to develop the potentials that lie in arable land and labor in order to produce much more wealth for society, increase the income of cooperative member families and save investment capital of the state and the collective. Moreover, developing the household economy is also a pressing requirement of each household and each person. In the countryside, the activities of the household economy effectively supplement the daily meals of farmers and provide money for the purchase of implements, for construction, for travel and for the education of the family and its children. In the cities, in view of present wage levels, every family sees a need for an additional job (such as making ready-made clothing under contract, weaving export goods, making gunnysacks or raising livestock and so forth) in order to have enough income to live an honest life.

Every action and thought that gives light attention to and attempts to restrict the development of the household economy is contrary to the necessary existence of the household economy under socialism.

II. An Appropriate Structure for the Household Economy

In the countryside, the structure of the household economy consists of planting trees, raising fish, raising livestock and poultry and working in the handicraft trades. Planting trees occupies a key position within the garden economy because it provides a major source of income to families and also helps to protect the environment and maintain the ecological balance. If, in the next 10 years, each rural family plants 100 trees, the country will have 1 billion more trees, the equivalent of 500,000 hectares of forest. We should establish a suitable allocation of tree species in order to make full use of the surface of the land and the space above it. Planting methods should coordinate agricultural and forestry crops, encompass fruit crops, industrial crops, timber bearing trees and trees raised for firewood and involve the companion cropping of long-term and short-term crops in order to harvest many different types of products throughout the year. If every household garden is used to raise a "patch of medicinal plants" for the family, we will rapidly achieve the goal of planting and using medicinal herbs on the scale of villages and districts and will have enough medicine to prevent and treat common illnesses within the locality.

Households which have commercial ponds which are multi-purpose ponds used to raise fish in the water, raise duckweed on the water's surface, raise taro around the pond (at the water's edge), plant fruit trees on the bank of the pond, plant melons to climb on arbors above the pond and so forth produce many products and realize a large income from them, just as our forefathers said: "It is better to have a meter of pond than a sao of land" and "Better to have a commercial pond than a garden."

Facts have shown that hog herds in many localities have been maintained and developed primarily as a result of household livestock production. The development of household livestock production is not only an important guideline of the household economy, it is also a positive way to help establish a balance between livestock production and crop production. Every family should try to raise 2 or 3 hogs, a few dozen chickens and, if possible, buffalo, cattle, goats, rabbits, bees and so forth.

In those areas in which handicraft trades have developed, the income from these trades can account for roughly one-third of the total income of the household economy. Therefore, every family should also look for ways to practice a handicraft trade. The most common trades that families can practice are the preprocessing or processing of agricultural products and pharmaceutical materials, the production of ordinary consumer goods and the production of handicraft exports goods.

In the mountains, the household economy can consist of "forest gardens," which are gardens in which special product trees are raised in order to develop the potentials of the forests; the raising of buffalo, cattle, horses, goats and bees; the restoration, development and improvement of the spinning trade, the

weaving of cloth and the weaving of brocade cloth; and the harvesting and processing of forestry products and special forestry products.

In the cities, the household economy is primarily an industrial economy consisting mainly of small industry and the handicraft trades. Families can accept contracts for the production of parts or semi-finished products for cooperatives and enterprises and can also organize the complete production of simple products that involve few stages of work. The industrial sectors, such as the textile sector, the ready-made clothing sector, the metal consumer goods sector, the plastics processing sector, the sectors producing export goods, the art product handicraft trades, the sector producing gunnysacks and so forth, have many types of products that can be very conveniently let out on contracts to families. Industrial production within households is not only a necessary form of organization in countries such as ours in which small-scale production still exists, but it is also widely used in the advanced industrial countries because it is economical, makes full use of labor, reduces the investment that need be made by the state and economizes on factory space while still resulting in the production of high quality products. Developing industry through the "two level structure" (the enterprise and contracts for families) is also an important way to achieve rapid and economical development of the economy in a number of countries.

In addition, in cities that have many gardens, such as Ho Chi Minh City, Da Lat, Hue and so forth, it is also possible to develop the garden economy, primarily by planting fruit trees.

At present, some families of workers and civil servants in the cities are raising hogs to increase their incomes. For the foreseeable future, because very many difficulties are being encountered in everyday life and because the wage policy has not been improved, we should not restrict this raising of hogs; over the long range, however, we should not develop this hog production because it causes much harm and adversely affects environmental sanitation in the cities.

The household economy encompasses both production and consumption, with consumption constituting the major portion of this economy, because each household consumes products and the majority of the goods produced by families are consumed by them as well. Therefore, when talking about the household economy, we must also discuss the practice of economy. Economization is not only a national policy, it is also a requirement of each family. Within the household economy, the practice of economy can be broken down into three areas: first, practicing planned parenthood (each family should have only 1 or 2 children) will save much for the family and society. Secondly, it is necessary to save electricity, save water and carefully maintain and promptly repair houses and household items to insure that they can be used for a long time. Thirdly, it is necessary to save money and make expenditures in a planned manner with a view toward organizing family life well under the conditions of a standard of living that is still low and maintaining a civilized lifestyle.

III. Encouraging and Assisting the Development of the Household Economy

The household economy, as mentioned above, is very important. In particular, in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country, it assumes even greater importance because small-scale production is still widespread and the conditions needed to develop the state-operated economy and the collective economy are still limited. At present, all socialist countries consider the development of the household economy to be an important part of their strategy for socio-economic development. The 5th Congress of our party pointed out: "We must encourage, guide and assist the household economy and insure that it is truly an integral part of the socialist economy."⁽¹⁾ To implement this resolution, it is necessary, under the strategy for socio-economic development in the years ahead, to wholeheartedly encourage the development of the household economy together with the development of the state-operated economy and the collective economy.

We should not be afraid that the development of the household economy will infringe upon the collective economy. To the contrary, encouraging the household economy to develop in the correct direction will effectively supplement the collective economy and cause everyone to participate in the collective economy with peace of mind and feel closely associated with it. The problem is that we must know how to smoothly combine the household economy with the collective economy and the state-operated economy. For example, in the implementation of the new contract system within crop production, the cooperative manages and insures the successful completion of the jobs undertaken by the collective and creates the conditions for cooperative members to successfully perform those jobs that are covered by their final product contracts. In livestock production contracts, the cooperative handled breeding, provides veterinary services and processes an important portion of the feed supplied to families that have accepted contracts to raise meat hogs for the collective. Families can also accept contracts to clear wilderness, accept contracts to plant and repair forests and so forth. In industrial production, enterprises and cooperatives can contract with families to produce parts or semi-finished products that are then assembled into finished products.

In rural planning (which includes the outskirts of cities) in the immediate future as well as over the long range, an appropriate amount of land must be set aside as a garden for each family in order to develop the household economy. At state farms, a policy must be implemented whereby land is temporarily allocated to cadres and manual workers to build houses and establish gardens. In the mountains, the assignment of land and forests must be coordinated with the development of the household economy. At the same time, we must guide families in planning, improving and establishing gardens in accordance with specifications and in a manner that is highly efficient and beautifies the family's scenery.

The state, enterprises and cooperatives must adopt policies for assisting the development of the household economy, such as granting loans, supplying breeding stock and livestock feed, supplying necessary materials and production tools and providing technical guidance. The responsible agencies must work closely with research facilities to develop models of the household

economy and models of economic association among the household economy, the collective economy and the state-operated economy, models which insure that these three components are smoothly coordinated and develop effectively.

The products of the household economy are produced primarily to be consumed within the family but there are some surplus products that can be traded. Therefore, the state must adopt a suitable tax and price policy and, at the same time, organize the rural outdoor markets well and improve the activities of market cooperatives in order to provide incentive for the household economy to develop and produce many products.

In the immediate future, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Central Federation of Small Industry and Handicraft Cooperatives should be put in charge of coordinating with the concerned ministries and sectors in assisting the Council of Ministers in guiding the development of the household economy.

Encouraging and assisting the development of the household economy in a manner closely linked to focusing the intelligence and the energies of families on resolving the weaknesses now being encountered in the economic management of the state and collectives is a way to establish a harmonious relationship among individuals, families and society within our system of socialist collective ownership.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Guidelines, Tasks and Primary Objectives Regarding the Economy and Society During the 5 Years from 1981 to 1985 and the 1980's, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 103.

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CONTRIBUTING TO THE REVIEW OF THE WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES:
THE CULTIVATION AND DISPLAY OF THE DETERMINATION TO FIGHT AND WIN OF THE
PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES IN THE WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES FOR
NATIONAL SALVATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 83 pp 58-64

[Article by Dang Vu Hiep]

[Text] The brilliant victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation was a singular victory of the determination to fight and win of the people's armed forces, of all the people under the correct and creative leadership of our party. The unshakeable determination of our people's armed forces to fight and win victory in the war of resistance against the United States was one of the most important factors in the victory that was won. In the resistance against the strongest and cruelest imperialist power in the world, it would have been difficult to win victory over them had we not possessed the determination to fight and win, a determination created by a special quality of ours. The highest expression of this will was the thinking "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" that was presented by President Ho. This will also found vivid and concrete expression in the resolute and thorough revolutionary stand of the working class and the revolutionary-offensive thinking of the party and in the fact that we accepted and raised to a new pinnacle the heroic, unyielding tradition of the nation of Vietnam in the cause of building and defending the country and the tradition of determination to fight and win that was first established in the war of resistance against France. The strength of this determination to fight and win is a clear indication of the decisive role of man in war.

The cultivation of the determination to fight and win of our people's armed forces in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation was carried out in a very thorough manner. It involved a process of teaching politics and ideology that was continuous and long range in both breadth and depth, was profound and practical in content and was closely linked to a widespread, intense, steadfast and thorough scientific effort to achieve specific objectives during each period of time and ultimately achieve the common objective of the entire war.

Thoroughly Understanding the Correct and Creative Revolutionary Line and Military Line of the Party Was the Most Basic Requirement in Cultivating the Determination To Fight and Win

The great victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation was primarily a victory of the independent and autonomous, correct and creative political line and military line of our party. Only by thoroughly understanding the lines of the party could the people's armed forces have the solid foundation and the precise guidelines needed to display high determination to fight and win. For this reason, in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, we attached very much importance to teaching the people's armed forces and giving them a full understanding of the revolutionary line of the party, considering this to be the primary and most important task, a task that had to be performed on a regular basis.

We gave the people's armed forces a deep understanding of the strategic tasks of the revolution in both zones of the country and, in particular, clearly showed them the organic, inseparably close relationship between these tasks. To firmly defend the North and carry out socialist construction in the North, we had to win victory over the Americans and the puppets and liberate the South; to liberate the South, reunify the fatherland and advance the entire country to socialism, we had to defend the North, to make the North increasingly strong in every respect, strong enough to serve as the great rear area of the war, as the revolutionary base of the entire country. At the same time, we also attached importance to teaching our cadres and soldiers about our international obligation to the fraternal people's of Laos and Kampuchea so that our cadres and soldiers always had a correct understanding of and felt pure sentiments concerning this relationship of a strategic nature in the revolutionary cause of the three countries and the especially close friendship among the three countries, the three peoples on the Indochina peninsula, saw the closeness between the national task and the international task, saw that our nation's fight for independence and freedom had to be waged in conjunction with fulfilling our glorious international obligation and deeply understood that we helped ourselves by helping our friends.

In order to provide a specific understanding of the line of the party, we regularly taught the people's armed forces, through the study of the resolutions of the Party Central Committee and the Political Bureau, about the situation and the tasks involved in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, the situation and tasks of each region during each period of time, the strategic objectives of the war and the strategy that applied during each stage of the war as well as the general tasks of the armed forces of the entire country. On the basis of the general line and tasks of the revolution, we taught the political task and military task of each battlefield, locality, branch, service and unit in every stage of the war and, on this basis, determined the specific strategy of each unit.

The educational effort also involved teaching the fundamental viewpoints of the party so that the people's armed forces had the theoretical base needed to deeply understand the line and tasks of the revolution, such as the viewpoint concerning revolutionary violence, the offensive revolution, offensive

strategy, the people's war viewpoint, the viewpoint concerning frugality and self-reliance, the mass viewpoint, the viewpoint of being the masters, the viewpoint concerning waging a protracted fight while trying to win decisive victories at relatively close intervals in time...

In conjunction with teaching correct, basic attitudes, we promptly corrected the incorrect attitudes and thinking of troops, such as the fear of a protracted, arduous and fierce war, selfish personal considerations, the absence of a feeling of closeness or attachment to one's battlefield, illusions of peace, the relaxation of vigilance when the situation became one of fighting and negotiating at the same time and so forth.

Ardent Patriotism, the Love of Socialism, the Kinship Between the North and the South, the Nation's Tenacious, Unyielding Tradition and Deep Hatred of the Enemy Were the Strong Revolutionary Sentiments that Formed the Basis for Heightening the Determination To Fight and Win

These factors were truly an extremely large strength and made a decisive contribution to creating this unshakeable determination. Therefore, we fully concerned ourselves with teaching the people's armed forces love of the country, love of their native villages, love of the socialist North and the determination to fight to defend the North and make every effort to help quickly, strongly and steadily advance the North to socialism under all circumstances. In particular, we taught the people's armed forces love and respect for the fraternal South. The teachings of the revered Uncle Ho that "Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one and no one may violate this sacred right of our people"(1), that "we would rather sacrifice everything that suffer the loss of our country, than be enslaved"(2), that "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom"(3), that "the Hung Kings performed the service of building the country, we must work together to defend it"(4), that "as long as one aggressor remains in our country, we must continue to fight, must drive him out"(5) and so forth were deeply imprinted in the hearts and minds of all cadres and soldiers of our people's armed forces and became sacred feelings, became oaths reflecting their determination to fight and win victory over the U.S. pirate aggressors. Through reason and sentiment, our entire army deeply understood that losing the country would mean the loss of everything.

The patriotism that our people's armed forces possessed is not to be understood as an abstract concept, as a vague pledge nor did it stop at mere awareness, rather, it was given very concrete and vivid expression in the form of a deep love of each bit of soil of the fatherland, respect for and a feeling of kinship with the people at the place where one was fighting and the determination to complete the assigned mission. When cultivating patriotism among the people's armed forces, we gave our attention to giving cadres and soldiers a clear understanding of the essential characteristics, bright examples and ardent patriotic traditions of the compatriots of the various nationalities in the South as well as the North, the tradition of unyielding struggle and the glorious history of the various localities and the noble, salient characteristics of the people and the areas within each battlefield while showing our cadres and soldiers that patriotism, today, is closely linked to the love of socialism. On this basis, the people's armed forces

felt love and respect for the people of the various nationalities at the places where they were fighting, loved and respected the places where they were working and felt close to their battlefields. The genuine patriotism of our people's armed forces was also always closely associated and united with the pure spirit of proletarian internationalism and militant solidarity with the army and people of fraternal Laos and the army and people of fraternal Kampuchea, whom they loved as they love their own people. As a result, when assigned a mission, our cadres and soldiers were determined to fulfill it and go anywhere required by the fatherland without selecting or differentiating between one place or another.

Hatred of the enemy was also a very important factor in creating fighting strength, was a direct force in the molding of the determination to fight and win. Our army can only win victory when it hates the enemy with the entire force of its reason and sentiment. Through dialectical development, this deep hatred of the enemy arose from ardent patriotism, from a love of life, a love of the new system; as the love of the country became increasingly intense and bountiful, the hatred of the enemy became increasingly deep and vice versa.

During the years and months of the fight against the United States, we, in conjunction with teaching love of the fatherland, also gave very much attention to cultivating a deep hatred of the enemy on the part of our cadres and soldiers. We did not stop at denouncing the "earth-shattering" crimes of the Americans and the puppets, crimes that were typified by the bloody massacres of our compatriots at Phu Loi, Son My, Ba Lang An and so forth, rather, we delved deeply into analyzing the decadent, corrupt nature of the capitalist system, of class oppression and exploitation and the origin of a war of aggression; in particular, we clearly pointed out the cunning, cruel nature of the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary, dangerous nature of neo-colonialism being established by the U.S. imperialists in all fields of social life in the South.

We thoroughly analyzed the basic, long-range plan of the U.S. imperialists to destroy the patriotic movement of our people in the South, permanently divide our country, annex South Vietnam and turn it into a military base and neo-colony of the United States and, on this basis, threaten and attack the North. We pointed out the nature of the war being waged by the United States as an extremely cruel and cunning war of aggression and the nature of the U.S. expeditionary army as a professional army of country-robbers, as a strategic objective that had to be defeated by our people's armed forces on the battlefield.

At the same time, we also gave our entire army a clear understanding of the lackey, traitorous and evil nature of the Saigon puppet army and government. The puppet authorities, who represented the interests of the feudal landlord class and the compradore bourgeoisie and who disguised themselves as nationalists and democrats, were nothing more than faithful hirelings and lackeys of the U.S. imperialists who had consented to sell our country to the United States. The Saigon puppet army was nothing more than a U.S. mercenary army, an army that was put together, maintained, supported, trained and commanded by the United States.

Possessing legitimate pride in their heroic country and people and deep hatred of the enemy, all our cadres and soldiers understood that there was only one path to follow, that of fighting to the end to drive off the Americans and bring down the puppets.

Continuously Strengthening the Confidence in Inevitable Victory in Order To Build Unshakeable Determination To Fight and Win

Confidence is a strength, is a spiritual weapon of soldiers, is an indispensable factor in the determination to fight and win victory over aggressor armies.

In undertaking the historic struggle against the U.S. imperialists, our army and people stood face to face with a notorious aggressor, an international gendarme. The very arduous and savage nature together with the complex developments of a war that lasted for several decades, international circumstances which afforded many advantages but also caused us to encounter very many complex difficulties, the psychological war waged by the enemy and so forth were factors that constantly had an impact upon and challenged the stability of the confidence in victory of our cadres and soldiers. As a result, strengthening this confidence from the very outset and throughout the course of the war was a matter of special importance in heightening the determination to fight and win of the people's armed forces.

As soon as American troops arrived on the battlefield in the South, we began educating troops so that they could correctly evaluate the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy, understood our party's viewpoint that "the U.S. imperialists are rich but not strong" and saw the temporary strengths and, in particular, the very basic weaknesses of the United States. Those weaknesses were the unjust nature of the war of aggression being waged by the United States, their defensive strategy, the low morale of their troops, their weak infantry, the remoteness of their rear base and the fact that their system of storehouses and land transportation routes in the South could easily be attacked by us. They also included the contradiction between their desires, which were large, and battlefield realities, which prevented them from achieving their desires and led to confusion and frustration with regard to the conduct of the war and the application of tactics and the contradiction between their boundless ambition to commit aggression and the limited capabilities of the U.S. imperialists vis-a-vis the world, Southeast Asia and even Vietnam. We showed our army that although the revolution still faced many difficulties and was weaker in some respects than the enemy, it possessed many very basic and important strengths. We possessed absolute political and moral superiority over the enemy and we had an heroic nation, an heroic army and progressive and scientific strategy and tactics; even though the United States increased the number of its troops and means of war in a rash manner and even though the forces of the enemy at one time numbered more than 1 million men, we had a solid strategy, deployed the forces of the three arms of the military on the battlefield in an efficient manner and raised the superior nature of the people's war to a high pinnacle. We adopted diverse and creative methods of fighting and created objective and subjective conditions that took the initiative away from the enemy and made them fight the way that we wanted them to fight.

In evaluating the comparison of forces, we adopted a comprehensive and dialectical point of view, did not allow phenomena to conceal the essence of what was happening, did not allow temporary difficulties at one place or another to cause us to incorrectly evaluate the enemy strategically and did not rely upon strategic assessments of the enemy to analyze the enemy in detail in each campaign and each battle. During the years of the fight against the United States, we made many efforts in this area, as a result of which we always enjoyed a high degree of unanimity between the upper and lower levels and among the various battlefields regarding the evaluation of the enemy. This had a good effect in maintaining the confidence in inevitable victory of our troops in every circumstance and in the face of the complex developments of the war.

In the war of resistance, the role of the great rear area as well as the local rear areas in the South occupied an extremely important position in building confidence in inevitable victory on the part of the people's armed forces because it had a profound and far-reaching impact upon the thoughts and feelings of troops. By means of widespread propaganda and education and through specific actions, we showed the entire army the completely superior nature of the socialist North, especially its political and social strength and stability and its tremendous ability to mobilize manpower and materiel for the frontlines. At the same time, we made our armed forces feel closer to and more confident in the local rear areas in the South. Although they were the targets of very heavy enemy attacks, the liberated areas and even our bases deep within enemy lines were still firmly protected, were still strengthened and expanded with each passing day. The strength and stability of the rear areas together with the achievements recorded in production and combat and the deep feelings of kinship of compatriots who had the frontlines in their hearts night and day, who wholeheartedly supported the frontlines were tremendous sources of inspiration to our cadres and soldiers, caused each person to see his responsibility more clearly and gave each person stronger confidence in the inevitable victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation.

Through the victories won in initial battles and the reality that we were becoming stronger with each victory, the confidence of troops was maintained and further heightened. The early, brilliant victories won at Thanh Mountain, Van Tuong, Play Me, Bau Bang, Dat Cuoc, Cu Chi and so forth as well as the early resounding victories won against the air attacks by the U.S. imperialists against North Vietnam made large contributions to building the spirit and increasing the confidence in inevitable victory of the people's armed forces. The building of this confidence in inevitable victory also demanded a constant struggle to overcome incorrect thoughts and feelings so that our troops were never arrogant in victory nor discouraged in defeat.

Intensifying the Emulation Movements To Kill the Enemy and Record Feats of Arms on the Basis of Displaying a High Degree of Revolutionary Heroism Was a Very Effective Way To Turn the Determination To Fight and Win into Actual Victories on the Battlefield

In the resistance against the United States, we organized widespread and intense emulation movement to kill the enemy and record feats of arms, such as

the "determined to win victory over the U.S. pirate aggressors" movement to win the Rotating Banner of President Ho in the North and the "determined to fight and win victory over the U.S. pirates" movement to win the banner of the Central Committee of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam. We coordinated emulation movements of the people's armed forces to kill the enemy and record feats of arms with movements of youths, women, manual workers and farmers, such as the "three readies" movement, the "three responsibilities" movement, "a hammer in one hand, a rifle in the other" movement, "a plow in one hand, a rifle in the other" movement, the "extra paddy, extra men for the army" movement, the "volunteer for the army to fight the Americans" movement and so forth. These movements inspired and had a reciprocal impact upon one another, thereby creating a vast patriotic emulation movement of a very broad mass nature, a movement marked by slogans of action filled with revolutionary heroism and offensive revolutionary spirit, such as "aiming directly at the enemy and firing," "opening roads and moving forward, attacking the enemy and advancing," "do not feel bad if a truck has not passed your house yet," "remain at the bridges, remain on the roads, die stubbornly and bravely," "the sound of singing drowns out the noise of the bombs," and so forth. Revolutionary heroism was truly the spiritual force behind these emulation movement and it was through these emulation movements that the revolutionary heroism of our people reflected even more clearly the thoroughly revolutionary spirit, ardent patriotism, deep hatred of the enemy, the attitude of serving the people unconditionally and absolute confidence in the inevitable victory of the revolution.

From within these emulation movements emerged hundreds of heroic units and individuals and tens of thousands of brave soldiers, emulation warriors and soldiers determined to win, all of whom symbolized Vietnamese revolutionary heroism in the era of the fight against the United States.

These emulation movements paid attention to conducting detailed educational and organizational work so that our people's armed forces had all the conditions needed to turn their determination to fight and win into feats of arms on the battlefield.

For this reason, the emulation movements to kill the enemy and record feats of arms in both the North and the South always had clear guidelines, were always practical in substance and always had specific targets. The mass of our cadres and soldiers progressed from recognizing laws to acting voluntarily and enthusiastically in accordance with them and developing increasingly firm confidence and an increasingly firm determination to fight and win.

Strengthening the Organization of the Party and the Mass Organizations To Serve as the Nucleus in Cultivating and Developing Determination To Fight and Win, Thereby Insuring that Our Armed Forces Constantly Grew and Were Fully Capable of Completing the Assigned Mission

In order to develop determination to fight and win and insure that the armed forces were always strong and fully capable of completing every mission, we had to routinely concern ourselves with building the forces that served as the nucleus within the army, the corps of party members, the corps of cadres and the corps of Youth Union members and youths.

During the years of the resistance against the United States, we built a party organizational system extending from the upper to the lower levels, a system that was constantly strengthened in terms of its structure, size and quality, so that the party organization of the army was always solid and strong and was able to meet the requirements of providing leadership in every difficult and complex circumstance and in the face of the many changes brought about by the long, fierce war and the rapid expansion of the armed forces. On the basis of the requirements involved in the successful performance of the political task and the military mission assigned by the party to the army and the specific mission of each service, branch and battlefield during each period of the war, we established specifics and requirements for building strong and solid party organizations to serve as the nucleus leading units in the successful completion of every mission in every war situation. We regularly attached importance to building the basic organizations of the party in a manner closely linked to building strong and solid basic units within the army. The results of the campaign conducted over a period of many years to develop party chapters of the "four goods" and endeavor to meet the standards established for party members of the "four goods" made important contributions to improving the quality and competency of party members and increasing the fighting strength and raising the overall level of leadership of the party organizations within the army.

We also made every effort to build a large corps of cadres who truly symbolized the political line and military line of the party, possesses dependable skills, were absolutely loyal to the people and the fatherland, had the ability to meet the requirements of leadership and command work and knew how to mobilize and organize troops in the successful completion of each assigned mission. In the building of the corps of cadres, we acted with a full understanding of and correctly implemented the cadre line of the party while attaching importance to training cadres who possessed the full qualities and skills needed to meet the requirements of tasks.

We also gave very much attention to building the mass organizations within the armed forces, especially to building the Youth Union and guiding the youth movement within the army. We taught revolutionary virtues to Youth Union members and youths so that they possessed pure souls, lived a wholesome style of life, possessed a high determination to fight and win, possessed boundless loyalty to the cause of the revolution, were brave, resourceful and creative in combat, made every effort to learn and become the masters of science and technology and made the most effective use possible of the weapons and equipment in their possession. The Youth Union chapters trained and introduced to the party organization hundreds of thousands of outstanding Youth Union members, who formed an abundant source of persons to supplement the corps of the party.

The creation for the people's armed forces of an unshakeable determination to fight and win was a major success of ours in the resistance against the United States for national salvation. In the present stage of the revolution, our army, under the leadership and with the education provided by the party, is displaying and cultivating its determination to fight and win even more and is ready to fight alongside all the people to defeat each scheme and act of sabotage and aggression of the enemy.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "For Independence, For Freedom, For Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 273.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 1, p 403.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "The Appeal Made on 17 July 1966," TAP CHI HOC TAP, No 8-1966, p 2.
4. "The History of Vietnam," Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 9.
5. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 2, p 505.

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CSO: 4210/12

MEMOIRS: RECALLING THE DAYS SPENT ATTENDING THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 83 pp 65-68

[Article written by The Tap as told to him by Nguyen Van Tao]

[Text] Editorial Note: the 6th Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in July and August, 1928, was of very important significance to the international communist and worker movement as well as to the national liberation movement. Nguyen Van Tao was a member of the delegation of the French Communist Party that attended this congress.

Below, we have printed the memoirs of Nguyen Van Tao concerning his attendance at the 6th Congress of the Communist International.

Nguyen Van Tao was born on 20 May 1908 in Phuoc Loi Village, Cho Long (Nam Bo). In 1926, in the movement to mourn the death of Phan Chu Trinh, he mobilized students at the Sa-xo-lu Loba [Vietnamese phonetics] Middle School (Saigon) to boycott classes. Expelled, he fled on a ship to France, where he conducted revolutionary activities. In late 1926, He was accepted into the French Communist Party and later elected to the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. In May, 1931, he was deported from France. Returning home, he actively participated in revolutionary activities in Nam Bo. In 1939, he was arrested by the French imperialists, sentenced to 5 years in prison and 10 years in exile and sent to Con Dao. With the victory of the August Revolution, he regained his freedom. In 1946, he was elected as a deputy to the 1st Legislature of the National Assembly and continued to serve as a National Assembly deputy and went on to serve many more terms as a National Assembly deputy. He was appointed Minister of Labor and held this position for 20 years. He died on 16 August 1970.

In 1926, in response to the intense, nationwide movement to mourn the passing of Phan Chu Trinh, I mobilized the students of my class to boycott classes together with the rest of the students at the Sa-xo-lu Loba Middle School in Saigon. Expelled from school, I fled on a ship to France, where I studied, worked and engaged in revolutionary activities. In late 1926, I was accepted into the French Communist Party.

In 1927, I went to Paris in search of Nguyen Ai Quoc, but he had long since left for the Soviet Union. I remained in Paris and was assigned a job in a department of the Office of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, where I followed the revolutionary movements in the colonies, primarily the movement in Indochina, through press and news reports; gathered information on the situation and reported it to the Central Committee of the French Communist Party so that the communist members of the French Parliament had materials that they could use to question and criticize the French government regarding its policy in Indochina; and sent material back to Vietnam and propagandized and agitated among Vietnamese workers, students and soldiers in France.

In April, 1928, an Indochinese communist group was established during a conference at the Xanh Do-ni [Vietnamese phonetics] Factory. Attending the conference were nine Vietnamese delegates from Paris and the various provinces together with a delegate from the Colonial Department of the French Communist Party, Henry Lo-do-rai [Vietnamese phonetics]. I was put in charge of publishing an underground newspaper called LAO NONG (the combination of the two words "Lao Dong"[laborers] and "Nong Dan"[peasants]); later, the name of this newspaper was changed to VO SAN [THE PROLETARIAT]. Our activities involved bringing persons together to research and study Marxism-Leninism. A number of members of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party frequently came to guide and help us in our studies and organize us in the common struggle alongside the French Communist Party. However, we Vietnamese communists continued to maintain regular activities within the party chapters of the French Communist Party as we did before.

As a result of the revolutionary activities conducted in France and my work in the Colonial Research Department, I was appointed to the French Communist Party delegation attending the 6th Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow (the Soviet Union) in 1928. The delegation was headed by Comrade Xe-ma [Vietnamese phonetics], who was the general secretary of the French Communist Party at that time. The delegation consisted of Henry Lo-do-rai, Phlo-ri-mong Bong-te [Vietnamese phonetics], Phrang-song Va-ra-nhe [Vietnamese phonetics], Raymond Guy-o [Vietnamese phonetics], Bi-u [Vietnamese phonetics], Ra-ca-mong [Vietnamese phonetics] and others. The delegation also included three Vietnamese, myself, Tran Thieu Ban (a seaman representing manual workers) and Nguyen The Vinh (1) (a student at the Far Eastern College who represented students).

The delegation's journey was not impeded in any way; all we had to do was obtain passports and train tickets. The passports of we three Vietnamese were obtained by a Chinese person named Hou and we had to assume Chinese names; I took the name Van Pinh. As we travelled from Paris through Berlin, Germany, our delegation stopped at the headquarters of the German Communist Party, which was, at that time, conducting strong public activities. From Berlin, we travelled to the port of Stettin and then travelled by Soviet ship to Leningrad; from there, we took a train to Moscow. The delegation gave me the responsibility of writing a speech on Indochina.

The speech began by presenting the Indochina issue as one of the most important issues facing French imperialism. The geographical position of

Indochina caused it to be coveted by the Japanese imperialists, as a result of which Indochina had become a source of bloody conflicts in the Pacific.

On the basis of providing a detailed analysis, which was supported by data, of the economic, political and social situations in Indochina, the speech denounced the French imperialists for oppressing and exploiting the people of Indochina, primarily workers and peasants, and making their lives very miserable; exposed Varen, the French Socialist Party member who was sent to serve as Governor-General of Indochina in a vain attempt to placate the people; pointed out the reactionary nature of the "Constitutional Party" headed by Bui Quang Chieu; and stated that the Chinese bourgeoisie, who were concentrated in Cho Lon, were also a force that was oppressing and exploiting the Vietnamese people, in addition to the French colonial government.

At that time, the French imperialists in Indochina had instigated a quarrel between Vietnamese and Chinese in Haiphong. However, Vietnamese revolutionaries had declared that they would assist the revolutionary movement of the Chinese people. The speech highly praised the spirit of struggle displayed by the 800 Vietnamese workers at the Ba Son Works (Saigon) who went on strike and refused to repair the Misole, a ship that was used by the French imperialists to massacre Chinese.

Analyzing the classes in Indochina, the speech rejected the opinion that there was no proletariat in Indochina and stated: the Indochinese proletariat, although it was not the large, nationwide class that the proletariat was in the European countries, was very highly concentrated in the major industrial centers. Because Indochina was a region of uneven economic development, it was necessary to stress the centralized nature of the proletariat. As regards the peasantry, the revolutionary spirit of peasants was increasingly being displayed in struggles against the imperialists and landowners who had robbed them of their cropland and were oppressing and exploiting them. On the basis of analyzing the classes in Indochina, the speech raised the following issues: the bourgeoisie within a colonial country cannot lead the national liberation revolution; a political party of the working class had to be established to lead the Indochinese revolution. The speech concluded as follows: "The Communist International must give full attention to the matter of establishing a communist party in Indochina and must research the establishment of a trade union to rally workers and the establishment of organizations to bring peasants together. Only in this way can the workers and peasants of Indochina move forward to liberate themselves completely and forever... Being an enslaved people, enslaved laborers, exploited workers and peasants, we have but one desire, to free ourselves from the yoke of oppression of imperialism, of the parasitic bourgeoisie within our country in order to take our place within the socialist world, in order to stand beneath the banner of the Communist International."

The speech that I drafted was unanimously approved by the delegation of the French Communist Party. However, I still presented to Nguyen The Ruc and a number of other Vietnamese who were studying at the Far Eastern College for their examination and opinions. One comrade told me that some persons, because they did not understand the situation at home at that time, maintained that we should not immediately establish a communist party at home but should

only organize an overseas center to guide the Indochinese revolution. However, on the basis of the situation at home, that is, the strong growth of the worker and peasant movement, it was possible to establish a communist party at home to directly lead the movement, consequently, I held to the position stated in my speech.

The 6th Congress of the Communist International was held at the Hall of Soviet Trade Unions in Moscow. During the 35th session of the congress, on the afternoon of 17 August 1928, I, using the alias Nguyen An, delivered my speech to the congress. As I was standing at the rostrum, the delegates burst into resounding and prolonged applause, the reason for which I did not know; immediately thereafter, I saw Stalin enter and take a seat among the presiding officers of the congress. In keeping with the principle of secrecy, when delivering my speech and during the time I spent at the congress, I did not have my photograph taken. The speech that I delivered was warmly received by the congress and printed in THU TIN QUOC TE Journal, issue number 128, 1928. The congress debated and adopted the Platform of the Communist International and elected the new executive committee. Stalin was again elected to serve as general secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. During the time that the congress was being held, I met and became acquainted with various leaders of fraternal parties, such as Tenleemann, Togliatti, Cu-u-xi-nen [Vietnamese phonetics], Ka-ta-i-a-ma [Vietnamese phonetics], Giacomo, Govan, Bi-e-rut [Vietnamese phonetics], etc. I later learned that, following the congress, the Communist International sent a directive to the revolutionaries in Indochina through the French Communist Party in which it contributed its opinions on how to organize and lead the struggle in Indochina. This directive was printed on very thin paper that was folded many times, placed inside a match box and given to Bui Lam, who at that time was using the alias Sau, to take to Vietnam...

During the days I spent in Moscow, I once visited Tran Phu, Nguyen The Ruc, Nguyen Khanh Toan and others who were studying at the Far Eastern College. During that time, Le Hong Phong was attending the Non-Military Cadre Training School in Leningrad, so, I visited him, too.

After the congress closed, the organizing committee arranged for the delegations to tour the Soviet Union. I accompanied the group that travelled to the Urals, Siberia, Bakiri (an ethnic minority area) and the Volga region through Moscow to Leningrad and then back to France.

Upon my return from the 6th Congress of the Communist International, I, and a number of other comrades were elected to supplement the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. At that time, the French Communist Youth Congress was being held; the Central Committee of the French Communist Party assigned me and Bi-u and Raymond Guy-o the task of disseminating the Platform of the Communist International. Afterward, I resumed my work at the Colonial Research Department of the French Communist Party and assisted the Central Committee of the French Communist Party in observing the revolutionary movement in the colonies. Shortly thereafter, I went underground with a number of other comrades. I and Marshall Casanh were given lodging in the home of a taxi driver. When the situation calmed down, I went back to my overt activities. In 1930, during a demonstration in front of Elysees

Palace, I was arrested by the police and spent 8 months in the La-xang-te [Vietnamese phonetics] Prison along with many leaders and cadres of the French Communist Party. The party organized a struggle to demand our release. In May, 1931, I was "kidnapped" by the French imperialists. Using force, they put me on a ship and made me return home. The International Red Cross sent a French lawyer to accompany me in order to protect my life and prevent them from finding some way to kill me on route...

Later, I reread the 13 May 1931 issue of L'HUMANITE Newspaper, the organ of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, in which Maurice Torres wrote an article entitled "Protecting the Indochinese Revolution," in which he denounced my "kidnapping," appealed for unity in the struggle and emphasized: "A strong protest by the mass of workers would certainly guarantee that Tao and many Indochinese revolutionaries will be saved from the serious threat posed by the murderers..."

FOOTNOTES

1. Later, when he was arrested by the French imperialists, Vinh surrendered to the enemy and began serving as their lackey.

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AN HISTORIC DOCUMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 83 pp 69-70

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Editorial Note: during a recent assignment in France, Dinh Xuan Lam and Nguyen Phan Quang found in the French National Archives (Room 7, Number 13405) a piece of official correspondence dated 19 September 1924 that transferred from the French Minister of Colonies to the French Minister of Interior (the Director of the National Security Agency) a Vietnamese language "communist leaflet" (attached to which was the French translation) that had been sent to France by the Governor-General of Indochina. The leaflet was entitled:

The Worker-Peasant International Respectfully Presents the Slogan
of the "Communist International."

The leaflet ended with the words:

Moscow, 27 February 1924
The Executive Committee of the Communist International

Both Dinh Xuan Lam and Nguyen Phan Quang maintain that this was the first document sent by the Communist International to the laboring people of Indochina. It was written in Vietnamese, printed in Moscow itself and then sent to France so that Vietnamese seamen who worked on the ships operating along the France-Indochina route could take it to Vietnam, primarily to the Port of Haiphong.

On the basis of the date at the end of the leaflet (27 February 1924) and the date on the official correspondence from the French Minister of Colonies (19 September 1924) in coordination with the fact that the local newspaper, HAIPHONG BUU DIEN, carried the complete text of this leaflet in its 9 August 1924 issue, these two persons believe that this leaflet arrived in Indochina no later than August, 1924.

On the basis of the precise and beautiful Chinese characters written at the top of the leaflet (The Worker-Peasant International Respectfully), which

resembled the Chinese characters on the masthead of LE PARIA and the back cover of the book "French Colonialization on Trial" written by President Ho and on the basis of the Vietnamese prose and the national language handwriting contained within the leaflet, Dinh Xuan Lam and Nguyen Phan Quang suspect that President Ho himself wrote this leaflet.

While we are attempting to verify this, we have printed below the text of this leaflet for our readers to examine.

The Worker-Peasant International Respectfully Presents the Slogan
of the "Communist International"(1)

My brothers, my brothers
A gradual change is occurring in the world
The hidden secret of life is being revealed
These are times that will be better for man.

Over the past 5 years, in the capital of Russia, which is truly a democratic country (there is no country like it in the world), an association has been established to bring all workers together.

Its name is the Communist International. Because the several persons at the head of this association have built it with bravery and heroism, this association is now very strong, strong enough to help the millions and tens of millions of workers on all continents, especially the suffering citizens of the colonies, such as our Annam, citizens who are suffering because barbarous forces have killed Annamese and robbed them of their money.

This "Communist International" was founded amidst the rumble of fighting over here, amidst the burning of villages, amidst murder and plunder, with fields and villages being filled with dead persons like so many cemeteries. It has been established for those persons in every country who are being forced to fight one another like so many mercenaries and die in place of soldiers for the profits of the authorities in the mother country. This international has arisen to resist, to destroy the plundering forces that have made us their servants so that they can live in prosperity.

This international has been in existence for 5 years. Countless developments have occurred since it was founded. The situation is developing rapidly, is developing with the strength of a locomotive, a hurricane, and could lead anywhere. The servants of today can be the masters of tomorrow. There was one group that wanted to dismantle the international, but it has stood firm and has continued to be the representative of all workers.

The history of the world only knows that this international is designed to help those persons who perform the backbreaking work at the factories in the provinces and the peasants in the countryside. It is only designed to bring together the citizens of the colonies, be their skin yellow, black or red, all of whom are suffering greatly and living in indescribable shame. In life, there is no greater disgrace than having to serve as the slaves of the barbarous Western masters like so many dogs. The existence of such an association is truly a first: never before have workers and peasants decided

to be the masters of their country and join with the workers and peasants of the entire world to arise. They arose that way in Russia and peace became war. Russia today is a country of workers, soldiers and farmers.

Life today, of course, is not like it was in bygone times. Things are changing. Countries struggling against one another for power and money, the occupation of other people's lands, committing crimes against them and so forth, these things must be abolished, and it was for this reason that this "Communist International" was founded.

But we must still be resolved, must still be brave. Not only must we know how to fight the barbarous forces that are oppressing us and raping our compatriots, we must also know how to defend ourselves and not be deceived by those who say that they want to help us fight back but only really want to poison us, to destroy us. Over here, there are many of these outcasts who have betrayed our cause, in France, Brussels, Great Britain, Germany, everywhere. Many leaders of the internationals that betrayed our cause are dead.

Only this "Communist International" truly dares to wholeheartedly oppose the colonialists everywhere, be it in Ireland or Egypt. Only this international is determined that the people no longer be made to serve as murderous soldiers as they have been in past years. This international does not listen to the soldiers who ran off to fight Germany. This international is different from the previous "internationals," from the 1st and 2nd Internationals; therefore, it is called the "3rd Communist International."

The international recently lost its brave, wise and very good leader, Lenin. But, the international is strong and taking the lead. Its name is heard throughout the world and the sight of its red flag causes certain people to tremble. Victory is at hand.

My brothers, my brothers!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!(2)

Moscow, 27 February 1924
The Executive Committee of the Communist International

FOOTNOTES

1. Copied exactly as presented in the original. In the original text, the name Communist International and the slogan at the end of the article were in French.
2. Ibid.

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END