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TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 11, November 1984

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SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

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

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ACTIVELY AND STEADILY CARRYING OUT THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF AGRICULTURE
IN THE PROVINCES OF NAM BO

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 84 pp 1-5

[Editorial]

[Text] New and important changes have taken place in the socialist transformation of agriculture in the provinces of Nam Bo. The redistribution of cropland has been completed in areas that practice the intensive cultivation of rice and areas in which there is little cropland. In those areas in which the average amount of cropland per capita is high, areas in which much land lies in gardens and much land is devoted to the production of industrial and fruit crops, the redistribution of cropland is continuing to be carried out in a manner closely tied to redistributing the population and labor to other places. During the 2 years 1983 and 1984, more than 89,000 hectares of cropland were redistributed, thereby bringing the total amount of cropland redistributed since 1976 to more than 389,000 hectares. In close coordination with the redistribution of cropland, all localities have been organizing farmers in production solidarity teams. Some 90 percent of the villages in the provinces of Nam Bo have organized marketing cooperatives and some places have organized credit cooperatives. By mid-1984, the provinces of Nam Bo had established 23,664 production collectives and 268 agricultural production cooperatives. In the provinces of the Mekong Delta, 56 percent of farm families and 47 percent of cropland have now been brought into production collectives or agricultural cooperatives. Some 15 districts and 515 villages and subwards in the provinces of Nam Bo have virtually completed the work of organizing farmers in production collectives and cooperatives. The majority of these production collectives and cooperatives are operating well, have organized their labor, are practicing intensive cultivation and multicropping and have achieved a higher rice yield and output than private farmers. Some production collectives and cooperatives have begun to develop the trade sector. Production collectives and cooperatives that are well run, are earning higher incomes and have fulfilled their obligations to the state are becoming increasingly numerous and exerting a persuasive influence upon farmers. The management cadres at production collectives and cooperatives and the cadres on the village, district and provincial levels are gaining more and more experience in combining transformation with the building of the countryside and the development of agriculture in grain production areas.

Generally speaking, the development of the socialist transformation of agriculture in the provinces of Nam Bo in the recent past has been both good and wholesome.

These facts prove that, in organizing the implementation of the positions and policies of the party on agricultural transformation, the party committees, sectors, cadres and party members in the provinces of Nam Bo have gained an increasingly clear understanding of what must be done, displayed much dynamism and developed methods of working that are flexible and well suited to the socio-economic characteristics of Nam Bo. The localities of Nam Bo have learned how to tie the transformation and development of agriculture to the transformation and development of industry and commerce; how to coordinate the widespread development of production solidarity teams and marketing cooperatives with organizing farmers in production collectives and agricultural production cooperatives, the level of development and size of which are appropriate and steadily increased; how to rely upon the solidarity among laboring farmers in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and wealthy farmers in the countryside and the implementation of the cropland income payment policy, thereby creating the conditions for attracting the upper stratum of middle farmers to the path of socialism; how to implement product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers as soon as production collectives are organized; how to closely coordinate cooperativization with the construction of water conservancy projects, gradual mechanization and the introduction of science and technology in agricultural production; and how to tie the transformation and development of the economy to the development of cultural and social work and the building of the new, socialist countryside. The elementary and advanced training of cadres within agricultural transformation are being urgently promoted. There has been increasingly close coordination among the various levels, sectors and mass organizations in agitating among farmers and organizing them in collective production.

The basic elements of the situation are positive. However, we cannot give light attention to the shortcomings and weaknesses that exist and must take determined and urgent steps to overcome them in order to better implement the directives of the Central Committee as they pertain to agricultural transformation in the provinces of Nam Bo. Not much has been done to coordinate the redistribution of cropland and agricultural transformation with the relocation of the population to sparsely populated areas. Because importance has not been attached to guiding transformation and expanding businesses, only to managing the production of rice, the production collectives and cooperatives in rice growing areas have fallen into monoculture, as a result of which their returns are low and the number of mandays worked in production for the collective as well as the income of collective and cooperative members from the collective economy are not high. The quality of the activities of numerous production collectives is still low. There is a tendency at some places to expand cooperatives in a form for form's sake manner, in a manner that far exceeds the level of development of the cooperative's production and the organizational and economic management skills of cooperative cadres, as a result of which they have not developed upon the superior nature of socialist collective production relations well. In the areas in which orchards and industrial crops are raised, there are only a

number of models of transformation but even these are not complete and pilot projects are still being conducted in order to gain experience. The system of marketing cooperatives, especially credit cooperatives, in the countryside is still weak, consequently, it does not control the market and the problem of high interest loans in the countryside is still serious. In some localities, the building of the district and the strengthening of the district level are proceeding slowly and are not truly tied to transformation and construction on the basic level.

The agricultural transformation movement in the provinces of Nam Bo is moving steadily forward and expanding with each passing day. In our work of guiding and organizing implementation, every effort must be made to avoid doing things in a cursory manner, emphasizing form over substance and not attaching importance to quality and results. At the same time, we must avoid thinking that is "stamped from a mold" and rigid, thinking that is not based on the actual situation of each area, rather, we must establish suitable forms of production and business with a view toward strongly and steadily developing the agricultural cooperativization movement.

To develop upon the results that have been achieved and the experience that has been gained, we must focus our efforts on continuing to accelerate the transformation and development of agriculture in a manner that reflects quality and efficiency and insures positive and steady development in order to virtually complete agricultural cooperativization within the provinces of Nam Bo, primarily by means of agricultural production collectives, by the end of 1985 while preparing for subsequent stages of development in the following years.

The provinces and municipalities of Nam Bo must adopt plans for continuing the redistribution of cropland in coordination with the redistribution of labor in a number of areas in which the redistribution of cropland has not been completed in order to make use of and develop the potentials that lie in labor and arable land throughout each district, throughout each province and throughout the entire region of Nam Bo. It is necessary to avoid working in a form for form's sake manner and to insure that no land lies fallow upon the completion of the redistribution of cropland if labor is still being utilized in an irrational manner. Places that have completed the redistribution of cropland must re-examine what they have done in order to detect and promptly rectify mistakes.

Places that have not yet organized production collectives and cooperatives, especially places in areas that produce industrial crops and fruit crops, cultivate marine products, are planting forests or engaged in the other trades, must attract farmers to and widely organize them in production solidarity teams. In the establishment of production solidarity teams, importance must be attached to the characteristics of each area and each type of persons involved so that the production solidarity teams operate in an effective and efficient manner.

As regards rice growing areas, the virtual completion of agricultural cooperativization by the end of 1985 requires that from 70 to 75 percent of farm families and cropland be brought into production collectives and

agricultural production cooperatives. The remaining farm families and cropland must be organized into production solidarity teams. In areas that raise two or three rice crops per year through intensive cultivation, 80 to 85 percent of farmers and cropland must be brought into production collectives and cooperatives. In areas that raise floating rice, where there are sulfate and salt deposits in fields, it is necessary to provide close guidance, draw the majority of farmers into production solidarity teams and gradually upgrade a suitable percentage of them to production collectives. In those areas in eastern Nam Bo that raise mainly subsidiary food crops, efforts must be concentrated on strengthening the production solidarity teams so that they can be upgraded to production collectives; at the same time, positive steps must be taken to develop production solidarity teams at the other places, thereby bringing the percentage of farmers and cropland within production collectives to no less than 60 percent.

As regards fruit orchards, transformation must be carried out cautiously. In the immediate future, it is necessary to encourage families to practice intensive cultivation in their fruit orchards and necessary to concentrate agricultural products and commodities in the hands of socialist commerce and regulate a portion of the income of families whose income is high through commerce and finance.

All of the villages in Nam Bo must rapidly organize large numbers of farmers in marketing cooperatives and credit cooperatives. The marketing cooperatives and credit cooperatives must be under the direct guidance of the village government and be based upon the production solidarity teams, production collectives and agricultural production cooperatives so that they can extend their network and the scope of their activities to all hamlets within the village, take the place of private merchants, abolish speculation and high interest loans, eventually gain control over the market and support the production and daily lives of the people in the countryside well. State-operated commerce and the state bank must entrust the marketing cooperatives and credit cooperatives with a number of responsibilities in the procurement of products, sales and credit activities within the countryside and must provide them with professional guidance and cadre training.

Existing production collectives and agricultural production cooperatives must be strengthened in order to increase their production and business so that they realize economic returns, raise the standard of living of collective and cooperative members, increase the accumulation of capital for expanded reproduction, insure that they deliver and sell many agricultural products to the state, insure that every aspect of their operations, from how production is organized to management and distribution, is in the nature of a socialist collective and insure that the members of production collectives and cooperatives earn a better living than private farmers. There is a need to review the experience that has been gained in order to heighten the impact of advanced units and special attention must be given to strengthening newly established production collectives and weak production collectives.

Good preparations must be made for the development of new collectives, especially with regard to selecting and training cadres in accordance with the locality's agricultural transformation planning, planning production well and

planning the construction of material-technical bases and the building of the new country.

Various forms of joint collectives must be organized at places where agricultural collectivization has been completed on the hamlet level and the use of joint businesses must be expanded in order to establish production ties among collectives (ties that coincide with the planning of a future cooperative) so that we can gradually establish new material-technical bases, establish a division of labor based on specialization combined with cooperation and improve the management skills of cadres in order to develop production, expand the trade sector in the countryside and prepare the material conditions needed to upgrade production collectives to cooperatives of appropriate size when the necessary conditions exist.

In the process of carrying out the socialist transformation of agriculture in the provinces of Nam Bo and while strengthening and developing the state farms, agricultural production cooperatives and production collectives, the localities must give appropriate attention to the development of the household economy of cooperative members and establish ties, cooperation and mutual assistance in the areas of production guidelines, the utilization of labor, the processing of agricultural products, product marketing and so forth at the very outset among the state-operated economy, the collective economy, the household economy of cooperative members and the economy of farmers who are still earning their living privately.

Training basic level cadres and strengthening the village level apparatus are very urgent needs in supporting agricultural transformation. The localities must formulate cadre planning for each village on the basis of their cooperativization planning and their plans for the building of material-technical bases. Through the mass movement to carry out the three revolutions in the countryside, they must select activists on the basic level who are determined to build collective production and business organizations, are honest, are skilled in economic management and have the trust of the masses for inclusion in cadre training planning. The provincial and district levels are responsible for training a corps of government, mass organization and party work cadres and technical management cadres for the villages and the production, business and support installations within the village.

Urgent steps must be taken to develop the state operated agricultural production and service network within the district and insure, from the very outset, that the district state-operated economy plays the dominant role in the transformation and development of agriculture, market management and credit activities in the countryside. On the basis of production planning and the agricultural, forestry, fishing or industrial economic structure of each type district, we must build and complete the network of state-operated technical services (tractor services, farmland water conservancy, seed and breeding stock production, crop protection, veterinary services and so forth) in a manner closely tied to the operations of the production solidarity teams, production collectives and cooperatives. It is necessary to coordinate the organization of the production of raw materials with the processing industry at the very outset, build a processing industry that is of appropriate size and equipped with suitable technology and closely link the industry of the

district to the handicraft trades on the basic level within a structure that reflects a rational division of labor and management responsibilities. The district processing industry, in addition to its production function, must also assume the role of providing technical and industrial guidance to cooperatives and production collectives, thereby creating the conditions for cooperatives and production collectives to establish joint businesses and economic ties through which to expand the trade sector and build the agro-industrial structure of the district on the basic level. Machine enterprises and cooperatives tasked with the repair and production of improved tools and semi-mechanized tools for installations must be established within the district on the basis of the requirements of agricultural production and the processing of agricultural products. The services-circulation system must be improved by quickly developing district state-operated commerce and the marketing cooperatives in a manner closely tied to agricultural production cooperatives, production collectives and production solidarity teams so that two-way contracts on the supplying of production materials and consumer goods and the procurement of agricultural products can be properly executed. District banks and credit cooperatives in the countryside must be rapidly developed. The necessary bases must be constructed for the development of education, public health and cultural work. Clusters (socio-economic) must be gradually established in each area within the district.

Virtually completing the socialist transformation of agriculture within the provinces of Nam Bo by the end of 1985 is a very large task. In the months ahead, the agricultural cooperativization movement will develop in both breadth and depth, demanding close, effective and flexible leadership on the part of the various party committee echelons. Winning complete victory in both the transformation and development of agriculture in the provinces of Nam Bo demands that the party and state provide stronger leadership and guidance. The sectors within agriculture, together with the mass organizations and other economic sectors, must integrate their programs of action and participate in agricultural transformation in a positive and effective way.

Clearly aware of the importance of agricultural transformation, the various provincial and municipal party committees must provide stronger leadership and guidance of this work and do so in a manner that is both appropriate and timely. The district party committees must uphold their role as the level that directly leads the installations and insure that the quality of the agricultural cooperativization movement is increased. A high level of consensus and stronger leadership and guidance on the part of the various levels with a view toward achieving a combined strength extending from the central level to the local and basic levels will surely result in the continued strong and steady development of the movement, thereby insuring the virtual completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture, primarily in the form of production collectives, within the provinces of Nam Bo by the end of 1985 in a manner that reflects both high quality and high results.

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THE STATE AND THE PEOPLE WORKING TOGETHER

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 84 pp 7-9, 63

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The revolution is the work of the masses. Fighting the enemy and defending the country are the work of the masses. Even more so, building socialism is the work of the masses. Under the system of collective ownership, the people participate each day along with their state in the work of building the economy and carrying out cultural development.

During the past 3 years, the people of our country contributed nearly 200 million mandays to the construction of water conservancy projects, the development of rural communications and transportation and the construction of cultural and welfare projects. In the construction of water conservancy projects in Nghia Binh Province, the state invested 93 million dong and the people contributed 60 million dong. In capital construction in Haiphong, the central level provided 100 million dong in capital while the locality contributed 300 million dong. In the mechanized construction of two canals in Cho Moi District in An Giang Province, the district people's committee invested 588,000 dong while the people contributed 1.85 million dong. In the tree planting tet movement, the people have planted 2 billion trees over the past 20 years, the equivalent of roughly 1 million hectares of forests, thereby increasing the income of cooperatives and benefiting society in many ways. The movement among the people to plant mulberry trees, raise silkworms, reel silk and weave silk cloth, which has been launched in hundreds of districts, has helped to increase the supply of cloth in these localities. In industry, the people at many places in Quang Nam-Da Nang Province have contributed to the state nearly 50 percent of the capital needed to build hydroelectric power projects and installations producing consumer and export goods. In the construction of the Tri An Hydroelectric Power Plant, the people have so far contributed more than 200 million dong. In the fields of education, culture and public health, the people of many districts have contributed manpower and building materials to repair and build schools, kindergarten classes, child care centers, medical aid stations, cultural centers and so forth. The movement to plant and use medicinal herbs has

developed widely. To date, more than 3,000 villages and nearly 100 districts and precincts have established standards on the cultivation and use of medicinal herbs.

Fact have proven that the capabilities of the people are large and inexhaustible. Building socialism is not only the work of state agencies, of the installations of the state-operated economy, but also the work of the people, work performed by the state and the people together. This is the basic lesson that we have learned with regard to developing upon the system of collective ownership and employing a combined strength.

Under the guideline "the state and the people working together," some jobs are performed directly by the state with the participation of the people. Some jobs are performed directly by the people with state assistance. Some jobs are performed partly by the state and partly by the people. Other jobs are performed directly by the state and the people working together. This guideline also includes the central level, the local level and the basic level working together, the state-operated economy, the collective economy and the household economy working together...

The spirit behind the guideline "the state and the people working together" is that those jobs which comply with overall planning and plans that can be performed well by the people should be performed by the people with assistance from the state. Those jobs that can be performed well by the locality should be performed by the locality without the central level deeply involving itself in or taking over this work. Those jobs that can be performed well by the collective should be performed by the collective. Those jobs that can be performed well by the family should be performed by the family with state assistance.

The purpose of implementing the guideline "the state and the people working together" is to heighten the responsibility and uphold the right of ownership of the people in economic and cultural development and the improvement of the standard of living so that the people understand that it is they who must exercise ownership, must look after their own lives under the leadership of the party and the management of the state instead of relying upon the state. On the other hand, it also has the purpose of removing bureaucratic centralism from the state apparatus.

In the present stage, agriculture is the front of foremost importance and employs roughly 70 percent of the social labor force. Therefore, in order to implement the guideline "the state and the people working together" well, it is first of all necessary to develop a full-scale agriculture consisting of the six primary sectors and trades: grain production, industrial crop production, livestock and poultry production, tree planting and afforestation, the cultivation of marine products and small industry and the handicraft trades. Every effort must be made to build the districts so that they truly become the base for reorganizing production, simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions in the countryside and looking after the material and cultural lives of the people. The forces of the entire country must be combined with the forces of the district in order to gradually create the district agro-industrial economic structure and contribute to the

industrialization of the country. At present, and for many years to come, water conservancy remains the element of foremost importance in agricultural development. Therefore, in order to continue to properly implement the guideline "the state and the people working together" in the construction of water conservancy projects, it is necessary to plan this construction, insure strict compliance with technical standards in design work as well as construction and utilize the collective forces of the people in both the construction and operation of projects. The responsibilities of the state and the people must be clearly defined concerning each type project and a policy must be adopted for mobilizing and making economical use of the manpower and material of the people. We must strongly develop the various movements among the people to work with the state in clearing land, building new economic zones, producing building materials, plant mulberries and raise silkworms, and plant cotton and weave cloth in order to achieve partial self-sufficiency in clothing.

Coordinating the development of agriculture with forestry is an important policy in the development of agriculture and forestry. Under our system, the forests are the property of all the people. Protecting and developing the forests are the work of the people. Therefore, in order to quickly cover bare ground and hills with vegetation, implement the guideline of coordinating agriculture and forestry and spread a carpet of vegetation and forests throughout the country, it is necessary to accelerate the assignment of land and forests to cooperatives for management and the assignment of land and forests to individual families for use in the establishment of forest stands and commercial forests in accordance with the planning, plans and policies of the state. We must continue to promote the tree planting tet and expand the movement among the people to plant trees and carry out afforestation throughout the country. The planning of the planting of trees and afforestation must be coordinated with agricultural production and economic development plans and the people must be encouraged to plant any species of tree deemed profitable.

Developing light industry, small industry and the handicraft trades in order to, along with agriculture, create direct economic conditions for socialist industrialization is an important part of the party's economic line. Therefore, to implement the guideline "the state and the people working together" well, it is necessary to develop light industry along comprehensive lines, from central industry to local industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, from large-scale industry to medium and small-scale industry, from modern technology to rudimentary technology, from centralized production to decentralized production. In the advance from small-scale production, the development of small industry and the handicraft trades affords many advantages because it does not require large reserves on the part of the state but can be carried out by mobilizing capital among the people and employing large amounts of labor, as a result of which it is possible to successfully implement the guidelines "the state and the people working together" and "the state-operated economy, the collective economy and the household economy working together." It is necessary to widely develop small industry and the handicraft trades in the cities and the countryside and employ suitable forms of organization and transformation based on the nature and characteristics of each trade sector, each project and each service. The

production and business guideline of small industry and the handicraft trades is to coordinate specialization with the diversification of production. Every cooperative must adopt plans for cultivating manual skills and making investments in technology with a view toward producing a few primary, traditional products of increasing quality and in increasingly large quantities in order to control the market and achieve close identification between the cooperative and the product it produces. On the other hand, the variety of products being produced must be increased to meet the requirements of the market and improve the living standard of cooperative members.

Developing communications and transportation is an important prerequisite to maintaining production, supporting everyday needs and strengthening the national defense system. In order to develop communications and transportation rapidly, it is necessary, together with the state investing capital in and focusing its efforts on the construction of such important projects as railroads and highways and the expansion of long distance ocean transportation, to mobilize the various localities and the people to contribute money and manpower to the development of rural communications, communications in the mountains, river transportation and the production and widespread use of rudimentary and improved means of transportation. In addition, plans must be adopted for mobilizing the people to participate in the maintenance of communications security and the timely repair of roads and bridges.

Accelerating our exports so that products can be imported is a task of strategic significance in all economic activities. To increase our exports, in addition to focusing our efforts on the production of a number of main products of high value in large quantities, we must also export every product that can be exported under the guideline "gathering small forces into one large force" in order to earn additional foreign currency. Therefore, it is necessary to properly implement the guidelines "the central level and the locality working together" and "the state and the people working together" in the production of export goods. We must agitate among the people to practice economy in consumption so that goods can be exported and encourage every household, every person to participate in the production of exports. In the years ahead, we must endeavor to achieve the target of each laborer working from 50 to 100 days per year in the production of export goods and each citizen producing export goods worth 100 to 200 dong.

Our socio-economic strategy not only demands that the economy be developed, but also demands comprehensive development of the economy, culture and society to stabilize and gradually improve the material and cultural lives of the people. Therefore, it is necessary to widely implement the guidelines "the central level and the locality working together" and "the state and the people working together" in the fields of culture, education and public health. We must continue to mobilize the people to contribute manpower and money to the construction of child care centers, kindergarten classes, schools, cultural centers and other public welfare projects. We must promote the disease prevention hygiene movement and complete public health projects.

To implement the guideline "the state and the people working together" well, it is necessary to utilize the different segments of the economy in the

following ways: continuously strengthening the dominant role played by the state-operated economy and establishing the business independence of economic units so that the state-operated economy becomes a model of productivity, quality and efficiency; encouraging the development and improving the quality of the collective economy and adopting correct policies to insure that it is better to earn a living collectively than privately; and making correct use of the private economy by developing upon its positive aspects, curbing its negative aspects and bringing its production and business within the sphere of socialism. Encouraging the development of the household economy is the most effective way to mobilize the people to participate in economic work and implement the guideline "the state and the people working together." In the countryside, the household economy must be developed on the basis of the allocation of crops, cultivated fish, poultry and livestock and the development of the handicraft trades. In the cities, the household economy primarily involves the handicraft trades, contract work, the services...and the production of additional vegetables, fruit and food products where possible. To encourage the development of the household economy, the state must provide assistance in the form of loans, seed, livestock feed, technicians and so forth. On the other hand, enterprises and cooperatives must appropriately concern themselves with guiding and assisting the household economy.

To implement the guidelines "the state and the people working together," "the central level, the local level and the basic level working together" and "the state-operated economy, collective economy and household economy working together" well, it is necessary to make changes and improvements to economic management, abolish the style of management characterized by administrative procedures and subsidization and implement socialist business management to maintain the spirit of ownership and vigorously tap the creativity of the people.

The realities of the new contracts within agriculture, the "complete job" contracts in capital construction and the expansion of contract wages and piecework wages within industry have proven that "assigning contracts" is a good system because it truly upholds the right of ownership of the laborer as well as economic units, closely ties common interests to the interests of the individual and builds the enthusiasm of the masses for work. To implement the guidelines "the state and the people working together" and "the central level and the locality working together," it is necessary to perfect the system of product contracts within agriculture and suitably expand the contract system to the other fields.

We must continue to study, amend and eventually perfect the system of economic policies, especially the economic leverage policies, with a view toward coordinating and balancing the various economic interests. Concerning this matter, we request that the localities and the laborer place the interests of the entire country, place common interests above everything else; on the other hand, we must also be fully concerned with and appropriately encourage the interests of the localities and the immediate interests of the individual laborer. Only when the localities and the individual laborer have interests of their own do they work with enthusiasm to accelerate production and develop every potential, thereby benefiting all of society in many ways. A mechanism

must be established whereby common interests and separate interests reflect efforts toward the same end and are brought into harmony with one another so that when the localities and the individual laborer act in accordance with their own interests, they are also acting in accordance with the common interests of society.

A policy must be adopted that clearly defines the relationships between the state and the people, defines such things as which jobs are to be performed by the state and which by the people; and which areas of work should be undertaken by the state and which by the people. As regards those jobs that are performed by the state and the people working together, there is a need to clearly define the scope and extent of the work to be performed by the state and the work to be performed by the people.

"Without the support of the people no job can be performed, regardless of how easy it might be; with the support of the people, every job can be performed, regardless of how difficult it might be." The realities of the revolution have offered eloquent proof of this. In economic construction and cultural development, tapping the spirit of collective ownership and employing a combined strength--the concerted strength of the state and the inexhaustible strength of the people--are the factors of foremost importance behind every success.

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LENINISM--MARXISM IN OUR TIMES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 84 pp 10-19, 70

[Article by Nguyen Duc Binh]

[Text] The overall political picture of the world today is one of the three revolutionary currents continuously growing in strength, continuing to attack imperialism and winning gradual victory while imperialism, despite extensive efforts to mount a counter-attack in a vain attempt to regain lost positions, remains unable to reverse the situation in a fundamental way and is becoming increasingly mired in its most comprehensive and deepest crisis, a crisis from which there is no escape. The system of socialist countries--the factor determining the development of mankind--is increasingly displaying strong vitality and its superiority over the imperialist system of capitalism. Today, the communist movement is the political movement that has the broadest and strongest influence, is the vanguard of progressive forces in the struggle to transform the world along the lines of revolution. The power and the victorious development of the three revolutionary currents of our times are eloquent proof of the inexhaustible vitality, the creativity and the international significance of Marxism-Leninism. The thinking of communism has attracted billions of hearts and minds, not only as the only scientific world view, but also by means of a broad political movement that extends over all continents, especially by means of real socialism, which exists as a world system in which the working class, laboring people and once oppressed nations are the masters of their destinies, the masters of society, the masters of the development of history. All of these factors are providing hope and tremendous inspiration to the nations struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

These historic realities have made our enemies very worried. They are vainly looking for every way to block the influence of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The imperialists, international reactionaries and opportunists and revisionists of all shades are frantically intensifying the ideological-theoretical struggle against Marxism-Leninism in a vain attempt to coordinate with the re-establishment of a cold war atmosphere by carrying out acts of sabotage within the socialist countries and sabotaging the international solidarity of communists.

On the other hand, the new course of development on which we are embarked, the more than a few difficulties being encountered by the socialist countries, the continuous growth of nationalist and democratic movements and the vigorous development of the scientific-technological revolution, all of these processes have been accompanied by new concepts and schools of thinking that cannot always easily be identified as revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, creative or opportunistic, progressive or reactionary.

The entire situation faces communists with the task of deeply analyzing new phenomena and issues from a sound scientific perspective and waging a relentless and effective struggle against anti-Marxist trends of every shade. One of the main approaches taken by the enemy to attack Marxism-Leninism and communism is to distort Leninism, to deny that Leninism is a worldwide doctrine, deny the oneness between Leninism and Marxism. Our enemies know full well that all of the great feats of arms recorded by the communist parties and laboring people of the world have been closely associated with the name, career and doctrine of Lenin, that to deny the value of Leninism is to deny the value of Marxism itself, to, in actuality, deny the value of real socialism, to divide the international communist and worker movement, to disorient the masses in their struggle within the developed capitalist countries and the national liberation and national independence movements, to oppose the Soviet Union--the home of Leninism, the citadel of the world revolution, and to oppose the world socialist community--the factor determining the development of mankind today. Therefore, protecting Leninism, protecting the inherent internal unity of Marxism-Leninism, protecting the Soviet Union and the socialist community, protecting the international solidarity of revolutionary forces and struggling against each tactic of class enemies and ideological enemies within the camp of imperialism and the international reactionaries as well as within the communist and worker movement, these have been and continue to be the foremost task of all Marxist-Leninist parties, a task that cannot be neglected.

V.I. Lenin was the person who inherited and developed upon the theory of Marx in our age. Leninism is Marxism in the age of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, the age of the collapse of capitalism and the victory of socialism, the age of the transition by mankind from capitalism to socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

During the very first days of his revolutionary life, against the background of imperialism, Lenin irrevocable decided to follow the path of Marx, to use Marxism as his theoretical method, to make the realities of Russia and world capitalism the subjects of his analysis and, on this basis, formulated his faultless revolutionary doctrine for the proletariat. Pointing out the tremendous importance of theory, of ideology to the revolutionary movement and the liberation of society, Lenin wrote: "Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement"(1); moreover, "there is no revolutionary theory outside Marxism."(2) Even in his early works, we readily see the determined stand Lenin took in the struggle against the "critics of Marx," see that he closely tied the basic interests of the proletarian movement to the struggle against bourgeois ideology and every school of reactionary thinking. Lenin considered protecting the purity of the doctrine of Marx and struggling against bourgeois ideology to be the necessary prerequisites to the

creative development of Marxism, the establishment of the new style party of the working class and the uniting of the international forces of the proletariat for the victory of the revolution.

Lenin adopted the entire thinking of Marx and Engels and enhanced all three of the components of Marxism: philosophy, political economics and scientific socialism. Within the diversity of his thinking and the breadth of his scientific knowledge, knowledge which encompassed many fields of social life, the material dialectic arose as the core of Lenin's thinking and theory, as a brilliant, unequalled example of his attitude of loyalty and creativity toward Marxism. Creatively developing upon and applying the Marxist dialectic to the specific conditions of Russia and the world back then, Lenin confirmed that in the age of imperialism, the antagonisms between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, instead of diminishing, become sharper and an organized political revolution led by the working class to topple the old system and establish the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat becomes an unavoidable necessity. Lenin reached the logical conclusions that imperialism is the "eve of the proletarian revolution" and that the collapse of capitalism can and must occur first within a country such as Russia and need not be dependent upon the outbreak of the proletarian revolution in all countries.

Following the victory of the October Revolution on the basis of the great heritage of theory handed down by Marx and Engels concerning the shape of communist society and the process leading to the "birth" of the new society, Lenin explained in detail the nature and tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Through his argument on the ability of backward countries to advance directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, Lenin made an important contribution to clarifying the predictions of Marx and Engels and showed the unequalled creativity of the dialectic concerning this leap forward in man's development under the new historical conditions that exist.

In the face of the complex realities of Russia at the end of the 19th century, realities which the members of the populist faction and the economic faction as well as subjective sociologists were at a loss to explain, Lenin, through his remarkable ability to think in theoretical terms and his deep understanding of the Marxist method, "dissected" Russian society and shed further light on the doctrine of Marx concerning the emergence, development and inevitable destruction of capitalism. His work "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" can be called the fifth volume of "Capital." His conclusion that state capitalism is "the fullest possible material preparation for socialism, is the foyer to socialism, is the rung on the ladder of history immediately below the rung called socialism,"(3) is a very revolutionary and scientific argument of Lenin that the present day realities of state capitalism, instead of refuting, have offered even more eloquent proof of its accuracy.

When the revolution seized power, Lenin, as the highest leader of the Soviet party and state, creatively developed upon and applied, in both practice and theory, the thinking of Marx and Engels in transforming the old society and building and managing the new society.

The doctrine of scientific socialism of Marx and Engels, having been brought to a new level of development and made extremely profound and practical by Lenin, equipped Russian revolutionaries and the international communist movement with a system of scientific theory on revolutionary strategy and tactics and a weapon with which to struggle against every rightist and "leftist" opportunistic tendency. On the basis of his analysis of the antagonisms in Russian society and the world situation and by applying to the new circumstances of history the thinking of Marx on violent revolution, the inevitable need to crush the bourgeois state government and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, the methods for carrying out the revolution and the various forms of struggle, Lenin equipped the working class and laboring people of Russia with the revolutionary knowledge needed to gradually seize political power. The great victory of the October Revolution became a unique model of how to direct revolutionary strategy and employ the methods of revolution. Inflexible in matters of principle and highly flexible in specific tactics, these were the traits that Lenin exhibited in the course of guiding the revolution.

Lenin's greatest accomplishment, combining theory with revolutionary practice, led to the founding and development of the Russian Bolshevik Party. Even amidst the circumstances of the bourgeois democratic revolution, he argued the need for leadership by the proletariat and struggled to make this leadership a reality. He laid the theoretical-ideological foundation for and personally built the first new style proletarian party. Lenin constantly demanded that communists possess a high awareness of revolutionary theory and a high sense of organization, live close to the masses, be brave and possess the virtue of making sacrifices and being ready to lay down their lives for the cause of revolution. When the party was in political power, he required that strict measures be taken to prevent bureaucracy and remoteness from the masses, that a continuous effort be made to improve the ability of the party to lead, especially in the field of economic-social management.

In all areas of fundamental importance, Lenin was very loyal to Marxism, loyal in the truest sense, that is, instead of simply mouthing the words of Marxism, he was loyal to its essential spirit, to that which created the living soul of Marxism, the theoretical method of Marx. It is this alone that possesses lasting, universal vitality. Such loyalty encompasses and demands creativity. He recognized that the irresistible attraction of Marxism lay in the fact that it is, by nature, both rigorously scientific and highly revolutionary. In this spirit, Lenin applied, analyzed and reached new conclusions from the specific circumstances of history concerning each theory of Marxism. Through the general, the specific became profound, living reality. In Lenin's hands, the Marxist theoretical method became a remarkable tool for finding specific solutions for every specific situation. This creativity had its origins in the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism. Revolution is creativity, revolution demands true science. And, the nature of science, of genuine science, is revolution, is creativity, is the moving force behind change and progress. Existing principles, when applied to the new circumstances of history, can lead to new conclusions, conclusions that sometimes appear to contradict previous conclusions. This is not something that we should fear. From new realities, new principles emerge. Creativity is the product and the inevitable demand of growth. Without creativity, there can be no true

loyalty. Lenin (as well as Marx and Engels) embodied the qualities of a scholar and a revolutionary who fought tirelessly for the cause of the working class. However, this was not only due to Lenin, the individual, but mainly to the fact that his system of thoughts and theories was, by nature, both scientific and revolutionary, as a result of which Leninism and Marxism are one, Leninism is the logical extension of Marxism, Leninism is Marxism in our times.

This obvious fact completely refutes the anti-scientific and absurd arguments that deny the inherent, internal integrity of Marxism-Leninism as a complete doctrine of the revolutionary working class. Such skepticism of this integrity, even the failure to immediately recognize Marxism as a complete body of theory, have revealed the insincerity and hostility of some "Marxist scholars. E. Bernstein, K. Kautsky and others once purposely created "contradictions" within Marxism by making up incredible stories about the differences between the "young" Marx and the "old" Marx, between Marx and Engels, between Lenin's views and Marxism. Lenin directed toward these opportunist and revisionist elements the criticism they deserved. In the early 1970's, we again witnessed the emergence of more than a few reactionary arguments spreading slander about "pluralistic Marxism" or the "diversity" of Marxism. Their method, although very sophisticated and seemingly scientific, constituted scientific fraud. By lumping together under Marxism everyone from Lenin and the communists to the social democrats, from the Trotskyites to the revisionists and opportunists of all sorts, they rejected Leninism as the logical successor to and the continued development of Marxism. They viewed Leninism as but one of several dozen equally important "trends" within Marxism. One of them once declared that "the integrity of 'Marxism-Leninism' no longer exists; there is no continuous path of development between Marx and modern Soviet textbooks... Rather, there are stark, clear differences among Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism and post-Stalin viewpoints." He maintained that Marxism had split into three elements: Soviet-style communism, the doctrine of Mao Zedong and reform communism consisting of "humanist socialism," "democratic socialism," "intellectual socialism," "people's socialism," etc.(V. Leonhac, 1970). These were nothing more than attempts by Marxist impersonators to put together an eclectic hodgepodge of reform and bourgeois social theories, theories that constituted anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist trends from the very outset. The so called "neo-Marxism," "Marxism in the second half of the 20th century," the "sinoized Marxism" of Mao Zedong, "European communism" and so forth are merely deceptive labels. To these kinds of "Marxism," to these kinds of "Marxists," the words of Lenin apply: they "applied Marxism in a way that alters the entire substance of this philosophy."(4)

Disregarding facts, some persons have advanced the groundless argument that Marx and Engels, although they engaged in political activities, were basically theorists and that Lenin, although he did do work in the field of theory, was basically a revolutionary strategist and tactician. From this, they deduce that Marxism is only a social science, only a theory on social processes that reaches certain political conclusions and that Leninism is only a revolutionary ideology supported by some theoretical argumentation in which priority is given to matters of political tactics and Marxist humanism is reduced to an issue of secondary importance. They intentionally do not

acknowledge the organic oneness between revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice within Marxism, within Leninism or the inherent, organic oneness between the theoretical work and the political activities in the careers of Marx, Engels and Lenin. In truth, in order to win victory for the cause of liberating the proletariat, these men had to devote much time and effort to the study and development of theory in order to become the founders of a revolutionary doctrine that is truly scientific. The doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin is not a scholastic theory, but the science of revolutionary struggle, of supporting the liberation of the proletariat and all oppressed laborers and peoples, the science of transforming the old world and building the new in exact accordance with the laws that govern the development of history. All of these men possessed the genius of a theorist, a class leader and a practical revolutionary. If concrete, practical activities were more a part of the works and life of Lenin it was because Lenin lived and worked under the new circumstances of history that existed when the proletarian revolution broke out and directly faced the issue of seizing political power and then consolidating the proletarian state and beginning the work of transforming the old society and building the new--circumstances which did not exist in the era of Marx and Engels.

As Marxism in our times, Leninism is universal in nature. It is the scientific foundation underlying the strategy and tactics of the world revolutionary movement and the work of building socialism and communism. Leninism is Marxism not only in the age of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, but throughout the entire period of man's transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. Leninism is the universal tool for recognizing and transforming the world through revolution in our times and in every country, regardless of its level of social development. Creative experiences recorded by the communist and worker party under specific historic circumstances are of very important significance--such creativity is necessary and irreplaceable--and must be understood as the application and further enhancement of Leninism, as Leninism in action, as living Marxism-Leninism. Reality is providing irrefutable proof that no party can continue to be a genuine communist party, retain the trust of the masses or strengthen its political position if, in practice, it opposes Leninism!

This truth has completely exposed the arguments of the bourgeois scholars and opportunist and revisionist elements that Leninism is merely a unique Russian phenomenon, is "Russian" Marxism, is but one of many forms of Marxism of a "partial" nature that can only be applied to underdeveloped countries, is the unique product of "backward" Russia. They viciously distort the great October Socialist Revolution as the "Russian model," distort the socialism being built in the Soviet Union as a "bureaucratic system," as an "extremist regime" characteristic of the backward industrial countries... Because they cannot easily dismiss Leninism, bourgeois and socialist-reform thinkers sometimes feign objectivity and acknowledge that Lenin carried on and developed upon the work of Marx in a logical manner. This, however, is nothing more than scientific fraud because, in actuality, they explain Leninism as only the "imposition of Marxist views upon the circumstances of Russia, as the sum of the thinking and experiences of the Russian Revolution"(V. Leonhac, 1970). Their underlying purpose is to prove that Lenin's doctrine is not international in nature, prove that its methodology is not universal in its

application and deny that new phenomena arising in the development of society and science can be explained through the theory and method of Leninism. In the final analysis, they seek to impede the awakening and development of class consciousness among workers in the developed capitalist countries, disorient them in their struggle and thwart the explosion of national consciousness among the colonial and dependent peoples. They want to sow doubt over whether mankind's transition to socialism that began with the October Revolution is a logical historical process whose time has come. On this basis, they seek to divide the proletarian movement in all countries and the national liberation movements from the socialist system. In view of the worldwide, historic significance of Leninism, of the great October Revolution, in view of the tremendous achievements recorded in socialist and communist construction in the Soviet Union and throughout the socialist community and in view of the rising tides of national liberation, social liberation, anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism, the emergence of these arguments is not difficult to understand.

Contrasting "backward" Russia, a country without "a democratic tradition," to the "progressive" and "democratic" countries of Western Europe in a vain attempt to show the Russian revolutionary worker movement as the opposite of the worker movement in Western Europe, refute the existence of the internal and inherent integrity of Marxism and disprove the validity of the path of the October Revolution and the experiences of the Soviet Union, these are the tactics commonly employed by Western scholars of "Marxism" as well as revisionists and opportunists. As we saw in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, they even go beyond these tactics to provoke chauvinist nationalism and anti-Soviet attitudes. For example, to make ideological and psychological preparation for the "Prague spring," they spread the argument that "we see in Lenin, at least in his works, a constant conflict between the traditions of Western European Marxism, of a European culture and the strong influence of Russian traditions and the peculiarities of Russian development"(J. Coekl, 1968). That these arguments are groundless is seen in the facts that Leninism was born in Russia at a time when it was an average country from the standpoint of capitalist development, had a large force of workers numbering in the millions and the worker movement was a highly organized movement renowned for its revolutionary democratic and cultural traditions. Moreover, the birth of Leninism was also generally based on the experiences and forces of the international worker movement and the new developments of world science. Lenin himself was very well versed in the history, science, culture and traditions of the West. He always had high regard for and sought to incorporate the advances made by the West. Thus, there can no longer be any doubt that Leninism was the highest achievement of Russian and world culture in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Regardless of how sophisticated the attempts by the enemy to distort it might become, Leninism, the successor to Marxism and integral part of Marxism-Leninism, remains the solid base for the activities of revolutionary theory and practice of all communist parties in the world; remains the unshakeable foundation of international solidarity; remains the inexhaustible source of creativity of communists and the working people of all countries in the cause

of building the new society; remains an effective weapon for every movement struggling against oppression for freedom, democracy and social progress; and remains the star guiding all nations in the new era of world history.

One of the most important manifestations of the oneness between Marxism and Leninism is proletarian internationalism. This oneness has its origins in communist ideals, in the unity of basic interests in the class struggle of the world proletariat and in the objective demands of the struggle against international imperialism. Lenin developed the slogan of Marx and Engels, "workingmen of all countries, unite!", in the slogan "proletarians of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!" The thinking of Marx and Engels concerning the solidarity of the working class of all countries in the struggle against oppression and exploitation, against war was developed in a profound and practical manner by Lenin in the relentless struggle against bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism. Lenin's arguments on the right of nations to self-determination, arguments that were based on the realities of Czarist Russia--a prison of nations--and advanced against the background of the imperialist war, reflected the brilliant application of Marx's principles of internationalism.

Lenin's special contribution of considering the national liberation revolution to be a part of the proletarian revolution charted the course to victory for the working class in the mother country and the colonial peoples in their struggle. Lenin's many activities within the Communist International were striking proof of his noble internationalist thinking and stand. The tremendous sacrifices endured by the Soviet people in the great war of national defense and the unselfish, fully effective assistance provided by the party, state and people of the Soviet Union to the fraternal socialist countries in their work of building socialism, defending the socialist fatherland and protecting the gains of the revolution are brilliant expressions of Leninist international principles. In the struggle to solidify and strengthen the cooperation and mutual assistance in the spirit of comradeship among the countries within the socialist community; in the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism throughout the world and in the struggle against the bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalist tendencies that are arising at this time within the international communist and worker movement, we are made even more clearly aware of just how important the thinking of Marx and Lenin, how important our unified revolutionary doctrine on the international solidarity of communists are! Without it, there is virtually no possibility for the revolution, for the cause of socialism and communism to win victory.

It was through Leninism that Marxism was brought to Vietnam, initially through the efforts of President Ho Chi Minh. The genius of President Ho lay in the fact that he decided to follow Lenin, to follow the 3rd International and bring the Vietnamese revolution into step with the revolutionary trend of our age at a time when Marxism-Leninism was still alien to many oppressed peoples. He maintained: the national liberation revolution is an integral part of the worldwide proletarian revolution; the colonial peoples must take the initiative and struggle to liberate themselves and win victory even if the proletariat in the mother country has yet to win political power; the working class is the only force capable of leading the national liberation revolution;

and, in this revolution, workers and peasants are the two main forces. These arguments represented the direct and creative application of the thinking of Lenin concerning the national and colonial questions. President Ho often said that Lenin's "Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions" made him so happy he cried, considering it to be "what we need, it is our path to liberation."(5)

During the 1920's, the revolutionary movement within the colonial countries had yet to be appropriately evaluated within some communist parties. Meanwhile, many patriots in the colonies were unable to determine which line they should follow and unable to distinguish between right and wrong among the various doctrines and philosophies that had emerged at that time. It was precisely then that President Ho Chi Minh decisively and competently stated: "The most genuine, most reliable and most revolutionary of all the philosophies is Leninism."(6) This statement proved how deep the knowledge and how keen the political insight of President Ho were!

Since its birth, our party, which was founded and led by President Ho Chi Minh, has always been loyal to and creatively applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of our country.

Under the leadership of the party, our nation waged a steadfast struggle to seize and maintain political power, thereby throwing off the yoke of imperialist rule and bringing down the feudal system. Converging with the patriotic tradition of Vietnam, Leninism quickly took deep root in the land of Vietnam and lighted the way to our nation's liberation, as a result of which our party was able to establish our main goals at the very outset, goals that reflected the vital needs of our nation in the new age, the goals of national independence and socialism. The correctness of our revolutionary line, which originated in Marxist-Leninist ideology, has been the basic guarantee that we would meet our goals and possess the necessary forces, that we would adhere to principles but still possess the potential for creativity, that we would develop the internal strength and receive the support of international friends necessary for the victory of the revolution. President Ho said: "To us, the revolutionaries and people of Vietnam, Leninism is not only a miraculous 'bag of secrets,' not only our compass, but also the sun lighting our way to final victory, to socialism and communism."(7)

In Vietnam, a land rich in revolutionary tradition, a land that was once one of the points of convergence of the antagonisms characteristic of our times, Leninism was not only proven once again, but also offered new proof of its rich, sparkling and inexhaustible creativity. The revolutionary experiences of Vietnam have achieved some international significance because they represent a new feat of arms for Marxism-Leninism within a once colonial and semi-feudal country.

Summarizing the lessons and experiences of our country's revolution throughout the various stages of its development, stages filled with difficulties and adversity but also with feats of arms, the Political Report of our party presented by General Secretary Le Duan at the 4th Congress stated: "Our party has been able to lead the people in completing these great causes primarily because it has a thorough understanding of and is absolutely loyal to Marxism-

Leninism. The party's comprehension of Marxism-Leninism is not simply comprehension based on the words of Marxism-Leninism, but comprehension of its revolutionary and scientific essence, the two basic characteristics that combine as one within Marxism-Leninism. The party has fully reflected these fundamental characteristics of Marxism-Leninism within its political, ideological and organizational activities, in its revolutionary line and revolutionary method, in the entirety of its struggle in all periods of its history."(8)

Immediately after the total liberation of the South and the reunification of the country, our party set forth a correct general line and economic line for leading the entire country to socialism. The principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning the socialist revolution have been thoroughly implemented by our party in the dialectical spirit "truth is concrete, revolution is creativity." This is the living soul of the resolutions of the 4th Congress, the 5th Congress and the plenums of the Party Central Committee. Its purpose is to advance our country to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development.

The heritage that is the theories of Lenin encompasses every field of social life but, although it deals with matters in detail, it does not provide ready answers to all the questions raised by life today. Lenin never intended for his doctrine to serve this purpose. He wrote: "All nations will arrive at socialism, this is inevitable. However, no nation will advance to socialism by exactly the same path. Each nation will incorporate its characteristics in one form or another of the democratic system, in one type or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in one degree or another of the socialist transformation of the different aspects of social life."(9) Lenin said that Marx did not tie either his own hands or the hands of future communists by any conclusion he ever reached. Because, Marx knew that the development of history would give rise to countless new things. In turn, Lenin adopted the same attitude toward the theory he advanced and, like Marx, always demanded creativity in both the practice and theory of revolution. Of course, with regard to fundamental matters of principle, it is only in Leninism as our revolutionary and scientific methodology that correct answers can be found. Therein lies the strength of Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Our party faces extremely large historic tasks. The breadth, complexity, diversity and newness of these tasks make it even more necessary, as General Le Duan has frequently pointed out, for us to have a firm grasp of the theoretical method of Marxism-Leninism so that we can correctly and creatively resolve problems that arise in socio-economic life and in socialist transformation and construction as well as the defense of the fatherland.

We are living in a time of great, profound and repeated revolutionary changes. The political, economic and social life of the world is undergoing fundamental changes in the direction of national independence, democracy, socialism and peace. Marxism-Leninism has been and is revolutionizing the world. The legacy that Lenin left behind by developing upon the doctrine of Marx and Engels in the new age is priceless. It is truly a delusion for someone to proclaim himself to be a Marxist but not a Leninist! Can one be loyal to Marxism but reject Leninism? Can one truly be a disciple of Marxism-Leninism

but oppose the Soviet Union, oppose Vietnam, oppose real socialism? In spite of and prevailing over each of its enemies, Leninism will forever illuminate the noble goals of our times. Marxism-Leninism will forever be the banner leading us forward, leading us through every challenge, be the effective and irreplaceable weapon assisting us in winning victory over enemies of every type and advancing the cause of revolution to its ultimate objective--socialism and communism.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Vietnamese version, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 6, p 30.
2. Ibid., Volume 1, p 423.
3. Ibid., 1976, Volume 34, p 258.
4. Ibid., 1980, Volume 26, p 288.
5. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap,"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 175.
6. Ibid., Volume I, p 240.
7. Ibid., Volume II, pp 176-177.
8. "Bao cao chinh tri cua BCHTUD tai Dai hoi dai bieu toan quoc lan thu bon"[Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 182.
9. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Vietnamese version, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981, Volume 30, p 160.

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EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN THE SOVIET UNION

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[Article by Pham Minh Hac, Ph.D.]

[Text] I. The New Stage of Development and the New Requirements of Schools

In keeping with the resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the CPSU in June, 1983, the All-Union Educational Reform Committee chaired by K.U. Chernenko, who was then a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU, was established. On 4 January 1984, the Draft Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU on the Reform of General Schools and Trade Schools was made public. It became the subject of intense debate by the entire party and people of the Soviet Union. The plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU held on 10 April 1984 and the conference of the Supreme Soviet held on 12 April 1984 unanimously adopted the Main Guidelines for the Reform of General Schools and Trade Schools.

This educational reform in the Soviet Union is part of a socio-economic program designed to perfect developed socialism, more fully express the humanist nature of socialism, bring about profound changes in material production and social relations, continue to develop the socialist system of democracy and strengthen and develop Soviet life.

Prior to the October Revolution (1917), only about 28.4 percent of the persons between the ages of 9 and 49 in Russia were literate and only about 20 percent of children attended school. Seventeen years later, practically all children between the ages of 11 and 15 were attending school and the popularization (compulsory and free of charge) of Level I (4th grade) education had been achieved. In 1940, the Soviet Union wiped out illiteracy. Four years after World War II, it announced a policy to increase general school education to 7th grade and completed this work by 1956. In 1962, the education of children was universally increased to 8th grade. In 1975, the popularization of middle school (10th grade) education was achieved for students 17 years of age throughout the Union. The quality of education has also been slowly improved, thereby gradually meeting the requirements of building and defending the fatherland and contributing to the progress of mankind. Throughout this process of development, the Soviet Union has constantly been faced with and

successfully resolved contradictions between the level of development of the education system and the requirements of the country's socio-economic development.

Today, the general schools of the Soviet Union are not meeting the new requirements of the new stage of development, especially with regard to teaching the spirit of being ready to perform social work, teaching the need to consciously work for society, teaching the Marxist-Leninist world view, teaching the spirit of responsibility, the sense of organization and discipline, the spirit of vigilance and combat readiness, etc. The present contradiction within the general schools and trade schools is the contradiction between general academic subject matter (scientific and technical knowledge; work related knowledge and skills; spirit, attitudes and ethical behavior; viewpoints, stand and thinking; the selection of an occupation; mental and physical preparedness to work and fight for the cause and the socialist fatherland and so forth) and the requirements of building developed socialism. This is the contradiction between the relatively high level of universal academic training and monotonous, strenuous forms of labor that rarely require the use of one's mental capabilities, the contradiction between the widespread attitude among 10th grade graduates of only wanting to take the examination for college or vocational middle school, not to participate in productive labor, and society's very large need for labor. Therefore, this educational reform program has the following five primary tasks:

1. Improving the quality of training and education; giving students a firm grasp of science; improving the teaching of ideology-politics, the teaching of labor and ethics, the teaching of aesthetics and the teaching of physical culture; combating everything done in a form for form's sake manner and eliminating the practice of giving students a larger load than they can carry; perfecting teaching plans, programs, textbooks and instruction and teaching methods; and discarding teaching materials that are too complex.
2. Making fundamental improvements to the teaching of labor, instruction in labor and occupational counselling within the general schools; providing increased instruction in general and practical technical subjects; significantly expanding the training of skilled manual workers and eventually popularizing trade training among youths.
3. Raising the spirit of responsibility of the student toward the quality of learning and raising the student's spirit of discipline in studies and labor, increasing the independence of students and their ability to manage themselves within their organizations.
4. Enhancing the prestige of teachers and workers who serve as instructors in productive labor in the eyes of society; improving the qualifications of teachers in the areas of both theory and practice; insuring that there is an adequate number of teachers; and improving the living conditions of educational cadres.
5. Improving the general schools, trade schools and the management of the education sector.

II. The Fundamental Elements of Educational Reform

This educational reform program in the Soviet Union is mainly designed to reform the structure of general education and trade training.

In the Soviet Union, 9 year general education-work schools comprising two levels were organized in 1918. In 1934, complete middle schools extending from 1st to 10th grade were established. In 1958, education at these schools was increased to 11 years of study. In 1964, it was reduced back to 10 years of study and children began attending school at 7 years of age.

--Under the current educational reform program, children begin attending school at the age of 6. General school education lasts for 11 years. Level I consists of grades 1-4. The first years of general school are grades 5 through 9. General middle school, trade school and vocational middle school encompass grades 10 and 11. Students 6 years of age will begin to be accepted in 1st grade in the 1986-1987 school year. This change will gradually be implemented over a period of many years depending upon the construction of schools, the training of teachers, the preferences of parents, the level of development of children and local capabilities.

The determination of which schools 9th grade graduates will attend will be made in a manner consistent with the needs of the national economy, with consideration given to the preferences and abilities of the young as well as the desires of the parents of students and suggestions made by the collective of teachers. The number of 9th grade graduates entering trade schools will be doubled (in 1982, of the roughly 4 million 8th grade graduates, 60 percent continued on to 9th grade and 40 percent entered vocational middle schools and trade school). The remaining students will go on to complete 11th grade and then attend a 1 year vocational middle school, attend college or go immediately to work.

Students in grades 8 through 11 are permitted to take elective subjects to develop and enhance their skills in the subject groups of mathematics-physics, chemistry-biology and social studies-the humanities. Instruction in labor in 10th and 11th grades is being combined with general trade training. Within 5 to 10 years, trade training and general middle school education will be popularized and these two types of schools will gradually be merged.

The night schools and correspondence schools for youths and workers who have not graduated from general middle school are being maintained but must be reformed in terms of their subject matter and organization. The selection of students for colleges is also being reformed to insure equal access to college by the graduates of the various types of middle schools (general, trade and vocational).

Improving the quality of learning and teaching is an important part of the educational reform program. The task of the schools is to provide the student with deep, sound knowledge of the fundamentals of science, cultivate the ability and skill to apply knowledge in practice and teach the Marxist-Leninist world view. Therefore, teaching plans and programs, textbooks and so forth must meet the requirements raised by socio-economic, scientific and

technological advances. Within the general middle schools, more attention will be given to learning about and using modern computers. In particular, steps must be taken to eliminate the practice of giving students a larger load than they can carry and to stop teaching subjects that are of minor importance or unnecessary. Every effort will be made to combat formalism and percentism (1) in teaching and instruction. Fundamental improvements will be made in instruction and teaching related to labor and occupational counselling within the general schools and trade schools. Besides improving the quality of trade training to meet the labor requirements of the country, an academic level similar to that of the general middle schools must be maintained.

Teaching and learning methods and aids will be improved. Lists of instructional materials and the body of knowledge, abilities and skills to be taught must be made for each subject. Classroom size will be 30 children in grades 1 through 9 and 25 in grades 10 and 11.

The entire process of education and nurturing is designed to perform an extremely important task, the task of bringing about the comprehensive and balanced development of human qualities. To accomplish this, specific instructions are needed in order to implement well coordinated methods which insure that all areas of communist education, the teaching of knowledge, ideology-politics, labor, ethics and aesthetics and physical culture, comply with Lenin's teaching: "Everything in the education, training and studies of youths today must develop communist ethics..."(2)

The CPSU considers preparing the young generation for labor to be a matter of especially important significance in improving the activities of the soviet schools. Providing correct education and instruction in labor, providing occupational counselling and having students participate in work and production are irreplaceable factors in the formation of socialist character. Teaching labor and providing instruction in labor create the conditions for students to familiarize themselves with production installations, provide students with work skills and enable students to consciously select an occupation. Regulations clearly defining the requirements and extent of labor education and instruction for each level of study will be adopted. The amount of time devoted to labor education and occupational counselling will be increased from 1,000 to 2,500 hours. As regards students, the requirement of this work is to make it possible for students who are completing 8th grade to be able to engage in mature thought so that they can select an occupation and an appropriate school at which to continue their education. The Labor and Social Issues Commission of the state is in charge of occupational counselling.

To provide a good education in labor, every school must have a production installation that is provided by the state with funds, materials, skilled workers and technical cadres for this work and so forth. Tenth and eleventh grade students will study one general trade required by the locality. If conditions permit, they will learn one complete trade and be tested in the skills of that trade in accordance with the regulations of the Labor Commission, the Ministry of Education and the Trade Training Commission of the Soviet Union. At the same time, economics will be taught for the first time in the schools of the Soviet Union. The teaching of economics will include

having students actually participate in production relations, giving them a full understanding of socialist ownership, production plans, labor discipline, production discipline and wages and teaching them the value of each ruble produced through labor.

III. The Major Measures Being Taken To Carry Out Educational Reform

To carry out the large tasks involved in educational reform, one of the matters to which the CPSU is giving its attention is that of establishing coordination and unity among the school, the family and society in the education of the young generation. Social education is defined as education from kindergarten on, education outside the classroom and school, education within teenagers' and children's clubs and palaces, education within the subward, the village, etc. Many more schools and classes will be open all day long and serious steps will be taken to improve extracurricular education. Efforts will be continued to develop the agencies in charge of such educational activities outside the school as the teenagers' and children's palaces, the teenagers' and children's centers, the stations for young technicians and young students of nature, tourism, sports, music, art, dance, teenagers' and children's libraries, teenagers' and children's camps... Basic improvements will be made to educational work within the subwards, villages and neighborhoods, with the school playing the central role. The people's committees on the various levels, the Communist Youth Union, the Trade Union and the various social organizations will be in charge of all education outside the school.

More concern will be given to education at orphanages and the boarding schools for children who are attending school while undergoing medical treatment.

The family will have a greater responsibility in the education of children. Educating the young generation is the task of all citizens. The parents of students must do everything possible to help enhance the prestige of teachers and schools and teach children to care for their parents and adults.

The corps of teachers--the pride of the country and trustworthy base of the party in educational work--plays the decisive role in the education of youths and teenagers. The party is constantly concerned with the welfare of this corps and has placed teachers in a higher position than ever in society. Significant improvements must be made to the elementary and advanced training of teachers. The results of training in both theory as well as practice, the ideological level, the manual skills, the cultural standard and the ability to think of teachers must be increased. Improvements must be made to the selection of students for teachers schools. Current teacher salaries must be raised by 30 to 35 percent. More commendations and awards must be given to teachers and cadres of the education sector.

The science of education must contribute much more to the effort to raise the level and increase the results of activities within the school. The Academy of Education and the colleges must boldly shift their efforts to resolving the pressing problems of the general schools and trade schools. The Educational Science Association of the Soviet Union and the Education Museum of the Soviet Union will be established with a view toward encouraging the spread of

knowledge concerning the training of teachers and presenting and applying advanced educational experiences.

To meet the requirements of educational reform, the material base within schools will be strengthened. Many more new schools will be built, from kindergarten to college. Learning-production federations and educational facilities outside the school will be established. Housing will be built for teachers and dormitories for students. Teaching and learning aids will be produced, including electronic computing equipment.

Because general education and trade training are moving closer together and will one day be merged, joint-sector subcommittees must be organized from the central to the local level to take charge of planning, the distribution of Level II and Level III graduates, the construction of material bases, etc. A determined effort will be made to improve the style and methods of education management by making a thorough analysis of the present state of education; improving teaching plans, programs and textbooks (not by rewriting textbooks, only by revising roughly 300 points in the textbooks used in general school education, basically for the purpose of simplification); revamping the control system and greatly reducing the types of documents, directives and reports required so that educators can focus their efforts on instruction and teaching; strengthening the district education office as the agency that has the main responsibility for all educational work within the locality; creating the conditions for school principals to display creativity in their work; and enhancing the role and prestige of head teachers.

Attention will be given to the schools in the countryside. The various party committee echelons, levels of government, the Trade Union, the Youth Union and the industrial-agricultural federations must help to create good conditions for schools.

The entire party and all the people must look after the needs of the schools. The various party committee echelons must have a deep understanding of the activities of schools; promptly detect problems and offer solutions; and instruct the various levels of government, mass organizations and production and economic agencies to concern themselves with the schools. The standing committees and executive committees of party organizations must regularly meet to examine educational matters and must give special attention to the corps of teachers. Through concise notices, they must inform teachers of matters regarding the domestic and foreign policy of the party. Improvements must be made to the leadership provided by the party organizations within schools and educational agencies.

IV. Studying and Learning From the Educational Reform Now Under Way in the Soviet Union

This educational reform program in the Soviet Union is a major, extremely important policy in implementing the resolutions of the 26th Congress and the plenums of the Central Committee of the CPSU with a view toward insuring that the schools competently support the socio-economic tasks faced in the period of perfecting developed socialism. The resolutions of the Central Committee of the CPSU stress that this educational reform program is an integral part of

the process of the comprehensive and planned perfection of developed socialist society and is of major political, socio-economic and ideological importance.

To perform this task, the general school must enter a new period of development, must achieve the new quality of a unified general school that teaches labor, teaches general technical skills and also serves the functions of providing occupational counselling and some trade training within the general middle school in advance of the eventual merger of the general education system and the trade training system and the gradual (within the space of 5 to 10 years) popularization of trade training among youths. This is the requirement of present day life in the Soviet Union, is the common trend of modern education and represents an important step forward by the soviet school. The popularization of Level I education required 20 years. The popularization of Level II education also required 20 years and the popularization of Level III education required 13 years. Today, it will only take 5 to 10 years to popularize trade training. Then, the Soviet Union will be one of the first countries in the world to popularize both Level III (10th and 11th grades) education and trade training. Together with trade training, special importance will be attached to the teaching of labor and the teaching of ethics-politics and both of these efforts will be intensified.

The development of education within the Soviet Union is implementing one fundamental principle of planning better with each passing day: establishing balance between the targets set for education and the actual conditions needed to achieve these targets. The Soviet Union is enacting increasingly correct policies and investing in education as a sector, thereby directly supporting and moving closer to its socio-economic targets and satisfying social welfare needs as well.

Education is truly the work of the entire party and all the people. The Central Committee of the CPSU, the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, all sectors, circles and production enterprises, the various party committee echelons and all local governments have specific, clearly defined tasks requiring that they join efforts with the education sector in caring for the young generation. Emphasis is placed upon the role of the family in education. Increasing importance is being attached to the role of the mass organizations of youths and teenagers, the role of each student and the role of initiative, activism and creativity on the part of students as the ultimate factors determining the results of teaching and learning.

In a speech delivered at the plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU on 10 April 1984, K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, pointed out: "In order for Soviet society to steadily advance toward our great goals, each young generation must achieve a higher academic and cultural level, a higher occupational level and a higher spirit of communist activism than the preceding one. This can be said to be a law of social progress."

Studying the experiences of the soviet schools, in general, of the educational reform now under way in the Soviet Union, in particular, will help us to properly carry out Resolution 14 of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam on educational reform, Council of

Ministers' Resolutions 126 and 73 and the Resolutions of the Central Educational Reform Committee with a view toward successfully building the socialist school and insuring victory in the struggle between the "two paths" within education in our country today, thereby contributing to the performance of the two strategic tasks established by the 5th Party Congress.

FOOTNOTES

1. Percentism is the thinking that advocates doing everything for the sole purpose of recording a so called achievement to be reported to one's superiors in order to be commended and praised with little or no attention given to the quality of education.
2. K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin and I.V. Stalin: "On Youths," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, p 147.

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THREE YEARS OF OCCUPATIONAL COUNSELLING WITHIN THE GENERAL SCHOOLS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 84 pp 26-30

[Article by Nguyen Trong Bao]

[Text] At present, about 700,000 students graduate from basic general schools and 200,000 students graduate from middle level general schools each year in our country. After the middle schools, trade training schools, vocational middle schools, academies and colleges have filled their enrollments, there are still roughly one-half million students who have no occupation or no place to further their education. Therefore, providing occupational counselling to general school students and making good use of students who graduate from school are becoming a matter of increasing concern to all society. Many resolutions and directives of our party and state have stressed the importance of this issue.

Providing Occupational Counselling and Making Rational Use of Graduates Are a Matter of Basic and Pressing Importance

The education sector, in general, has the task of training new workers who exercise collective ownership, possess practical skills and meet the necessary occupational qualifications. However, within a society that consists of many different sectors and trades, each sector and trade can only absorb a certain number of persons. Moreover, every student has skills, aptitudes and aspirations that are either suited or not suited to the specific job assigned by society. The problem we face is clear: on the one hand, the socio-economic development of the entire country and each locality must be planned, which includes making projections concerning the amount and quality of labor needed for each sector and trade. On the other hand, we must equip the students with knowledge of the sectors and trades, counsel them regarding their aspirations and cultivate within them work skills consistent with the requirements of society, first and foremost the requirements of the locality. As a result, occupational instruction and counselling is extremely necessary within the general school.

Occupational counselling consists of a system of educational measures taken through activities within and outside the school with a view toward providing students with the ideological preparation, psychological preparation,

knowledge, skills, aptitude and style necessary for them, upon the completion of general school, to enter vocational schools or participate in work or production within the general sectors and trades of the locality if their process of occupational counselling included some simple trade training. The process of occupational instruction and counselling will reveal the skills and strengths of each student; help to mold and adjust their aspirations and guide them into vocational schools, into specific sectors, trades and fields of work; and help students to prepare themselves to adjust to the needs of the locality and fatherland regarding the division of social labor.

At present, we are in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, a stage in which manual labor is still widespread and social labor productivity is very low. The majority of laborers is still found in agricultural production, small industry and the handicraft trades. The number of enterprises, factors, worksites, state farms and state forestry sites is still small, consequently, the number of persons employed within the state economy is not very high. The persons engaged in indirect production account for a rather high percentage of society's work force. Yet, the prevailing attitude in society, especially among youths and teenagers, is to obtain an education to avoid a life of manual labor, to join the rolls of the state and become a cadre, not to participate in productive labor in the countryside or within the collective economy. This is an obstacle to occupational instruction and counselling within the general school. It must be pointed out that the percentage of basic general school graduates who are selected for general middle schools in our country is high (30 percent) compared to many socialist countries (see the chart below).

<u>Country</u>	<u>Percent Entering</u> <u>Trade Schools</u>	<u>Percent Entering</u> <u>Vocational Middle</u> <u>Schools</u>	<u>Percent Entering</u> <u>General Middle</u> <u>Schools</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Participating</u> <u>in Productive</u> <u>Labor and Sup-</u> <u>plementary Ed.</u>
Soviet Union	20.8	11	61	7.2
Bulgaria	48.5	19.5	27	5
Hungary	58.8	16	19	6.2
Poland	58	19	18	5
Czechoslovakia	60.5	18.3	14	7.2
GDR	79.1	7	11.4	2.5

About 30,000 general middle school graduates (15 percent) are selected for the academies and colleges each year. For the foreseeable future, this percentage cannot be raised. Therefore, the remaining majority of students (70 percent of basic general school graduates and 85 percent of general middle school graduates) must be directed toward jobs within the fields of agriculture, forestry, fishing, small industry and the handicraft trades within the locality, within the collective economy and be prepared to capably support the three revolutions within the locality through their knowledge and skills.

Another obstacle to occupational instruction and counselling is the lack of a clear division of responsibilities for planning the utilization of students who complete their general school education in the years ahead. Council of Ministers' Decision 126/CP on The Occupational Instruction and Counselling and

Rational Use of General School Graduates assigned the people's committees on the various levels the main responsibility in the utilization of students. However, many localities have not tied their plans for the utilization of students to the training of cadres, manual workers and the technical labor force, have not incorporated this work within their comprehensive planning and have not closely tied it to the localities' plans for economic, cultural and social development, as a result of which situations such as the following have developed: either not having enough technical cadres or the students who graduate from school are either not utilized or are utilized in an irrational manner, thereby having a reverse effect upon and posing difficulties to occupational counselling within the school.

Only when the governments on the various levels, especially the basic level, concern themselves with providing concrete leadership and guidance so that occupational counselling and the utilization of graduates are closely tied to the socio-economic development plan of the locality will occupational instruction and counselling within the general school truly yield good results: students have peace of mind and work hard at their studies when they know what their occupation will be and localities can effectively plan their work force from the very time it is being trained, even their highly technical labor force, the sons and daughters of the locality who have been sent to study at academies and colleges.

Occupational Counselling by the School

Over the past several years, in addition to the advanced schools that have been and are developing, such as the Bac Ly Basic General School in Ha Nam Ninh Province, the Nghia Dong Basic General School in Nghe Tinh Province, the Cao Ba Quat General Middle School in Hanoi, the Hoa Binh Socialist Labor Youth School in Ha Son Binh Province and others, many additional schools that provide good occupational counselling have emerged. These are the basic general schools of Nam Chan in Ha Nam Ninh Province, Thang Loi in Bac Thai Province, Nguyen Duc Canh in Haiphong, An Dao in Vinh Phu, Phan Tay Ho and Tran Hung Dao in Ho Chi Minh City...; the work-study general middle schools of An Thai and Bach Dang in Haiphong, Quan Trieu in Thai Nguyen Province, Con Tien and Tan Lam in Binh Tri Thien Province, Thong Nhat in Thanh Hoa Province...; the general middle schools of Viet Tri in Vinh Phu Province, Quang Trung in Nghia Binh Province, etc. Although their initial efforts have differed, all of the schools mentioned above have generally taken the following steps:

They have held discussions in order to show each teacher the pressing need for occupational counselling, thereby helping to bring about a change in thinking with regard to the goal of training the new laborer: only a few general school students will continue their studies, the majority will participate in work and production within the locality in which the school is located. On this basis, these schools have discussed and found ways to gradually resolve their difficulties and problems in order to provide occupational counselling by various means: through classroom subjects, through technical training, through work and production, through extracurricular activities and so forth. All of these schools recognize that in order to provide good occupational counselling, it is necessary to provide a comprehensive education, necessary

that cultural subjects be both taught and learned in the spirit of deriving general technical knowledge and occupational counselling from them; on the other hand, it is necessary to teach technical skills and organize work and production in a manner closely associated with the specific sectors and trades within the locality.

To resolve the difficulties encountered as a result of the shortage of technical instructors and material bases, these schools have taken the steps of building and training a corps of academic teachers who also teach technical subjects (by sending teachers to many different types of technical training); inviting technical cadres, skilled workers, experienced producers, retired persons who are thoroughly familiar with a technology and so forth to serve as the "second teacher" and instruct students or guide them through practical application; requesting that the upper level send technical cadres and technical instructors to strengthen the corps of teachers, etc. With contributions and assistance provided by the locality and some equipment supplied by the state, these schools have gradually established school gardens and school shops and built practical application centers for technical skills, work and production. They have sent students to work, participate in production and engage in the practical application of technical skills at production collectives, agricultural cooperatives, cooperatives in small industry and the handicraft trades, enterprises, factories, worksites, state farms, forestry sites and so forth. These activities are of educational significance and yield economic returns. Each session of work is organized along the following lines: students work in an organized, disciplined, technical and productive manner consistent with their psychology, physiology and age.

Leadership and assistance provided by the party committee, government, sectors and production installations at the places where schools are located are a very important factor in the schools performing the jobs mentioned above well. The schools report to the local party committee and government on their training targets and the number of students graduating each year. The localities inform the schools of the guidelines for economic development and the development of sectors and trades, provide the schools with production facilities, send technical cadres and skilled workers to schools to teach technical skills, teach the skills of traditional sectors and trades, etc. Of importance is the fact that the school, production installation and people's committee discuss the plan for the training and utilization of graduates. The Nam Chan School in Ha Nam Ninh Province, the Chu Phan and Cao Ba Quat Schools in Hanoi, the An Thai and Bach Dang Schools in Haiphong, the Thong Nhat School in Thanh Hoa Province and other schools have begun to draw up contracts between production installations (party A) and the school (party B) with arbitration provided by the people's committee and the execution of contracts supervised by the Education Council. On the basis of these contracts, the schools provide occupational counselling and, at the end of the year, hold a ceremony to turn over graduates to production installations within the locality.

The Localities and Production Installations Providing Occupational Counselling and Utilizing School Graduates

During the past 3 years, the party committees of some localities, realizing the urgent need to revise educational methods in order to establish a corps of new laborers, have begun to closely tie education to the utilization of the student work force in economic and cultural development within their localities. Thirty provinces and municipalities have issued directives and resolutions on occupational counselling and the utilization of graduates. In wards and districts of Haiphong (Le Chan and Thuy Nguyen), Hanoi (Dong Da and Gia Lam), Ho Chi Minh City (Go Vap and the 11th Precinct), Ha Nam Ninh (Nam Ninh), Binh Tri Thien (Huong Phu), Quang Nam-Da Nang, Dong Nai, Tien Giang, Vinh Phu, Ha Son Binh and many other places, there are villages, subwards and production installations that have recorded good experiences in occupational counselling and closely tied education to the three revolutions within the locality.

At these places, the party committee and people's committee have taken steps to insure that the key cadres of the different sectors and production installations have a thorough understanding of Council of Ministers' Decision 126/CP. At these places, the decision was made when formulating comprehensive planning and the plan for socio-economic development to include the planning of the training of cadres and the training, deployment and utilization of the work force. Many provinces and municipalities have adopted detailed plans regarding the network and system of schools and classes, from pre-school education and general school education to vocational education. Many places have opened schools and classes for students gifted in composition, mathematics, physics, foreign languages, technology, art, athletics and so forth; opened schools and classes for youths and teenagers who dropped out of school; developed various types of general-technical middle schools, academic-trade supplementary education schools, etc. Provinces and municipalities have discussed the possibility of reorganizing the conventional trade training schools, the vocational middle schools and the academies in order to eventually train well qualified manual workers and middle level cadres. Many places have also given their attention to opening informal, short-term schools and classes providing instruction in crop production, animal husbandry, art, the traditional trades, the services, etc. Ho Chi Minh City, Hanoi, Haiphong and Ha Nam Ninh Province have also given their attention to opening trade training centers; organizing trade training at production installations; opening vocational schools; having the mass organizations and private individuals organize trade training and so forth. Many places have concerned themselves with reorganizing student recruiting and registering students at installations in order to train a corps of scientific, technical and professional cadres for their locality.

By relying upon agricultural cooperatives and cooperatives within small industry and the handicraft trades, some villages and subwards in the districts of Nam Ninh and Hai Hau in Ha Nam Ninh Province and in Thanh Oai District and Ha Dong City in Ha Son Binh Province as well as Le Chan Ward in Haiphong, Hoan Kiem Ward and Dan Phuong District in Hanoi have organized instruction in the popular trades of the locality and send students to work in the production teams and units of these installations.

Many production installations also send skilled technical cadres to schools to make detailed presentations of their sector or trade (the tools and machines used, the products produced, the length of training, the general knowledge and skills required, the illnesses that one must protect against, the trade's prospects...) and guide students through practical application. Some places have enabled students to learn about enterprises by making it possible for them to participate in practical application, work or production within a number of shops or they have provided schools with machinery, equipment, implements, raw materials, land, seed, capital and so forth with which to establish school shops, school gardens, etc. Some production installations have held discussions and signed contracts with schools regarding occupational counselling and the utilization of graduates.

The Hoa Binh Automobile Repair Plant in Ha Son Binh Province, the 1 May Automobile Repair Plant in Hanoi, the Exported Leather Shoe Enterprise in Hanoi, the Shipbuilding Enterprise in Haiphong, the Thong Nhat and Sao Vang State Farms in Thanh Hoa Province, the Tan Lam State Farm in Binh Tri Thien Province, the An Thai and An Tho Cooperatives in Haiphong and the Thach Ban and Chu Phan Cooperatives in Hanoi all report that the general school students who have received occupational counselling at school do better work and achieve higher productivity than other students when they come to learn a trade, work or participate in production at their units.

At those places that have begun to do a good job of providing occupational counselling and utilizing graduates, the role played by the Education Council, the student parents association, the Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Trade Union and the other mass organizations is clearly evident. Under the guidance of the party committee, these organizations have joined efforts to form a combined strength, thereby overcoming very many difficulties and problems. Ho Chi Minh City has resolved the problems of grain, food products, paper, pens and allowances for hours spent teaching as well as the problems of investing in material bases, the depreciation of material bases and so forth. Haiphong has established a specific model: the school-subward-enterprise. The Thong Nhat State Farm in Thanh Hoa Province considers the school to be one of its production units, etc.

The experience of the past several years shows that we possess all the conditions and capabilities needed to gradually begin providing good occupational counselling and making rational use of students upon their graduation from school, thereby meeting the requirements and satisfying the aspirations of large numbers of students and their parents while contributing to the training of the corps of new workers, new persons. If this work achieves the desired results, our general schools will become integrated general-work-technical schools and the education we provide will truly be closely tied to our common revolutionary cause.

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THE PROBLEM OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 84 pp 31-36

[Article by Vu Cao Dam]

[Text] The 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee discussed one of the most burning issues in the development of our country's revolution: the improvement of economic management. This is also an issue in the development of the socialist countries.

As far back as the 3rd National Congress, our party raised the issue of improving economic management, considering it to be an important task in the course of perfecting socialist production relations and stimulating the development of production forces. We launched the "three things to build, three things to combat" movement and phase I and phase II of the cooperative management improvement movement. We conducted campaigns to improve the management of enterprises. We took measures to reorganize production and so forth. Many of these measures helped to bring about positive changes within the organization and management of production and received the wholehearted support of the masses, such as the final product contracts with individual laborers, the establishment of a proper relationship among the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer, etc. Looking back on all of these measures that have been taken, one can clearly see that when these measures have been consistent with the laws of development of the economy and society, they have quickly become part of life and generated an atmosphere of enthusiasm and creativity at installations. When these measures have not been consistent with these laws, they have only led to artificial results and been quickly thrown out of production.

The important lesson that must be learned here is the need for standards to evaluate the correctness of measures taken to improve management. Only by reaching a consensus concerning these standards is it possible to work together to resolve the present problems of production. Five years ago, the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee pointed out that the highest standards for evaluating the correctness of policies are "whether or not they raise labor productivity, develop production and improve the living standards of the people."⁽¹⁾ By adhering to these standards, we

will not have to worry or complain when installations sometimes must "violate" policies to meet production requirements. From such "violations" a lesson can be learned concerning the need to examine positions and policies that have been promulgated so that we can promptly revise them when necessary and correct the practice of rigidly maintaining certain measures that have long been misunderstood as representing "immutable principles" of socialism, as a result of which the economy has been made even more inflexible and it, production installations and the individual labor have been robbed of their dynamism. These standards were reaffirmed in the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee: "We must enable installations to display greater initiative and creativity and increase their financial independence" while creating the conditions for them to "accelerate their production and business with increasingly high productivity, quality and efficiency."

During the recent plenum of the Central Committee, with the same objective in mind, Le Duan pointed out the following when talking about the role of science and technology in economic management: "Thus, there are two closely related elements at work here: on the one hand, we must raise the level of science and technology in management and insure that all decisions made with regard to investments, production, distribution, circulation and consumption are timely and correct; on the other hand, we must establish a management mechanism that truly stimulates production by means of science and technology and, as a result, brings about the continuous improvement of products, economization in the consumption of materials and high productivity, quality and economic returns."(2)

In the improvement of management, these two elements are objective demands of the process of development, are the application of the line on the "scientific-technological revolution being the key revolution" in practice.

I. The Use of Science and Technology in Support of Management

Production within a modern industrial enterprise cannot be organized at the level of knowledge of the small-scale farmer. In broader terms, the more society develops, the more necessary it becomes to achieve a high level of science and technology in the management of society.

In view of our country's circumstances, the application of science and technology in support of management generally consists of the following:

1. Providing the minimum technical conditions needed for the quantitative evaluation of production plan norms.

Of all the work involved in the management of production, this is the simplest to perform. It entails setting economic-technical quotas and qualitative standards for products and providing weighing and measuring devices to inspect compliance with established quantitative norms.

In recent years, there has been a serious shortage of weighing and measuring devices, especially large scales at transportation terminals. Moreover, at many places, weighing and measuring devices have been intentionally damaged to serve the illegitimate interests of a number of persons, thereby posing

difficulties to management. Therefore, it is extremely necessary to strengthen the apparatus set up to inspect weighing and measuring devices, qualitative standards, regulations and codes in production. Of course, providing additional technical equipment for use in management only yields good results when this effort is accompanied by a system of policies. Once the state adopts appropriate policies regarding laborers, policies that enable them to display initiative in their production and business, they, themselves, in the desire to achieve higher economic returns, will become fully conscious of the importance of weighing and measuring devices. The problem faced here is the need to create within production true concern on the part of the individual worker for the quality of the product he or she produces.

2. Providing scientific bases for management decisions.

In every social activity and on the administrative level, every management decision has an impact upon persons in the performance of their tasks, upon the results of their activity. In production, these results are measured in terms of economic efficiency. A correct management decision has the effect of stimulating activism and creativity on the part of each worker and, as a result, leads to efficiency in their activities. An incorrect management decision has the opposite effect.

However, society is a dynamic system. A decision that is entirely correct in one set of circumstances might be entirely unsuitable in another set of circumstances. The problem is that the manager must have a thorough understanding of and know how to correctly apply the laws of development that govern the subject being managed, the laws of human psychology and the economic laws of society.

Discovering the laws of nature, society and thought is the function of science. The manager must use science as a capable assistant, as an instrument for correctly applying these laws, for laying the groundwork for management decisions.

As a result of the tremendous concern shown by the party and state, our country now has more than 160 scientific research agencies in all fields of the natural sciences, social sciences, technical sciences, agricultural science and veterinary medicine, with about 350 cadres (within the field of scientific research) for every 1 million citizens. Compared to the rest of the world, this is a rather high ratio. In addition, there is also a large number of Vietnamese intellectuals in foreign countries who are ready to contribute to the development of the country. This force can assist the various levels of management in detecting different problems arising in the course of social development in our country, problems related to international relations in all fields of economics, politics, society, etc.

Within the socialist countries, using science and technology for the purpose of performing social tasks is something with which the various communist and worker parties are especially concerned. Confirming the role played by science in stimulating social development, the political report at the 26th Congress of the CPSU demanded that "science always be disturbed by inactivity" and "point out the sectors that have stagnated and become outmoded."(3)

In our country, the state has devoted much effort to organizing scientists and scientific research agencies within the framework of key programs designed to lay scientific foundations supporting the solution of technical, economic and social problems arising in the course of development. These programs are initial experiments. The various management levels can and must achieve stronger participation by scientific agencies in the work of laying the scientific and technical groundwork for the selection of economic and social development goals, the establishment of priorities and the development of economic argumentation to serve as the basis for investment decisions by the various management levels.

3. Constantly raising the level of science and technology in management.

Today, with the development of modern science and technology, management has reached a very high level of science and technology.

In keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, the various management levels must make increased use of scientific agencies and conduct research activities for the purposes of raising the level of science and technology within management, formulating regulations, making decisions and managing the apparatus in a scientific manner, with special importance attached to decisions regarding investment programs, in order to quickly put an end to the practice of doing as one sees fit in the importation of technology and raise the level of organization of production and the management apparatus.

Today, no nation can view its development as an isolated system, rather, it must view itself as having a reciprocal relationship with the world market. The vital needs of the development of every country demand that each country open its doors and establish international relations in scores of economic, social and technical activities. Consequently, it is necessary to provide an increased supply of modern information processing equipment so that we can keep abreast of every development in the world and, at the same time, improve the ability of the various management levels to select options in the decision making process.

The scientific nature of management work also demands that management be constantly improved. As society develops, each measure taken to manage the activities of society must be changed accordingly. It is entirely possible for a very correct management policy enacted today to become an unsuitable policy within a few years. Therefore, studying, evaluating, raising for discussion and revising management policies and measures are necessary jobs in the course of social development, jobs that reflect the scientific, dialectical nature of the work methods employed by the followers of Marxism-Leninism.

II. Improving Management with a View Toward Stimulating Scientific and Technological Advances Within the National Economy

Scientific and technological achievements that we have recorded have been applied in production and yielded marked economic returns. However, the realities of production in our country in recent years reveal many weaknesses:

--Many research projects that were successful under laboratory conditions and have been certified have not been applied in production.

--Numerous modern technologies have been imported but, once put into production, we have been unable to maintain their original technical properties for very long.

--Recently, although the number of products given quality certification has increased, the overall level of technical development of production is still low and many performance figures have declined.

Within the industrial sectors, the value of fixed assets rose by about 81 percent between 1975 and 1980 but the value of total output only increased by 5 percent and the labor productivity of direct production workers fell by 18 percent. A similar trend occurred within the machine sector, the key sector of the economy. While the value of fixed assets increased by 116 percent, the value of total output only increased by 33 percent and labor productivity rose by only 2 percent. The above figures show that the value produced by 1 dong of capital in fixed assets is steadily declining and that the returns from investments in technology are low.

Production cost increases resulting from damage to products prove the inferior state of production technology: from 1975 to 1978, these costs rose nine times within the metallurgy sector (an average three-fold increase each year). From 1975 to 1980, these costs rose 11 times (a more than two-fold increase per year) within the textile and garment sector.

Technical performance figures on intensive cultivation within agriculture also reveal a situation that does not correspond to the sector's scientific and technological achievements. A comparison of only 4 years, from 1976 to 1979, shows that while the amount of area under cultivation increased by 12 percent, the application of chemical fertilizer per hectare cultivated decreased by 42 percent, pesticide use increased by 1 percent and the amount of area over which duckweed was spread declined by 25 percent. In the research of rice varieties, although many impressive achievements have been recorded, the amount of area transplanted with new varieties declined in 1979 to only 86 percent of what it was in 1976 while the amount of area infested with pests increased five-fold. The decline in rice yields best illustrates this situation: whereas the average rice yield in 1975 was 21.3 quintals per hectare, the average rice yield recorded in 1979 was only 19.8 quintals per hectare.

The technology related performance figures in the two fields of industry and agriculture have improved somewhat over the past few years (in 1980-1981 within industry and 1982-1983 within agriculture) but they have not remained stable and are again declining:

Between 1981 and 1984, the consumption of standard coal in the generation of electric power increased from 0.7 to nearly 1.0 kilogram per kilowatt. At a number of places, the loss of electricity along power lines increased by 23 to 29 percent.

At a time when the ratio of sugarcane to sugar is 5-7/1 at leading sugar mills and 9-10/1 at many local sugar enterprises, it is still 19-20/1 at some sugar enterprises of the central level.

--Many economic-technical ceilings are not being met. For example, the ceiling on the consumption of lump coal in the production of 1 ton of 99.5 percent ammonia is 1.9 tons, but 2.1 tons are actually being consumed. The ceiling of defective cast iron products, which stood at 10 percent in the 1960's has had to be raised to 15 percent at a time when the world standard is 1-5 percent.

Because of the situation described above, we face a dilemma: at a time when the number of scientific and technical cadres is increasing, a certain number of achievements have been recorded in scientific research and a considerable amount of capital has been invested in the importation of technology, the productivity, quality and efficiency of production are declining. When discussing the above situation, many enterprise directors confirm that even when enterprise directors have the desire to upgrade their technology, upgrade their industrial procedures and upgrade their products, they cannot. The outmoded planning mechanism forces them to pursue quantitative performance figures; economic levers do not result in the enterprise benefiting when it upgrades its technology and products; and production is carried out simply on the basis of orders from the management agency on the upper level with no concern for the needs of consumers regarding the quantity, quality and aesthetic appeal of products.

Clearly, such a system of production cannot develop in a normal and wholesome manner. Declines in productivity, quality and efficiency are difficult to avoid.

The Political Bureau resolution on the Science and Technology Policy clearly defined the causes of the above situation: "Shortcomings in economic management, social management and the management of science and technology in the recent past have posed obstacles to the application of scientific and technological advances in production and everyday life."(4)

On the basis of the realization that "today, a high level of development of science and technology, especially the rapid application of scientific achievements and the development of high technologies within production, are one of the factors determining the economic strength of a country"(5), our party established the task of developing management measures that stimulate scientific and technological advances within the national economy. The various management levels must clearly understand that our party has established the task of developing science and technology not for the sake of the advancement of science and technology, but to serve the needs of economic and social development. With this in mind, every management measure must be examined from the perspective of one important factor: does it stimulate or obstruct technological advances within production?

For example, production development funds that are not based on the real profits of the enterprise, but on a percentage of fixed assets do not encourage the intensive development of existing fixed assets, only the

expansion of fixed assets. Profit margins that are a percentage of production costs encourage increased production costs, that is, encourage the lowering of the technical standards of production and products.

Thus, technological improvements within production cannot merely be the responsibility of scientists and scientific agencies. The most important question is whether or not the production installation wants to upgrade its technology. And, the underlying cause of technological advances or the lack of technological advances is whether or not they are stimulated by the planning, financial and pricing mechanisms and the policy on the distribution of profits to workers.

When discussing this issue, some persons maintain that we cannot invest in quality (that is, in science and technology) at a time when the quantitative needs of consumers are not being fully met. This is an incorrect view. It can be seen, for example, that we are entirely capable of producing 1 million bicycle tires durable enough to be used for 2 years instead of producing 2 million tires that will only last for 1 year(!). This would result in a 50 percent saving in materials. Therein lies the role of science and technology, of "investments in depth."

Of course, basic changes must occur in all our views regarding planning, prices, the profit distribution policy, the payment of wages and so forth in order to shift to the production of higher quality products. This view is based upon allowing the installations to display greater initiative in their production and business operations and abolishing the rigid principles that shackle producers: this initiative is developed through horizontal relationships between consumer and producer and, as a result, will lead to the establishment of ties between production and science.

Under the impact of the new management mechanism, the establishment of ties between science and production will not be restricted to the narrow scope of administrative relations in the form of legal planned norms assigned by the upper level, but will be diversified and take the form of economic contracts and voluntary organizational ties, such as science-production federations and joint businesses, based on the vital needs of production in the continuous effort to improve industrial procedures, upgrade products and satisfy the ever rising needs of consumers.

Gaining a thorough understanding of the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum and codifying it in the form of state laws so that management is scientifically based and the habit of small-scale farmers of doing as they see fit is eliminated are urgent requirements in guaranteeing success in the improvement of management.

Management is never an objective in and of itself. The objective of management is to set forces in motion and motivate the worker to use his abilities to the fullest in order to produce many products for society with high productivity, quality and efficiency. This objective cannot be achieved if the management mechanism encourages the preservation of a conservative system of production characterized by low productivity and poor quality, by the perpetual payment of compensation for losses. An effective management

mechanism must be one that creates a system of production that is highly productive, that produces products of high quality, a system of production characterized by high economic efficiency. Under the conditions of socialism, it is a system of production that is capable of continuously upgrading its technology with a view toward satisfying the ever rising need of society for its products.

On the basis of this viewpoint, we will surely manage to develop effective management measures that meet the requirements of our country's economic and social development.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee: "Ve tinh hinh va nhien vu cap bach"[An Urgent Situation and Urgent Tasks], Hanoi, 1979, p 18.
2. Le Duan: "Nam vung quy luat doi moi quan ly kinh te"[Understanding the Laws That Apply in the Improvement of Economic Management](Speech at the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee), 1984, p 34.
3. The 26th Congress of the CPSU, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, p 84.
4. The Political Bureau Resolution on the Science and Technology Policy, p 8.
5. "Van kien Dai hoi V"[The Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1982, Volume I, p 73.

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THE PRODUCTION COLLECTIVE AND AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE SITUATION IN NAM BO

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[Article by Doan Trong]

[Text] Since the start of the original pilot project, the socialist transformation of agriculture in Nam Bo has been underway for nearly 8 years. During that period, the movement once stalled. In late 1980, it stabilized and picked up momentum.

In the provinces of Nam Bo, there are 23,664 production collectives and 268 cooperatives. In the provinces of the Mekong Delta, 56 percent of farm families and 47 percent of cropland have been brought into production collectives and agricultural cooperatives. The agricultural cooperativization movement in the provinces of Nam Bo has been increasingly tied to the requirements of the development of production within each area, to intensive cultivation to raise crop yields, the construction of water conservancy projects, the use of new varieties and the fulfillment of obligations to the state. The fact that the collectives and cooperatives have begun to display their superiority over the private economy has brought about an important change in the outlook of farmers and their confidence in collective production.

In 1982 and early 1983, the cooperativization movement in the provinces of Nam Bo developed relatively strongly. The number of production collectives and agricultural cooperatives doubled compared to 1981 and increased rather rapidly in some provinces. Because of this rate of growth, many places bypassed the various stages of agitation and some of the basic elements in the organizing of collectives, consequently, the character of many collectives is not truly that of a socialist collective economic organization. Within these collectives, collective ownership of cropland has not been established, labor has not been organized and a division of labor has not been established; therefore, the trade sector has not developed. Within many collectives, the material-technical base is still weak and cadres are still poorly qualified for their work. Meanwhile, some localities have expanded the establishment of medium-size cooperatives (200 hectares) without making proper preparations in terms of material-technical bases, economic plans, management cadres and so forth, as a result of which the newly organized cooperatives have been unable to realize the advantages of large scale.

Places that have recognized these shortcomings and been determined to provide the cadres needed to rectify them have achieved good results. However, actual experience has shown that, just as "it is not easy to reheat rice that has already been cooked," rectifying these shortcomings is not a simple matter.

Besides this, within the agricultural cooperativization movement, many advanced collectives and cooperatives have emerged in the different economic areas and recorded a certain number of experiences. When organizing a collective, it is necessary to properly carry out the phase of agitation, uphold the principle of voluntary association and collectivize the primary means of production, beginning with cropland, at the very outset. This is the first step, the fundamental factor in the establishment of socialist production relations. While collectivizing cropland, the advanced collectives and cooperatives attached importance to using agricultural machines to directly support production by establishing suitable forms of organization for their management, use and collectivization.

On the basis of building good water conservancy projects, many collectives and cooperatives expanded the amount of area under cultivation by clearing land and initiating multicropping and began providing good technical support. They gave their attention to building granaries, drying yards and livestock pens and developed the trade sector. Some collectives are now cooperating in the construction of material-technical bases and have established joint businesses and economic ties in the use of tractors and pumps, in crop protection and so forth, thereby opening an important direction, the establishment of joint businesses between equipment collectives and agricultural production collectives, and linking the operation of equipment to the results of agricultural production.

The collectives and cooperatives have accumulated capital in many ways: by mobilizing some of the surplus labor of their members, borrowing capital at reasonable rates of interest, collectivizing industrial installations that are closely associated with agricultural production and selling shares in order to purchase such primary means of production as pumps, rice threshing machines, buffalo, cattle, granaries, drying yards, agricultural product processing equipment and so forth, thereby strengthening the material base of the collective. On this basis, they have established a closer bond between their members and the collective.

The advanced collectives and cooperatives have fixed assets worth an average of 6,000 dong per hectare of farmland. The value of the fixed assets of the advanced collectives and cooperatives, especially of those collectives that have been in production for eight or nine seasons, has gradually risen through the years. At those places that control draft power and have provided a timely supply of fertilizer and other materials, agricultural production has developed well. The production collectives of Lieu Tu Village in Long Phu District, Hau Giang Province, pooled their capital to purchase tractors and turned them over to the village in order to unify their management and use. Together with the establishment of repair shops, this is a good example of how to build economic-technical clusters within the district, which is something that absolutely must be done in the process of establishing the district agro-industrial structure.

The advanced production collectives and cooperatives have begun to reorganize their production and redistribute their labor in accordance with suitable guidelines and planning. They have attached importance to intensive cultivation and the gradual elimination of monoculture in order to develop the trade sector and a diversified business.

In crop production, many collectives and cooperatives in one rice crop areas have shifted the majority or all of their cropland to two crops. Some have upgraded their two crop fields to three crop fields by establishing a subsidiary food crop season or raising a crop of soybeans, thus increasing the percentage of land under the cultivation of subsidiary food crops and industrial crops.

The coefficient of cropland use at the advanced collectives and cooperatives is 1.6 times. Some have achieved a coefficient of 2.5-2.8 times (the average in Nam Bo is 0.91).

The collectives have attached importance to practicing intensive cultivation and raising their crop yields by building water conservancy projects, improving their fields, improving their soil, using new, high yield varieties, scheduling their work as required by the season and applying integrated technical measures.

At the advanced collectives and cooperatives in Nam Bo, rice yields have risen markedly. In Tien Giang Province, the advanced collectives and cooperatives have recorded an average rice yield in excess of 7 tons per hectare per year. In Hau Giang Province, summer-fall rice yielded 4.3 tons per hectare, winter-spring rice yielded 3.49 tons per hectare and 10th month rice yielded 3.0 tons per hectare. In Long An Province, average rice yield is 4 tons per hectare. In Dong Nai Province, the yields recorded by the advanced collectives are 45 percent higher than those of the other collectives within the province. In Ben Tre Province, the number of collectives and cooperatives achieving yields of 4 to 5 tons per hectare per season increased three-fold in 1982.

Compared to 1980, the advanced collectives and cooperatives have undergone stronger development in organizing livestock production and expanding the trade sector, both in terms of its scale and mode of operation. Some collectives and cooperatives that have the necessary conditions have given their attention to developing the cultivation of river shrimp and fish and field fish. The most notable example is the Tan Hoi 2 Collective (Hong Ngu District in Dong Thap Province), which raises bleaker and bottom shrimp as well as bottom fish and *Hemibarbus labes* and has established a joint business with a neighboring collective in the harvesting of shrimp, from which it earns annual revenues of roughly 30,000 dong. Many collectives in Minh Hai have combined the cultivation of rice and the cultivation of shrimp and fish with good results. The 3rd Collective of the 22nd Subward in the 8th Precinct of Ho Chi Minh City is an example of the coordination of water conservancy, communications, pisciculture and crop production.

In addition to crop production and pisciculture, some collectives and cooperatives have developed the processing of agricultural and food products,

such as the milling of rice, the processing of livestock feed and sugar refining, and established minor repair units and blacksmith units.

Some agricultural production collectives in Ho Chi Minh City have given their attention to planting rushes, weaving mats, weaving wooden furniture and making handicraft and art products for exportation. In Thu Tua and Ben Luc Districts in Long An Province, a number of collectives are growing rushes at second units, thereby building new economic zones and redistributing their labor.

On the other hand, due to the requirements faced in developing production, collectives have been gradually expanding their joint businesses and economic ties. This is a new factor that has emerged among the collectives within certain areas and clusters of villages, one that is closely associated with the district and has opened new possibilities for the production of many products and goods for society (grain, food products and goods of small industry and the handicraft trades), thereby helping to increase the income of collective members, make full use of idle labor and creating a new division of labor within each installation and within the scope of the district.

The implementation of Directive Number 100 of the Secretariat of the 4th Party Central Committee on the "product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers" closely ties the responsibility and interests of the producer to the final product and is a method of organizing labor that is consistent with our existing material-technical bases and has the effect of consolidating and developing collectives. The product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers must be based on awareness on the part of the masses and the proper preparation of the necessary conditions, especially economic-technical quotas, labor quotas, the reinvestigation of arable land, contract output quotas and the preparation of cadres to meet the management requirements of the product contract system. The standards for determining whether a contract is proper or improper, whether the development of a production collective is proper or improper, are the objectives and principles of product contracts that were set forth in Directive Number 100 and the fundamental elements of a socialist collective production unit. The Phu Loi Thuong Collective in Ben Tre Province, the Tan Ba Cooperative in Song Be Province and the 3rd Collective of the 22nd Subward of the 8th Precinct in Ho Chi Minh City are units that have rather quickly expanded their production and business, instituted product contracts in many areas of their operations and raised the income of their members while accumulating capital for the collective or cooperative and fulfilling their obligations to the state. Those places that have clearly distinguished between redistributing cropland and agitating for the establishment of collectives, on the one hand, and product contracts, on the other hand, have been able to use product contracts to develop collectives and cooperatives quickly and well. Those places that do not have a clear understanding of these three jobs have established production collectives that are not what collectives should be and their use of product contracts bears no resemblance to a form of socialist collective economic management.

In distribution, the advanced collectives and cooperatives have coordinated and balanced the three interests and implemented the principle of mutual

benefit while waging an effective struggle against private merchants, thereby giving the state control of a larger portion of the social product. They supply goods to their members and the masses, either through coordination with socialist commerce organizations or on their own.

The income per workday of the advanced collectives and cooperatives in eastern Nam Bo is 8-10 kilograms of paddy. At some collectives, it is 15-18 kilograms. In the provinces of the Mekong Delta, income per workday is 15-18 kilograms. At some collectives it is 40-50 kilograms. The average income per laborer at the advanced collectives and cooperatives is more than 1 ton per season. At some places it is 2 to 3 tons per season. The majority of families are earning a higher income than they did as private farmers.

The families of war dead and disabled veterans, families with many children and families short of help receive material and spiritual assistance. Many collectives and cooperatives have given their attention to providing these families with a higher rate of income from their cropland while setting aside some grain to sell to those families that have worked hard but still lack food. Care is provided for all women during childbirth, teenagers, children and elderly persons.

Collective funds have been steadily growing, especially capital accumulation funds, which now average 1,500 dong per hectare. As a result, collectives have been able to purchase additional machinery, buffalo and cattle and build a number of material-technical bases supporting production and serving the welfare of the collective.

The advanced collectives and cooperatives have been quickly and systematically fulfilling their grain obligations to the state. In addition, collective and cooperative members have sold much paddy under two-way contracts and at negotiated prices to the state. In the high yield rice growing areas of Long An, Tien Giang, Cuu Long, An Giang and Hau Giang Provinces, some advanced collectives and cooperatives have mobilized more than 4 tons of grain per hectare per year for the state. The advanced collectives and cooperatives in Ben Tre Province have also been mobilizing increasingly large quantities of grain for the state.

Together with accelerating the development of production, the advanced collectives and cooperatives have concerned themselves with cultural development, educational development and the development of public health services, thereby making positive contributions to the building of the new countryside. The supplementary education movement and the organizing of child care centers and kindergartens have been developed. Cultural, literary-art and physical culture-sport activities have been given attention and begun to create a happy and wholesome life in the countryside. The activities conducted by Tien Giang, Minh Hai and many other places to serve the needs of the material and spiritual life clearly reflect the dialectical relationship between agricultural cooperativization and the gradual building of the new countryside.

Of decisive significance in the success of the cooperativization movement are the needs to establish a corps of cadres of sufficient size and high quality

and for cadres to coordinate with the masses well and serve as the nucleus in the effort to introduce science and technology in production while raising the level of management.

As a result of receiving continuous training, the cadres of the collectives and cooperatives have visibly matured. Over the past few years, thousands of collective cadres have become party members. In the recent past, the apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the countryside, which consists of the organizations of the party, the government and mass organizations, has been augmented by thousands of cadres who are progressive collective members. The head of one collective has been elected to the district party committee.

Agricultural cooperativization is an intense, thorough and comprehensive revolutionary campaign designed to lead farmers to socialism. It demands that party organizations, especially the district and basic party organizations in the countryside, unanimously support and properly implement the relevant positions and policies of the Party Central Committee. Within the party, competent comrades must be put directly in charge of agriculture. All other sectors must work closely with the agricultural sector in order to create a combined strength with which to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions in the countryside. Another matter of practical significance is the need to correctly resolve the problem of some cadres, party members, manual workers and civil servants of the state having improper ties to cropland, thereby posing obstacles to the agricultural cooperativization movement. Experience has shown that this is not a problem that can be dealt with once and resolved, rather, it requires constant, continuous efforts and, at some places, must be dealt with many times in order to achieve good results.

Party leadership does not stop at the district or village levels, but must reach into each and every production unit (collective and cooperative). Good activities conducted by the various organizations of the party, the mass organizations, the public security and militia organizations and the other socio-economic organizations are an important factor in guaranteeing the constant exercise of ownership by the masses on the basic level. The role of these organizations must be developed in order to stimulate the agricultural cooperativization movement; at the same time, these organizations must be solidified and strengthened through the agricultural cooperativization movement.

Within a short amount of time, between now and 1985, under the guideline of "positive and steady development," we must bring the rest of private farmers into collective production. On the other hand, on the basis of the experiences of the advanced production collectives and cooperatives, we must urgently create the conditions necessary for and focus our efforts on strengthening those production collectives that have grown rapidly but are still weak because they failed to make proper preparation and perform the basic jobs well at their inception. It must be recognized that this strengthening of these collectives is not simple, easy work that can be quickly completed because we have, over the past several years, displayed some shortcomings and made some mistakes, even serious mistakes. The number of production collectives that are not what their name suggests, are not what

they should be must be reduced. At present, such production collectives account for roughly 20 percent of the total number of production collectives, as high as 30 percent at some places. Strengthening existing collectives well will have a good impact upon the development of new production collectives by insuring that this development is properly oriented, of the correct character and of high quality.

Facts have proven that clearly understanding the objectives, requirements and complex, difficult nature of the agricultural cooperativization movement, fully respecting the three basic principles of voluntary association, mutual benefit and democratic management, simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, making extensive efforts to train cadres, developing the leadership role played by party chapters and village party organizations and the exemplary-vanguard role of the party member, applying economic policies and economic levers well and emphasizing revolutionary vigilance in the face of the acts of sabotage of the enemy are important factors guaranteeing the strong and steady development of the agricultural cooperativization movement.

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**STUDIES: THE LAWS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION--
ABOLISHING NATIONAL OPPRESSION AND ESTABLISHING EQUALITY AMONG NATIONS**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 84 pp 42-48

[Article by Quyet Tien]

[Text] The national issue is one of the most complicated issues with which mankind has had to deal. Because of its complexity, it is also one of the most difficult issues to resolve. Consequently, it existed for centuries under the systems of autocracy and monarchy and continued to exist on the basis of capitalist ownership relations, on the basis of imperialist oppression and colonial exploitation.

Only with the advent of Marxism-Leninism was this issue clearly resolved from the standpoint of theory. It was subsequently resolved in practice through the realities of the socialist revolution, the greatest symbol of which is the Russian October Revolution, mankind's first socialist revolution.

Marx and Engels were the first to bring profound thinking to the national issue.

In "The Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels wrote:

"Abolish the exploitation of man by man and the exploitation of one nation by another will also be abolished.

When class antagonisms no longer exist within a nation, hostility among nations will also disappear."(1)

At an international meeting held in London on the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the 1830 Polish uprising, Marx said: "The triumph of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie will also mean an end to all of the national conflicts and industrial conflicts that are engendering hatred among nations. Therefore, the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie will also mark the liberation of all oppressed nations."(2)

Also at that meeting, Engels said: "No nation can become free if it continues to oppress other nations."(3) Engels also said: "Because the plight of

workingmen is the same in all countries, because their interests are identical, because their enemies are the same, they must join forces in common struggle and oppose the fraternal alliance of the bourgeoisie of all nations with their own fraternal alliance of workingmen of all nations."(4)

From the above quotations, we see that the founders of scientific communism expressed thoughts concerning the relationship between the national issue and the socialist revolution, considering the victory of the socialist revolution to be the premise for resolving the national issue; concerning the need to unite the working class of all nations in order to win victory over the common enemy, etc. Deserving of attention is the fact that Marx attached very much importance to national movements but always placed the national issue below the issue of revolution by the working class. Concerning Marx, Lenin observed: "There can no longer be any doubt at all that he considered the national issue to be of secondary importance compared to the 'worker issue.' However, the theory of Marx is as far from having little regard for national movements as heaven and earth."(5) In particular, Lenin said that Marx's stand concerning the Ireland issue "presented the most important model, a model that retains its tremendous practical significance today, of how the proletariat in nations that oppress other nations must deal with national movements."(6) Concerning this issue, Marx initially thought that it would not be a national movement of an oppressed nation but a worker movement within an oppressor nation that would liberate Ireland. Later, however, when he saw that the liberation movement of the bourgeoisie in Ireland had been consolidated and had assumed revolutionary forms while the enslavement of Ireland had strengthened and nurtured reactionary powers in Great Britain, thus causing the British proletariat to fall under the influence of the British bourgeoisie, Marx re-examined and revised his views. Maintaining that "a nation brings tragedy upon itself by enslaving another," Marx sympathized with the "Irish nation," the "Irish people" and encouraged Ireland to separate itself from Great Britain and "following this separation, establish its own union." Marx also encouraged British workers to support Ireland's national movement, to give it revolutionary momentum and follow this movement through to the end for the sake of their own liberation.

Developing upon the thinking of Marx and Engels concerning the national issue, Lenin, in the new era of world history, the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, presented a complete, correct platform for resolving the national and colonial questions.

The draft "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" that was written by Lenin in abbreviated format for the 2nd Congress of the Communist International consisted of the following main points:

1. Some fundamental arguments that lay the basis for resolving the national question:

First, the real meaning of the demand for equality, in general, which includes national equality, consists of it being a demand for the abolition of classes.

Secondly, in the nation question, the communist party must make a precise appraisal of the specific historical situation and, primarily, of economic conditions; must make a clear distinction between the interests of the oppressed classes, of working and exploited people and the interests of the ruling class; and must make a very clear distinction between the oppressed, dependent and subject nations and the oppressing, exploiting and sovereign nations, that is, must clearly see that the vast majority of the world's population is being subjected to colonial and financial enslavement by a number of rich, advanced countries.

Thirdly, the realities of the 1914-1918 imperialist war and the intensification of the acts of brutality by the "Western democracies" following the war are hastening the collapse of the petty bourgeois nationalist illusions that nations can live together in peace and equality under capitalism.

2. From these premises it follows that the Communist International's policy on the national and the colonial questions should rest primarily on a closer union of the proletarians and the working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and bourgeoisie.

3. Because the bourgeoisie of all countries are struggling against the Soviet Russian Republic, this country has inevitably grouped around itself the movements of advanced workers and the national liberation movements in all countries; therefore, a policy must be pursued that will achieve the closest possible alliance of all national and colonial liberation movements with Soviet Russia.

4. Because federation is a transitional form to the complete unity of the working people of different nations, the communists here must strive for ever closer federal unity; must give attention to the political and economic unity of the Soviet Republics and to the tendency toward the creation of a single world economy regulated by the proletariat of all nations according to a common plan.

5. In the sphere of relations within each state, the Communist International's national policy on equality among nations cannot be restricted to purely declaratory and actually noncommittal recognition of the equality of nations but must: a) constantly explain that only the soviet system is capable of insuring genuine equality of nations; b) render direct aid to the revolutionary movements among the dependent and underprivileged nations and in the colonies.

6. In the countries that are already fully capitalist, the most important task of the worker parties is to struggle against opportunist and petty bourgeois pacifist distortions of the concept and policy of proletarian internationalism.

7. With regard to the more backward states and nations, it is necessary to bear in mind that:

a) All communist parties must assist the bourgeois-democratic liberation movements in these countries. The duty of rendering active assistance to the liberation movement of a nation rests primarily with the workers of the country oppressing that nation.

b) It is necessary to struggle against the reactionaries that still have influence within the backward states.

c) It is necessary to give special support to the peasant movement in the backward countries against landowners and strive to lend the peasant movement the most revolutionary character by establishing the closest possible alliance between the Western European communist proletariat and the revolutionary peasant movement in the East, in the colonies and in the backward countries, in general. It is particularly necessary to exert every effort to apply the basic principles of the soviet system in countries where pre-capitalist relations predominate by setting up "working people's soviets," etc.

d) The Communist International should support democratic national movements in colonial and backward countries only on the condition that the elements of future proletarian and communist parties in all backward countries are brought together and trained in the spirit of the struggle against the bourgeois-democratic movements within their own nations.

The draft of the theses concluded with the following words:

"Complete victory over capitalism cannot be won unless the proletariat and, following it, the mass of working people in all countries and nations throughout the world voluntarily strive for alliance and unity."(7)

The spirit of Lenin's Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions" was the embodiment of the working class stand and viewpoint of Marxism; resolved the national question in a scientific manner on the basis of a fundamental event that occurred in the age of imperialism, the division of nations into oppressor nations and oppressed nations followed by the existence of Soviet Russia, a country opposed to the entire world imperialist system; attached importance to the liberation movements in the oppressed nations, considering them to be the allies of the working class in their struggle against imperialism; and set the spirit of internationalism of the working class against the bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism of opportunists of all types, representative of which were the communist parties within the 2nd International.

Lenin thoroughly revealed the close relationship between the resolution of the national question and the performance of the fundamental tasks of the socialist revolution. On the one hand, Lenin maintained: "By its very nature, the victory of socialism results in the establishment of a system of complete democracy and, consequently, not only brings nations into complete equality with one another, but also establishes the right of self-determination of the oppressed nations, that is, their right to freely secede politically."(8) On the other hand, Lenin said: "Just as it is impossible to conceive of a socialist victory without the establishment of complete democracy, so, too, the proletariat cannot prepare itself to triumph

over the bourgeoisie without waging a comprehensive, thorough and revolutionary struggle to achieve democracy."(9)

It was precisely on the basis of the relationship between the solution of the national question and the performance of the tasks of the socialist revolution that Lenin proved that national liberation movements are the allies of the working class in the struggle against imperialism. He explained this as follows: "The bourgeois nationalism of any oppressed nation has a general democratic content that is directed against oppression, and it is this content that we unconditionally support. At the same time, we strictly distinguish it from the tendency toward national exclusiveness..."(10)

Of the key principles advanced by Lenin in his theses, one was very important: the principle of recognizing the right of nations to self-determination. This principle was very clearly explained by Lenin. He said: the right of nations to self-determination simply means that nations have the right to political independence, the right to politically separate themselves from the nation oppressing them, demands for the right of nations to self-determination are nothing more than a vivid manifestation of the struggle against all national oppression. It does not mean demanding the dissolution of a nation into small nation states. Repudiation of the right to self-determination or to secession inevitably means, in practice, support for the privileges of the dominant nation.

However, while defending the right of nations to self-determination, communists and the revolutionary proletariat see society developing not toward the division of nations into small nation states, but in the opposite direction, toward the formation of a totally free and voluntary alliance of nations, an alliance in which no nation is permitted to employ violent force against another. This is totally consistent with the requirements of economic development, with the interests of the masses and with the goals of socialism. Lenin explained this as follows: "The more closely that the democratic system of a country is associated with the right of total and free secession, the rarer and weaker tendencies toward secession actually become because, from the standpoint of economic development as well as the interests of the masses, the advantages of the large countries cannot be questioned and continuously increase along with the development of capitalism."(11) "From their daily experience, the masses know perfectly well the value of geographical and economic ties and the advantages of a big market and a big state. They will, therefore, resort to secession only when national oppression and national friction make joint life absolutely intolerable and hinder any and all economic intercourse."(12) "Socialism has the goals not only of ending mankind's separation into small nation states and ending every form of isolation among nations, not only of bringing nations close together, but also reunifying nations."(13) However, the dialectic of history imposes a stern requirement: "Mankind can only achieve the inevitable unification of nations after experiencing a period of transition of the total liberation of all nations, that is, a period of the freedom of all nations to secede."(14)

Borrowing the words of Lenin himself, we can summarize the basic contents of the platform of Marxism-Leninism concerning the national issue as follows: "Complete equality of rights for all nations; the right of nations to self-

determination; the unity of the workers of all nations--such is the national program that Marxism teaches workers, that the experience of the whole world and the experience of Russia teach workers."(15)

The national platform of Marxism-Leninism and its principles were proven to be totally correct by the realities of the revolution in the Soviet Union. In December, 1922, only 5 years after the victory of the October Revolution, the deputies of the autonomous Soviet Republics of that time, the Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian Federations and the Tran-Caucasian Federation, held a congress in Moscow and declared the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Organized on the principle of socialist federation advanced by Lenin--a principle closely tied to democratic centralism--the Soviet Union preserved and absolutely guaranteed the sovereignty of the Republics of the Union while making use of the advantages afforded by a large nation, by an economy that operates under an integrated plan for the common good. This permitted the Soviet Union to make rapid progress down the path of socialist construction.

Of course, the cultural revolution in the Soviet Union has also made a considerable contribution to strengthening the friendship among the various nationalities.

And, among the brilliant achievements that have been recorded in solidifying and strengthening the friendship among the various nationalities within the Soviet Union, it is the tremendous, irreplaceable role played by the Union of Russian Republics, of the Russian people, that must be emphasized. It was the Russian people who overcame staggering difficulties, who endured sacrifices and shortages to provide unselfish assistance to the other nationalities within the Soviet Union and protect the gains of their revolution, thereby making invaluable contributions in eliminating the backwardness of the former ethnic regions.

The realities of the Soviet Union have shown that only under the conditions of real socialism is it possible to virtually resolve the national question left behind by capitalism. In reality, the resolution of the national question in the Soviet Union means, above everything else, guaranteeing equality in practice among all nationalities and tribes and completely eliminating the backwardness of the ethnic frontier regions. The following figures verify this. In the space of 60 years, from 1922 to 1982, industrial production increased 428-fold in the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan, 928-fold in the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan and 1,036-fold in the Soviet Republic of Armenia. Of course, the rate of industrial development has been much higher in all other regions of the Soviet Union than in the capitalist countries.

The experience of the Soviet Union shows: the development and the strengthening of the unity among the various nationalities within the Soviet Union must be based on the commonality of class interests of the proletariat, of the working people of the various nationalities.

This experience shows us that the two basic trends in national development under socialism, the trend toward the comprehensive and prosperous development of every nation and the trend toward increasingly close ties among nations are

not contradictory, do not impede each other, rather, they stimulate each other's development.

This experience has verified the following correct viewpoint: nations are brought closer together with each step they take down the path of building the new society.

Lastly, this experience confirms the fact that only the communist party can unite all nationalities and tribes, because only the party fully represents the interests of the working class and each working person of all nationalities.

Today, on the basis of the large and important achievements recorded in the building of developed socialism, the unity of the Soviet people has, in every respect, reached a higher level than ever before: a new style social and international community has, in principle, been formed, is developing and will eventually evolve into a classless society. This is the brilliant achievement resulting from the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist national platform.

On the basis of the experience of the Soviet Union, the other fraternal socialist countries have also scored major victories under their nationalities policy. These countries and the Soviet Union have joined together to form the socialist community, a community within which relations of friendship and cooperation have been established among nations on the basis of the alliance of nation states. These relations of cooperation and friendship embody the spirit of socialist internationalism and are the antithesis of the improper manifestations of nationalism that Lenin harshly criticized.

In addition, it must be stressed that the victory of the national platform of Marxism-Leninism also lies in the international solidarity between the proletariat and the liberation movements of the oppressed nations of the world as well as the strong development of the three revolutionary tides of our times, three tides that have converged in the spirit of internationalism, three tides that have been and are profoundly changing the political face of the world, weakening and putting imperialism on the defensive and resulting in more and more nations achieving their liberation and embarking on the path of social progress.

In our country, the communist party founded, led and forged by President Ho has properly applied the national program of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of Vietnam. Loyal to the slogan "proletarians of the world and all oppressed peoples, unite!", our party, and President Ho as well, has always closely tied our country's revolutionary movement to the revolutionary movements of the working class and laboring people of the whole world, especially to the Soviet Union, the country of the great Lenin, the home of the October Revolution, the first socialist country of mankind. And, at its very inception, our party voiced its demand for the abolition of national oppression and equality among all nations in its revolutionary platform.

It can be said that in all of its activities, in the people's national democratic revolution and then in the socialist revolution, our party has always correctly resolved the issue concerning the relationships between the

nation and the class, the nation and the world, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. This has been one of the important reasons behind the great victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

The realities of our country have also proven that abolishing national oppression and establishing equality among all nations are an important law of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Possessing a correct understanding of this law, our party, in the resolution of its 4th Congress, emphasized: "Correctly resolving the national question is one of the strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution." Our party has pointed out: "The nationalities policy of the party is to establish complete equality in every respect among the various nationalities and create the conditions needed to abolish at their origins the differences in economic and cultural development that exist between the ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority, bring the mountains to the level of development of the coastal region, the highlands to the level of development of the lowlands, so that all nationalities enjoy a life of comfort and happiness, develop in every way possible and unite with and help one another make progress and be the collective masters of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland."

The thinking concerning the equality of nationalities was also profoundly expressed in the following words spoken by General Secretary Le Duan while discussing the development of Vietnam's new culture and the molding of the new, Vietnamese man: "Socialism enhances all the very best attributes of a nationality so that it truly blends into the life of Vietnam, into the great family of fraternal nationalities that has stood shoulder to shoulder in the cause of building and defending the country."(16)

Working hard for the thorough implementation of the party's nationalities policy, this is the responsibility of all of us: communists and persons outside the party and all working people of all the different ethnic minorities within the great Vietnamese socialist fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

1. Marx-Engels: "Selected Works," published in collaboration by Duc Dietz Verlag Berlin Publishing House and Su That Publishing House, Vietnamese version, 1980, Volume 1, p 565.
2. Ibid., p 468.
3. Ibid., p 469.
4. Ibid., p 471.
5. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, Book I, Part II, p 341.
6. Ibid., p 348.

7. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Book II, Part II, p 433.
8. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, Vietnamese version, p 175.
9. Ibid., p 176.
10. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su Thuat Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, Book I, Part II, p 315.
11. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, Vietnamese version, p 178.
12. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, Book I, Part II, p 327.
13. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, Vietnamese version, p 178.
14. Ibid., p 179.
15. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, Book I, Part II, p 361.
16. Le Duan: "Nam vung quy luat, doi moi quan ly kinh te," [Understanding the Laws That Apply, Improving Economic Management], TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 9, 1984, p 30.

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EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON BUILDING THE DISTRICT AND STRENGTHENING THE DISTRICT LEVEL: LONG PHU WORKS TO BUILD A DISTRICT THAT IS STRONG AND SOLID IN EVERY RESPECT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 84 pp 49-54

[Article by Luu Khanh Van, acting secretary of the Long Phu District Party Committee]

[Text] Long Phu is a coastal, lowland district that lies at the end of the Mekong River in southeastern Hau Giang Province. It measures 69,000 hectares and has 40,000 hectares of farmland. Its population is roughly 183,000 (50,000 of whom are Khmer). The district has a labor force of 85,000.

The district is very rich in economic resources, the strongest being agriculture. It has not only achieved a high level of intensive cultivation of rice, but is also capable of developing the production of subsidiary food crops and industrial crops and has a large marine products harvesting sector.

During the war, Long Phu was a district under heavy enemy control. Its party organization and people had a tradition of fighting the enemy and standing their ground very tenaciously.

The liberation of the South brought basic advantages to the district, but Long Phu also found itself facing towering difficulties as it began the advance toward socialism along with the rest of the country. The aftermath of the war was quite severe. More than three-fourths of the district's cropland was polluted with salt throughout the year and the only crop that could be raised was one 10th month rice crop, the yield of which was low. Nearly 7,000 of the 27,000 farm families within the district had no land on which to farm. More than 10,000 laborers had no jobs. Some 11,000 persons were illiterate and 85 percent of the children of school age had no schools to attend. The entire district had only one medical aid station, four maternity clinics and not one cultural project of any kind.

The Long Phu District party organization was established at an early date but suffered heavy losses during the war, consequently, on entering the new stage, it was unable to promptly meet the requirements of the new situation and tasks. More than 75 percent of the hamlets within the district had no party

members. Many party members were old and frail and the majority of them only had a 2nd or 3rd grade education. Many villages had no party members and the district party committee had to send in party members from other places to set up party chapters. Government and mass organization cadres, from the district to the basic levels, were in short supply and unqualified, especially with regard to providing socio-economic management.

In spite of these difficulties, the Long Phu party organization, under the direct guidance of the Hau Giang Provincial Party Committee, has been making positive efforts over the past several years to implement the lines and policies of the party. The cadres and party members in Long Phu have displayed a high spirit of self-reliance, unity and consensus, have learned while working, have built and solidified their party organization and taken positive steps to improve their leadership skills. As a result, the situation within the district has been improved in many respects and Long Phu is gradually becoming an agro-fishing-industrial district.

Comprehensively Developing Production, Primarily Agricultural Production in a Manner Closely Tied to Agricultural Transformation

Since the very first years following liberation, the Long Phu party organization has devoted its efforts to the development of agricultural production, considering this to be the way to resolve the problem of hunger once and for all, raise the living standards of the people and help to overcome the common difficulties faced by the entire country. Achieving these objectives involves resolving a host of problems, beginning with providing land to farmers and then providing irrigation water for crops.

The first step taken by Long Phu was to redistribute cropland. This was completed in late 1979. In conjunction with the redistribution of cropland, Long Phu immediately organized farmers in collective production through work rotation teams, production collectives and agricultural production cooperatives. At the end of 1983, Long Phu was recognized by the province as a district that had completed its cooperativization, having established 8 cooperatives and 518 production collectives, thereby bringing 70 percent of farm families and 90 percent of cropland into collective production. Generally speaking, all cooperatives and production collectives are well run and reflect the superiority of the new way of earning a living. Long Phu was recognized by the province as a district that had virtually completed agricultural cooperativization in late 1983.

The process of developing production and transforming agriculture is a process that has posed major challenges to the Long Phu party organization. We are still inexperienced in this work. Private ownership is still deeply ingrained in the consciousness of farmers. Besides this, undesirable elements and reactionaries have been making every effort to sabotage us. More than a few party members, including members of the district party committee, at first lacked confidence in collective production, fearing that reorganizing farmers would pose difficulties in production, cause a drop in yields and output... The party organization mounted a determined educational campaign and ideological struggle. At the same time, it has made extensive efforts to build models and persuade the masses through actual results. At first, we

selected Truong Khanh Village as the site of a pilot project in order to gain experience for widespread application within the town of Long Phu with a view toward these two projects having an impact upon each other. However, because we failed to make proper preparations, our work in the pilot project village was not successful. When we turned our efforts to the town of Long Phu, learning from this experience, we made more careful preparations in every area, from the education of party members to agitation among the masses, the training of management cadres, etc. In our agitational work among the masses, we have approached each category of persons in a manner that conforms with both reason and sentiment in order to uphold the principle of voluntary association. We have selected collective cadres among poor farmers who possess a rather high level of political awareness and among middle farmers experienced in production in order to train them to be good cadres who possess production management skills.

During the first years of the movement, we encountered a major difficulty: the masses were hungry and had no rice to eat. In the face of this situation, the district decided to allow collectives to borrow rice from its grain fund; at the same time, it encouraged the cadres and personnel of the committees and sectors of the district to donate some of their breakfast bread to help the members of collectives work with peace of mind. As a result, the movement has developed well in the town of Long Phu. The experiences provided by this model have been applied by us throughout the district.

Together with redistributing cropland and agitating among farmers to begin earning their livings collectively, the Long Phu party organization launched a movement among the people to build water conservancy projects, considering water conservancy to be the first job of decisive importance in the development of production, to be a new front in the struggle to overcome the difficulties caused by natural disasters. During the dry season each year, water conservancy work becomes a campaign in which tens of thousands of persons participate. This movement has been maintained year after year and involved increasingly high requirements. This work began with blocking the flow of salt water followed by leaching fields of acidity and sulfates, improving fields and providing a flow of fresh water to areas of salt deposits. Since liberation day, the district has constructed more than 3,500 large and small projects and excavated and spread nearly 13 million cubic meters of dirt on projects, one of which was a 65 kilometer coastal dike project. At present, water conservancy work in Long Phu is meeting the requirements involved in blocking the flow of salt water, leaching fields of acidity and improving fields and is in the initial stage of supplying fresh water to and irrigating areas of salt deposits. Two-thirds of the district's cooperatives and production collectives have complete water conservancy systems within enclosed fields. The water conservancy projects mentioned above support 8,500 hectares of summer-fall rice, an additional crop, and 25,000 hectares of high yield 10th month rice.

Besides water conservancy, the district has also applied other integrated technical measures well, including the use of new varieties in place of old ones. Over the past several years, Long Phu has not only achieved self-

sufficiency in new rice varieties, but has also been supplying a large quantity of seed of new rice varieties to the province and neighboring districts.

By practicing intensive cultivation and multicropping in coordination with clearing land and restoring fields to production, Long Phu has increased the amount of area under the cultivation of rice from 26,000 hectares (1976) to 39,500 hectares (1984). As a result of closely tying the cooperativization movement to water conservancy work and the well coordinated application of technical measures, agricultural production in Long Phu has developed by leaps and bounds, with yields and output increasing each year. The yield of rice was less than 2 tons per hectare in 1976. By 1983, it had risen to 4.8 tons per hectare, an average of 800 kilograms of paddy per capita.

Together with rice, Long Phu has gradually stabilized the areas that specialize in the production of industrial crops. In 1975, the district had only 600 hectares of coconuts and 400 hectares of sugarcane. By 1983, it had 1,500 hectares of coconuts and 3,000 hectares of sugarcane. The district's hog herd and poultry flock have increased 2 to 3 times compared to liberation day.

Restoring and Developing the Marine Products Trade and Bringing Fishermen into Collective Production

Having defined marine products as the district's second most important strength, as an important source of exports, the Long Phu party organization, together with focusing its efforts on the development of agricultural production, has attached importance to the development of marine product resources. This work began with conducting an investigation to assess fishing operations, agitating among fishermen to begin earning their livings collectively and organizing collective production in order to invest in the development of fishing facilities and equipment. In addition to developing marine product resources, the district has also expanded the harvesting of field shrimp and fish by many different methods. During the early years, because there was no clear division of management responsibilities between the province and the district, production declined. Since 1981, we have stabilized production and gradually raised output, from 1,800 tons in 1980 to 4,000 tons in 1983. At present, the district has one state-operated fishing fleet consisting of six ships, one cooperative team consisting of three ships and 28 production solidarity teams, which include 16 teams that specialize in large bottom net fishing, three circular net teams, six 3-7 net teams, and three other fishing teams. There are nearly 100 motorized boats and 302 fishing families, which have much fishing equipment and gear. Although there are still a number of areas in which we must continue to consolidate and improve upon what has been done, virtually all collective production organizations are displaying the superior nature of the new way of working, especially in organizing fishing and the management of products, thereby gradually putting the use of two-way contracts between fishermen and the state on investments and the delivery of products on a regular basis. If the present momentum continues, Long Phu can raise its marine products output to 6,000 tons per year in 1985.

Gradually Expanding the Industrial, Small Industry and Handicraft Network Within the District

At its first congresses, the Long Phu party organization charted the district's course as developing toward an agro-fishing-industrial economic structure. Within this structure, industry, small industry and the handicraft trades play the important role of laying the foundation for the stronger development of potentials, increasing the value of agricultural products and the products of the fishing industry and helping to raise the living standards of the people. The main objectives of industry, small industry and the handicraft trades in Long Phu are machine production and repair, the processing of agricultural products and the production of some consumer goods for the people.

Our efforts have been focused first on strongly developing the state-operated production units. The district has taken many steps to resolve its difficulties with capital, such as economizing on expenses, allocating capital from the local budget for construction, using long-term loans from the bank and seeking investments by the various sectors in Hau Giang Province and Ho Chi Minh City. In 1984, the district plans to build 30 crude sugar refining projects. Together with the development of state-operated units, we have been guiding the widespread development of small industry and handicraft installations with a view toward making full use of the sources of capital and manual skills among the people while educating and gradually bringing the masses into collective production. Having begun with only 10 mills and a few blacksmith shops, the district now has a rather large industrial, small industry and handicraft network consisting of about 600 large and small units, which include more than 210 sugar processing units (five of which are state-operated) that have a total capacity of 20,000 tons of stick sugar per year; 92 mills (16 of which are state-operated) with a capacity of 80,000 tons per year; one machine shop and more than 50 machine repair and blacksmith units; and many food processing plants and units producing ordinary consumer goods. In conjunction with strongly developing production units, the management and control of products have gradually been put on a regular basis. Every installation is assigned and meets a yearly production plan. In 1976, the value of the output of the district's industry, small industry and handicraft trades was only 860,000 dong. By 1983, it had risen to 40 million dong. The income of these sectors accounts for about 25 percent of the district's social income.

Gradually Improving the Material and Cultural Lives of the People, Fulfilling Obligations to the State and Beginning the Construction of the Material Bases of Socialism

During the past several years, Long Phu, once a district that experienced a chronic shortage of food, a district plagued by many ills left behind by the war and the old society, has changed markedly. Everyone has land on which to raise crops, everyone has a job and everyone is well fed. In 1983, rice output per capita exceeded 700 kilograms. Exploitation has been virtually abolished. The standard of living of the people is being steadily improved. Many schools, public health stations, bridges and roads have been and are being built under the guideline of the state and the people working together.

Illiteracy has been abolished. The district has three level III schools. Each village has one or two level II schools. Many hamlets have a level I school and kindergarten classes. During the 1983-1984 school year, more than 40,000 children of school age attended school. More attention has been given to providing health care services to the people. Practically all villages within the district have a public health station, a drug store and a maternity station. The district is now starting work on the construction of a 200 bed hospital. Many cultural projects, such as meeting halls, theaters, libraries, parks and war dead cemeteries have been built through large contributions made by the people.

In 1979, including only a few main products, Long Phu contributed to the state 12,150 tons of paddy, 278 tons of pork, live weight, and 70,000 coconuts. In 1983, it contributed 38,500 tons of paddy, 7,800 tons of sugar, 900 tons of pork, live weight, 5 million coconuts, 950 tons of shrimp and ocean fish... During the first 6 months of 1984, the district procured for the state more than 35,000 tons of paddy and 12,000 tons of sugar.

Political security and social order are being maintained well. As a result of closely tying the development of production and the stabilization of everyday life to the movement of all the people maintaining the security of the fatherland, Long Phu has uncovered and dealt with 20 cases of reactionary activity and thwarted many attempts by the enemy to commit sabotage. Positive changes have occurred in the buildup of national defense forces, especially in the people's national defense movement. Long Phu has completed all of its yearly induction plans well.

The building of the party has been closely tied to the other areas of work and constantly been given attention. The district party committee has assigned a number of members of the standing committee and specialized cadres to guide party building, with special importance attached to building basic party organizations and chapters. For example, district party committee members have been sent to serve as village secretaries and each member of the district party committee and its standing committee has been put in charge of a specific village.

Within party building, we have coordinated political, ideological and organizational work. All directives and resolutions of the upper level are thoroughly implemented by the party organization. The implementation of each resolution and directive includes preliminary and final reviews so that we can learn from our experience. At the same time, the district party committee has sent many cadres to long-term and short-term political training classes on the provincial and central level and is always holding training classes within the district. Our efforts in political education have resulted in a high level of support for and absolute confidence in the lines and policies of the party on the part of the party organization and people of the district, have strengthened their determination to overcome difficulties and complete tasks. Each party member in Long Phu displays the revolutionary-offensive spirit, displays self-reliance and the sense of organization and discipline in complying with the resolutions of the party.

As regards its organization, the party organization has given special attention to maintaining internal unity and consensus, with the district party committee playing the role as the nucleus of this effort. Unity and consensus are expressed first in strict compliance with the lines and policies of the party and the thorough performance of tasks. Unity is also expressed in love for one's comrades, in frankly criticizing one another in a manner that conforms with both reason and sentiment.

We have also given very much attention to strengthening the organizations of the party, the government and the mass organizations, to training young cadres and improving the leadership skills of the party organization. Planning has been applied to cadre training and the development of the party within Long Phu. And, on the basis of the revolutionary movement of the masses, we have combined classroom education with practical challenges in the training of cadres and the development of the party. The district party committee meets once every 3 months to evaluate cadres. We have boldly promoted young cadres who show good prospects. All party chapters hold regular meetings and conduct activities that are practical in nature. Importance has been attached to the development of the party. We have been helping the party chapters gain a thorough understanding of the lines and policies of the party and the resolutions of the upper level and teaching them how to assess and evaluate the locality's situation so that they can apply the party's lines and policies and the resolutions of the upper level in a manner consistent with actual circumstances. We have also taught them how to adopt correct resolutions and organize their implementation well. We have attached importance to purifying the corps of cadres and party members, expelled corrupt, degenerate and deviant persons from the party and put into positions of leadership persons who possess all the required personal qualities and leadership skills. During the past several years, Long Phu has built a rather large and increasingly young corps of cadres and now has many times more party members than it did at the time of liberation. The leadership skills of the party organizations and party chapters have been markedly improved. Whereas many sectors and villages once had no cadres in charge of them, today, every sector and village has a source of cadres augmenting it. The district once had only 280 party members. Today, it has 1,200 party members. In 1975, the district had 32 party chapters, 20 of which were weak and deficient. Today, it has 50 party organizations and chapters, 25 of which are solid and strong and 24 of which are rated "good." Many villages once did not have enough party members to establish a party chapter. Today, seven villages of the district have party committees, 40 hamlets have small chapters, 45 hamlets have party cells and the remaining 20 hamlets have party members in charge of them.

The government apparatus has been put in place from the district to the village and hamlet levels and is increasingly playing the role of a state socio-economic management agency within the locality. The mass organizations have been reorganized and strengthened and are playing the central role in the revolutionary movements of the masses on the basic level.

In mid-1983, Long Phu had the honor of being awarded the "Strong and Solid Party Organization" Banner by the Party Secretariat. Of important significance is the fact that our party organization has, through its work,

gained some valuable experience with which to bring about the further development of the movement within the district.

Besides the victories and results that have been achieved, Long Phu still faces certain limitations. The large economic potentials of the district have yet to be fully developed, mainly because supplies, raw materials and material bases are in very short supply, confusion exists concerning the division of labor and management responsibilities and yearly plans are not soundly based. The guidance being provided by the party organization is still marked by shortcomings. Within industry, economic development toward an agro-fishing-industrial structure has not been comprehensive. The facts that production and processing are not balanced and the fishing industry is developing slowly are posing difficulties to Long Phu. There is a lack of coordination between the socialist transformation of agriculture and the socialist transformation of industry and commerce. Within the field of distribution and circulation, the forces of private commerce are still large. Within agriculture, socialist transformation has been carried out relatively well and the production movement is quite strong but we still are not making full use of labor and the majority of cooperatives and production collectives are still engaged in the monoculture of rice and still have much surplus labor. The economic-technical management apparatus of the district has yet to be strengthened. Little capital is being accumulated by the economic units of Long Phu for the construction of material-technical bases for the district. Although the corps of cadres, especially on the basic level, has developed strongly and consists almost entirely of young, zealous cadres, their political and cultural qualifications, their scientific-technical knowledge and their socio-economic management skills are still low compared to requirements. These are problems that the Long Phu District party organization will make an effort to resolve.

7809

CSO: 4210/4

SA THAY DISTRICT DEVELOPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 84 pp 55-57

[Article by Nguyen Hong Diep]

[Text] SaThay District in Gia Lai-Kontum Province was established in early 1979. Lying along the borders of the two friendly countries of Laos and Kampuchea and measuring 277,000 hectares, Sa Thay is a district with rugged mountainous terrain covered almost entirely by old stands of virgin forest that contain many precious types of wood, valuable forest and native products and rare animals. The district has only about 40,000 to 50,000 hectares of land that can be used to develop agriculture. In its narrow valleys, practically all terraced rice fields have been abandoned and filled in. Heavy sulfate deposits that have accumulated over a period of many years have made them unsuitable for production. The Jarai, Sedang and other ethnic minorities make up the district's population of 10,875. In the past, the people of the district lived as nomads, destroying 4,000 to 5,000 hectares of old forests each year to make slash and burn upland fields. Farming was based primarily upon natural conditions. Crop yields were low: 1.6 tons of rice, 2 tons of corn and 3 tons of cassava per hectare. Each year, famine was a threat and the state had to provide tens of tons of grain in relief aid. The material-technical bases of the district were very underdeveloped. The diseases common to a remote mountain region and backward customs and habits weighed heavily upon the daily lives of the ethnic minorities for years. Taking advantage of this situation, FULRO and other reactionary elements began collaborating in an extensive effort to distort and discredit our system and provoke divisions among the ethnic minorities in order to create unrest and sabotage us.

During the past several years, clearly aware of its responsibility, the Sa Thay District party organization has fulfilled its role in leading, organizing and encouraging the people of the various ethnic minorities within the district to uphold their glorious revolutionary tradition, display self-reliance, display the spirit of collective ownership, overcome each difficulty faced and move forward to become the masters of the new life. The party organization has charted the district's specific course as encouraging the rapid settlement of nomads, doing a good job of receiving the laborers coming from other places to build the new economy and accelerating the agricultural cooperativization movement. To accomplish these objectives, every effort must

be made to clear land and restore fields to production, build water conservancy projects, establish stable wet rice fields and apply the techniques of intensive cultivation in a strong and well coordinated manner on all cropland (both wet rice and dry rice fields) in order to raise crop yields and achieve self-sufficiency in grain. At the same time, many positive steps must be taken to curb and eventually eliminate the destruction of forests and protect, harvest and develop forest resources. The district party committee has determined that Sa Thay must work in the initial stage to build an agro-forestry-industrial (mainly small industry and the handicraft trades) economic structure while preparing material-technical bases for the long-range development of the district toward a forestry-agricultural-industrial structure. The ethnic minorities within the district support and are determined to implement these correct guidelines.

In its leadership and organizational work, the Sa Thay District Party Committee has maintained close contact with the basic level, provided constant supervision and conducted regular inspections. When appropriate, the district has focused its efforts on guiding the performance of important tasks, such as the settlement of nomads, the receiving of new laborers, the acceleration of the agricultural cooperativization movement, soil improvement and the construction of irrigation and drainage systems. By the end of 1983, 95.8 percent of the district's population had been settled; nearly 11,000 persons had been received from the provinces of Nghia Binh, Binh Tri Thien and so forth and organized within new economic centers; and three agricultural cooperatives and 68 production collectives had been established, thereby bringing 95 percent of farm families and 97.3 percent of farmland into collective production.

In water conservancy work, the Sa Thay District Party Committee has mobilized the people to contribute tens of thousands of mandays and tens of millions of dong during the past 5 years to excavate and spread millions of cubic meters of dirt and stone and quickly complete, with state assistance, the Ia-xia 1, Ia-xia 2 and Dac Ngao water conservancy projects as well as 40 other medium and small-scale water conservancy projects consisting of tens of kilometers of stratified canals and ditches that carry water from the rivers and streams, thus providing effective irrigation and drainage for rice fields. Once a district that had no land under the cultivation of wet rice, Sa Thay had nearly 300 hectares of two crop rice fields and dozens of hectares producing one stable rice crop in 1983.

Deserving of attention is that as a result of organizing the agricultural cooperativization movement well and the influx of new labor, the production experiences, especially experience in the intensive cultivation of rice, of other localities have been studied and quickly learned by the people of Sa Thay. They have abandoned, without hesitation, the old customs and habits and the backward ways of thinking and working that had prevented their production from developing for so many years. The ethnic minorities have been making efforts to apply the techniques of intensive cultivation and working to gradually achieve high rice yields on all land under cultivation. This is something entirely new, is something of important revolutionary significance to the compatriots of the district's ethnic minorities.

In Sa Thay today, not only ethnic Vietnamese, but Jarai, Sedang and the other minorities as well, are raising wet rice and actively applying the techniques of intensive cultivation. Following a period of trial cultivation, during which they were found to be suited to local conditions and grew well, the new rice varieties 73-2, A36, NN23, IR8 and others were put into main crop production in place of black (loc) rice, white (loc) rice, ko rice, etc. Much progress has been made in the use of fertilizer in farming. The people of the district, who once did not have the habit of applying fertilizer to their fields, now apply an average of 6 tons of livestock manure, 3 tons of green manure and 280 kilograms of inorganic fertilizer per hectare of rice each year. This does not include the additional fertilizer applied by families on the plots they work under contracts. In addition, the cultivation of companion crops and overlapping catch crops has helped to quickly increase the turnover of land and raise crop yields. Many cooperatives and production collectives can harvest from 2 to 3 crops per year, the yields of which are 2 to 3 times higher than previously.

In 1983, Sa Thay District put a total of 55,000 hectares under cultivation and produced a total grain output, in paddy equivalent, of 11,000 tons (output in 1975 was only 3,000 tons), an average of 530 kilograms of grain per capita. Rice yields have risen markedly, from only 4.2 tons per hectare of wet rice fields in 1979 to 6.8 tons in 1980, 7.2 tons in 1981, 7.9 tons in 1982 and 10.8 tons in 1983. The 1984 spring rice yield was more than 5 tons per hectare, a 1.2 quintal increase compared to 1983.

Sa Thay is the first mountain district in Gia Lai-Kontum Province to be recognized as a member of the country's "10 ton districts club." Six cooperative units and production collectives have been recognized as members of the "10 ton club." Today, Sa Thay District is self-sufficient in grain and fulfilling its grain obligation to the state at the rate of nearly 2,500 tons, 140 percent of its plan. The district is determined to gradually curb and eventually completely eliminate the destruction of the forests (at present, hundreds of hectares of forests are being destroyed each year to make slash and burn fields). Under a plan it adopted, the district is now conducting a pilot project in the assignment of land and forests to cooperatives and production collectives in order to develop agricultural production in close coordination with the forest business. Sa Thay has selected and planted on a trial basis many suitable species of trees in order to eventually cover the tens of thousands of barren hills with green vegetation and redevelop old slash and burn fields. The district has sent persons all the way to Ha Tuyen Province to buy citronella seed for planting. Having begun with 8 hectares, Sa Thay has so far planted 300 hectares of citronella and plans to plant 600 to 800 hectares by 1985. The ethnic minorities of the district are also endeavoring to expand the cultivation of sugarcane, peanuts, beans of all types, sesame, coffee, tea and the other types of industrial crops. By manual extraction methods, Sa Thay has been able to produce tons of high grade citronella oil for exportation. The district has also achieved self-sufficiency in some consumer goods and is supplying many raw materials to local industry.

The results that have been achieved in the economic field have built momentum for the development of cultural work, education, public health services and

physical cultural-sport activities. Throughout the district, illiteracy has been wiped out and political security and social order and safety have been maintained. Many villages have completely resolved the FULRO problem. The material and spiritual lives of the people of the district have been markedly improved. The people of the various ethnic minorities are united, are enthusiastic and have deep confidence in the party, in the new system.

In conjunction with leading and organizing the people in economic development and the building of the new life, the Sa Thay District party organization has constantly concerned itself with building the party and solidifying the revolutionary government, considering these to be the factors behind each victory of the movement within the locality. In particular, the party organization has done a good job of providing political and ideological education, has helped the cadres, party members and various strata of people within the district gain a thorough understanding of the resolutions of the party and the positions and policies of the state and has built a spirit of unity, consensus and determination to adopt the new method of earning a living.

Today, although the party organization was only recently established, although many of its cadres and members were transferred from many other localities and although the qualifications of cadres and party members are uneven, the organizations of the party and government in all 11 villages of the district have begun to operate on a regular basis and know how to organize and lead, thereby insuring the proper completion of political tasks within the locality.

In 1983, the Sa Thay District party organization was presented the "Strong and Solid District Party Organization" Banner by the Party Secretariat and the people of Sa Thay District were awarded two Labor Orders 3rd Class (one for the district and one for Sa Binh Village). Sa Thay is a district that is one of the "new factors" of Gia Lai-Kontum Province.

To develop upon the achievements that have been recorded, the party organization and people of Sa Thay District are determined to work hard to expand the cultivation of two wet rice crops per year, plant citronella, step up cattle production, expand the cultivation of coffee, tea, green beans, peanuts, sesame and so forth in all three sectors, the state-operated sector, the collective sector and the household sector, achieve balance between the rapid increase in grain output and the development of sources of export goods, gradually build a prosperous and strong district and successfully carry out the two strategic tasks of building and defending the socialist fatherland within a mountain district.

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MEO VAC MOVES FORWARD THROUGH SELF-RELIANCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 84 pp 58-63

[Article by Nguyen Van Ty, secretary of the Meo Vac District Party Committee]

[Text] Lying near the northernmost point of the fatherland is Meo Vac, a highland, border district of Ha Tuyen Province, 3 of whose 19 villages share 45 kilometers of border with China.

The natural conditions of Meo Vac are harsh. Cold weather lasts for 6 months each year. The temperature ranges from -5 degrees Centigrade to 32-33 degrees Centigrade, thus posing many difficulties to production. Of the district's 661 square kilometers of land, "cat ear" rocky mountains account for as much as 80 percent, 46 percent of which is "cat ear" rocky mountains capable of supporting agriculture. Sources of water for agricultural production and daily life are very scarce. Even today, the average citizen of Meo Vac has only about 30 liters of water to use each day and water must be stored for use between rainy seasons. In previous years, Meo Vac only raised one corn crop and a small amount of upland rice each year and always experienced a shortage of grain. Each year, the state had to supply the district with 60 tons of grain, as much as 150 tons one year.

Eight fraternal ethnic minorities make up Meo Vac's population of 45,000 (Meo: 84 percent; Yao: 6 percent; Giay: 5 percent; Xuong: 2 percent; Thai: 1 percent; Lolo: 1 percent; Nung: 0.9 percent; and Co Lao: 0.1 percent. Today, although certain advances have been made, the people of Meo Vac are still limited by their cultural standard, by their customs and habits... The material-technical bases supporting production and everyday life are still underdeveloped.

The Meo Vac party organization, which was established in 1962, has 31 party chapters and organizations consisting of 440 party members, who account for 1.2 percent of the district's population. The political level, cultural standard and specialized skills of party members are not uniform and many party members in the countryside are still illiterate.

However, Meo Vac does have certain potentials and advantages: the district can raise a number of special product crops of high economic value that other

places cannot raise, it has a good breed of cattle and its people have long had the habit of keeping bees and know how to raise companion crops and overlapping catch crops on the mountainous terrain. The people of Meo Vac have been building unity among the various ethnic minorities for many years and have a corps of cadres and party members who work closely together in the performance of each task of the locality.

During the past several years, clearly aware of the difficulties and advantages described above, our district has been making efforts to develop upon its strengths, overcome its weaknesses and gradually meet the requirements of "building the district and strengthening the district level" in the face of the new situation and tasks. We have been concentrating on performing the following several jobs well:

1. Building Strong Security in Order To Maintain Combat Readiness and Fight Well.

Realizing the strategically important position occupied by Meo Vac in terms of security and national defense, our district party committee has truly concerned itself with leading security and national defense work and has closely tied security to national defense.

Deserving of attention are the rather complex social situation and the terrain in Meo Vac. The Nho Que River flows through the district from China separating the three northern villages that border China from the other villages of the district. Between the people on either side of the border are relationships that go back for many years. Within the district itself, there are still undesirable elements and spies. Some of them once took part in an insurrection but were given clemency by us; now, they are working as lackeys of China and sabotaging us.

The Chinese reactionaries have long been plotting to foment insurrection and topple our government in Meo Vac. Therefore, they continuously send intelligence agents into Meo Vac to commit sabotage, set up underground bases and await the opportunity to arise in insurrection within the district in coordination with attacks from the outside. They are continuously waging psychological warfare to distort the lines of the party, sow divisions among the ethnic minorities and separate the people from cadres and troops and drawing persons over to the other side of the border or selling them special products, buffalo and cattle in order to sabotage our production forces. They have ambushed, kidnapped and murdered cadres and innocent civilians, cut telephone lines, mined roads, attacked economic facilities, etc.

In the face of this situation, the Meo Vac District Party Committee has provided close guidance and resolutely taken a series of measures to gradually purify the district, such as proceeding against suspects, both old and new, "peeling open" the nests of enemy hiding among the people and within revolutionary organizations, building the mass movement to maintain security, etc.

The main element of security work is providing security for the party organization and government, especially on the basic level, because the

district party committee clearly realizes that the work of the locality will be adversely affected if the party organizations on the basic level are not pure, solid and strong. In our work of providing security for the party organizations, governments and mass organizations on the basic level, we have attached special importance to the political aspect of this work. The district has strengthened the contingent of key cadres and core cadres in all villages, especially the positions of village secretary, village chairman, village military unit commander and village public security chief, in the belief that building strong and solid installations is the factor of foremost importance in maintaining political security well and makes a major contribution to the building of a strong and solid district. In recent years, this work has been performed on a regular basis under the guidelines of proceeding by one step at a time, being cautious and thorough and employing flexible measures. We have taken drastic, bold and urgent actions at times and made use of quiet, gentle persuasion and encouragement at other times while coordinating our overall effort with specific efforts directed toward one particular area or subject. As a result, we have gradually purified and strengthened the corps of cadres and party members within the district.

The district has closely guided the management of households and census registration, classified households that pose security threats and turned their management over to the security sector which, together with the concerned sectors, has held re-education classes for them right within the district or sent a number of families to the rear line in order to maintain security within the district. Each family within the border villages has signed a pledge to observe border security regulations. At the same time, the district has encouraged the people to inform on smugglers and persons who frequently cross the border (in one week, Meo Vac made arrests in 18 different cases) and keep close watch on suspicious persons. The district has instituted measures to protect persons who report such information. As a result of determined, closely coordinated efforts of this kind, we have greatly reduced the number of border crossings and the disappearance of buffalo, cattle and property, captured many dangerous intelligence agents and spies and acted in time to prevent a number of acts of sabotage, capturing the saboteurs and confiscating evidence of their crime.

The district party committee has given its attention to propagandizing and teaching the lines and policies of the party and state to the ethnic minorities and implementing the nationalities policy, with special attention given to training minority cadres, raising the cultural standard of the sons and daughters of the ethnic minorities and enhancing the spirit of equality and unity among the minorities. Our district party committee has also attached importance to propaganda and educational efforts designed to give everyone a clear understanding of the malicious schemes and criminal actions of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and teach national consciousness and consciousness of the Vietnam fatherland to the minorities. In this way, we have thwarted enemy attempts to create divisions and helped to strengthen the security and defense line that lies in the sentiments of the people.

Meo Vac has reorganized its population centers and arranged its villages within individual clusters. All villages of the district have been organized into lines. On this basis, production has been reorganized and the safety of

the people is insured as they go about their daily lives. As a result, we have not only managed to provide security for the people, for production, but have also avoided leaving a couple of places exposed as ready targets of enemy activity. By closely tying production to security and national defense in our reorganization of population centers, we have made the people increasingly aware of the fact that good conditions for production can only be established by maintaining security and strengthening the national defense system well, that tight security is a prerequisite to a strong national defense. In one village, 80 ethnic minority households were relocated under the new planning. Within a short amount of time, they had established 20 hectares of terraced rice fields, planted 15.5 hectares of T'ung trees, built four water reservoirs, constructed one 45 kw/h hydroelectric power station and built 8.5 kilometers of roads. As a result, an atmosphere of excitement, confidence and enthusiasm in production and the maintenance of combat readiness rapidly spread throughout the village.

Security work in Meo Vac has helped to make the internal organization of the party, the government and the mass organizations pure through the expulsion of undesirable elements, thereby insuring that each policy of the upper level and the district is thoroughly understood and strictly observed, that secrecy is maintained.

Once security was being thoroughly maintained, we launched a vigorous movement among all the people to build up the armed forces, the "everything for the frontline, everything for the forward bases" movement.

The district has guided the buildup of local military units, dozens of mobile militia platoons and mobile standing platoons at bases, together with a number of other units that have the mission of being prepared to provide reinforcements when necessary. Recently, in operations against 22 artillery attacks by the enemy, 3 of which were coordinated with infantry assaults on a number of bases in Meo Vac, the reinforced militia platoons of the district fought well. They are capable of fighting the enemy for periods lasting many days and defending their area of operation.

During the past 5 years, as a result of educating all the people in the Military Service Law and the examples set by cadres and party members who have sons and daughters of draft age, the induction of minority youths in Meo Vac has always exceeded quotas.

We have also attached importance to party work and Youth Union work within the local armed forces. The combat plans of units have been directly approved by the district party committee. A number of cases involving violations of the regulations regarding the relations between military personnel and civilians have been resolved by the various party committee echelons themselves in a timely and satisfactory manner. Troop units have the responsibility of assisting the people in the area in which they are stationed. One battalion provided the people with thousands of mandays in the construction of terraced fields, a hydroelectric power station and other projects and won the esteem and respect of the people. The people of the ethnic minorities have also eagerly helped troops build battle positions and perform other jobs. To date, the people of Meo Vac have helped troops build 12 kilometers of trenches

leading to bases, dig thousands of foxholes, build hundreds of permanent cement or wooden combat tunnels, build dozens of water reservoirs at bases and plant 12 kilometers of rattan and briars to establish a fence along the border.

The district has been providing good rear service support of combat and always fully meets the needs of the armed forces for grain and food. It has enacted a plan to stockpile food by signing with the people for the delivery of tens of tons of pork and encouraging each household to set aside 5 kilograms of grain and 1 kilogram of food products to be supplied to units when necessary. The district has also endeavored to perform army rear area work well by assisting the parents, wives and children of war dead and the families of military personnel in production and everyday life. Consequently, soldiers perform their duties with peace of mind.

As a result of all the work described above, Meo Vac District has begun to establish the battlefield deployment of the local people's war and is capable of fighting against the acts of sabotage and aggression of the Chinese reactionaries for a long time. The armed forces have the conditions needed to hold their positions, wipe out the enemy when they attack and resume normal activities once the enemy has left. Because of this, the armed forces of Meo Vac have been awarded 1st class to 3rd class Victory Orders by the state and one unit and one individual in Meo Vac have been awarded the title of Hero.

2. Moving Forward To Achieve Self-Sufficiency in Grain, Develop the Local Economy and Make Contributions to the State

In its economic construction, due to the special circumstances of Meo Vac and in order to be able to fight well under these circumstances, our district focused its efforts first on resolving the grain problem. Facts have shown that every village in the district that produces grain and food well has been able to move ahead in its other areas of work, from military recruiting, making preparations for combat and organizing local rear services to reinforcing the three border villages in combat operations, building a solid defense line and strong ties with one another and so forth. During the past 4 years, in the spirit of self-reliance and under the guideline "the state and the people working together," our district has steadily raised its grain output. Grain output reached 7,840 tons, in paddy equivalent, in 1981, a 19 percent increase over 1980. In 1982, we produced 8,328 tons of grain, in paddy equivalent, a 7 percent increase over 1981. In 1983, output reached 10,250 tons of grain, in paddy equivalent, a 23 percent increase compared to 1982.

In 1983, following many years of continuous efforts, our district, for the first time in its history, achieved self-sufficiency in grain and raised per capita grain output from 12 kilograms to 19.1 kilograms. This year, despite many difficulties caused by natural disasters and enemy attacks, our district remains determined to meet its grain output target of 11,000 tons. As a result of the considerable increases in the production of grain and food products, we were able to mobilize, in the space of 1 week, 56 tons of grain

over and above obligations, 16 head of draft cattle and 150,000 dong to provide timely support of combat operation, thereby helping to defend battle positions and the border through the use of local forces.

Meo Vac's chief grain crop is corn. We have initiated intensive cultivation by making full use of labor, by using very much labor to arrange rocks in terraced fields, carry soil up the rocky mountains and redevelop slash and burn fields while supplying nitrogen fertilizer and new varieties of corn to production installations. Having farmed the rocky "cat ear" mountains for generations, the citizens of Meo Vac are skilled in raising various types of beans, pumpkins and so forth as companion or overlapping catch crops with corn. In past years, crops were mainly raised without fertilizer. Now, the people of Meo Vac use nitrogen fertilizer and some livestock manure and know how to apply fertilizer. As a result, whereas it once only used 30 to 40 tons of nitrogen fertilizer per year, mainly on upland rice fields, Meo Vac now uses more than 600 tons. (The state supplies nitrogen fertilizer at the rate of 1 kilogram of fertilizer in exchange for 1.3 kilograms of corn). In 1984, we will use 970 tons of nitrogen fertilizer, 30 tons of phosphate fertilizer and 1 tons of pesticide. We are also raising an additional special product crop for use in the production of medicine, which produces annual revenues of tens of millions of dong. In addition to intensive cultivation and multicropping, we have initiated a program to open new land to cultivation by mobilizing thousands of laborers from throughout the district. Although we are unable to open much land (20 to 40 hectares per year), this effort has had a practical impact upon the citizens of Meo Vac by giving them the feeling of assurance needed to adopt a settled style of life and develop production and showing them the strength that lies in socialist collective production.

By resolving the grain problem, we have been able to develop the raising of buffalo, cattle and hogs. Within our large, remote district, a district that is covered mainly by rocky "cat ear" mountains and has few grasslands, we have, by raising cattle and buffalo "on our shoulders" (that is, cutting grass, picking leaves, storing dried grass, cooking corn gruel when the weather turns cold and raising short-term corn to provide feed for buffalo and cattle, which is carried to them on the shoulders of the people of Meo Vac), to make household livestock production a main sector and have enacted policies that provide appropriate inducement and awards. As a result, we now have a rather plentiful supply of draft power, fertilizer and food products. The average household raises 1.8 hogs and 2 head of cattle. Some households are raising 20 buffalo and head of cattle or more.

In conjunction with resolving the grain and food problems, our district has also attached importance to raising cotton and ramie so that the people have fiber with which to weave cloth suited to the tastes of the highland minorities. During the past several years, we have produced an average of 130,000 meters of cloth annually. We have been meeting 50 percent of the needs of women for ready-made clothing. The average Meo woman produces 6 meters of cloth from ramie fiber each year.

To closely tie agriculture to forestry, we planned and carried out the assignment of forests and forest land to the people at the very outset and have guided the planting of various species of trees that serve everyday

needs, such as oil bearing trees (F'ung trees), fruit trees (plums, pears, peaches and walnuts), timber bearing trees, bamboo and rattan along 45 kilometers of border to serve as an obstacle and provide future income. At the same time, we have planted shelter belt forests to control erosion and retain soil moisture.

Communications and transportation in Meo Vac have also developed markedly. The district has mobilized hundreds of thousands of mandays to open hundreds of kilometers of roads for motor vehicles supporting combat, production and the travel needs of the people. Twelve of the district's 19 villages have roads that accomodate motor vehicles. At present, Meo Vac is the leader among the border districts of Ha Tuyen Province in the procurement of food products and the development of communications-transportation. The district has twice been awarded the Labor Order 3rd Class by the state.

During the past 3 years, as a result of the development of production and communications-transportation, Meo Vac District has made increasingly large contributions to the state. In 1981, the district contributed 247 tons of grain and 65 tons of food products under its obligations to the state. In 1982, it contributed 351 tons of grain and 70 tons of food products. In 1983, it contributed 676 tons of grain and 92 tons of food products.

Product trade within the district between the people and the state has also increased with each passing year. In 1981, 1982 and 1983, the value of products sold to the state by the people was 1.8 million dong, 10.6 million dong and 13 million dong respectively while the value of goods sold by the state in exchange was 5.9 million dong, 11 million dong and 12.5 million dong respectively. Progress has been made toward balancing the district budget. Revenues for 1983 were sufficient enough to cover the cost of the administrative apparatus and the activities of the mass organizations within the district, which included the full and prompt payment of the salaries and allowances of cadres, workers and civil servants each month. At present, Meo Vac District is providing a full supply of eight of the nine rationed goods to cadres, workers and civil servants.

Generally speaking, both the material and spiritual lives of the people of the district have been somewhat improved. Some new population centers have been provided with electricity and water. The ethnic minorities are living in harmony with one another. Many young men and women have started families and are living lives filled with love and happiness. Attention is being given to training the sons and daughters of the ethnic minorities and families that have served the revolution to become cadres who possess all the personal qualities and skills needed to build and defend socialism in our district.

In the face of the new situation and tasks, under the light of the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, with the timely and close guidance of the provincial and district party committees and with the experience they have gained in combat and production over the years, the people of the ethnic minorities of Meo Vac District will display even greater self-reliance and use

the combined forces of the entire district and whatever assistance might be required from the upper level to perform all of the locality's work well and develop Meo Vac into a district near the northernmost point of the fatherland that fights and produces well.

7809

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FROM FEUDALISM DIRECTLY TO SOCIALISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 84 pp 64-66, 70

[Article by Yen Van]

[Text] In 1921, inspired by the victory of the Russian October Socialist Revolution and under the clear-sighted leadership of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Mongolian people arose and threw off the yoke of feudal and imperialist rule. On 26 November 1924, after driving the feudalists from the agencies of local government, gradually consolidating the people's government and carrying out democratic reforms, the Mongolian National Assembly declared, during its first session, the establishment of the Mongolian People's Republic. This was a major milestone in the glorious history of the fraternal Mongolian people. Since then, all state power has been in the hands of the working people, the representatives of whom are the National Assembly and the people's councils on the various levels.

During the past 60 years, the Mongolian People's Republic made the historic leap from a backward feudal system directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, thereby vividly illustrating Lenin's famous observation about the ability of backward agricultural countries to advance directly to socialism.

The clear-sighted leadership of the MPRP has been the decisive factor in this change that has taken place in Mongolia.

Loyal to Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of its country's special characteristics, the MPRP has constantly endeavored to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner. The party's 3rd Congress, which was held in August, 1924, has a special place in the country's history as the congress that charted the course of Mongolia's non-capitalist development and defined this as the matter of overriding importance in the building and development of the country. The resolution of the congress stressed: Mongolia, instead of following the path taken by other countries, the path of capitalism and its great suffering and misery, must follow a path that truly serves the people and is consistent with the development of the modern world. The 4th Congress of the Party (September, 1925) set forth a specific platform for implementing this line and defined the country's tasks as abolishing the

feudal class, achieving economic independence, curbing and reducing the scope of capitalist factors within the economy, establishing the state economy and collective economy, developing the new culture and liberating the working people from the spiritual oppression of the Buddhist church. When these tasks had been virtually completed, the 10th Congress of MPRP, which met in March, 1940, decided to completely eliminate the remnants of the feudal system and build the material-technical bases of socialism. In accordance with the resolution of the congress, the state played a very important role in intensifying the development of industry. Importance was attached to building the industrial, construction and communications-transportation sectors as well as the livestock product processing sector and the consumer goods industry. In particular, livestock production, the country's traditional industry as well as its main economic sector, was organized well, put under good management and widely industrialized.

The development of industry created the conditions for Mongolia's economy to overcome its backward state and develop in the direction of industrialization. By the late 1960's, economic and social life within Mongolia had undergone profound changes. Once a backward, nomadic country, Mongolia had become a socialist country with a constantly developing industry and agriculture, a progressive culture and system of education and a constantly improving material and spiritual life. In the 1970's, Mongolia recorded even larger economic and social achievements. Under the sixth 5-year plan (1975-1980), Mongolia's gross social product increased by 35 percent and national income within the field of production rose by 30.9 percent, two-thirds of which represented increases in labor productivity, compared to the fifth 5-year plan. According to 1970 statistics, Mongolia's industry produces as much in 13 minutes as it did in all of 1924 and as much in 15 days as it did in all of 1940.

The 18th Congress of the MPRP (May, 1981), on the basis of the achievements that had been recorded by the country, adopted the main guidelines of the seventh 5-year plan (1981-1985), guidelines designed to implement the specific program of the party on continuing to build the material-technical bases of socialism, perfecting socialist production relations, raising labor productivity and improving the material and spiritual lives of the people. These tasks are being carried out on the basis of industrializing the country and mechanizing agricultural production. The restructuring of the economy by territory for the purpose of making effective use of the production forces of the provinces and economic regions is also of important significance in the performance of these tasks.

In recent years, under the correct guidelines mentioned above, Mongolia's industry has reached a new level of development and recorded many good results. The industrial product accounts for 41 percent of the gross product of the national economy and more than 30 percent of national income. At present, Mongolia has more than 300 large industrial enterprises, which are capable of producing products worth 4 billion Tughrig annually. The industrial product rose 8.1 percent in 1983 compared to 1982.

The communications-transportation sector, the posts-telecommunications sector and the commerce sector as well as the other public service sectors have also recorded good achievements.

The socialist transformation of agriculture has been successfully carried out. Agricultural cooperativization has been completed in Mongolia. Agriculture has been mechanized and equipped with advanced technical equipment. At present, Mongolia has 255 agricultural federations, 40 joint-cooperative enterprises and more than 60 state farms. The average agricultural federation has 10 million Tughrig in fixed capital, 441,000 hectares of farmland, 72,400 head of livestock, 15 tractors and 13 trucks. Agricultural products account for nearly 60 percent of export goods. In 1983, cereal grain output totalled 810,000 tons, a new record and 150,000 tons more than planned. Potato, vegetable and livestock feed production also increased significantly compared to 1982. As a result of being supplied with advanced technology, marked progress has been made by the livestock production sector. The construction of additional pens, increased cross breeding, increases in feed reserves and so forth have resulted in a continuous increase in the number of livestock being raised. Mongolia currently ranks 5th in the world in meat production per capita.

The steady expansion of economic cooperation between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries has made significant contributions to the development of the country's economy and export potentials and accelerated the process of closing the gap between the level of economic development of Mongolia and that of the other countries within the socialist community. With the money loaned to it by the socialist countries under the current 5-year plan, Mongolia has built and put many projects into operation, such as the Erdene Ore Enrichment Federated Enterprise and the Nomgon, Nucuoc Nuur and Dalandzadgad land clearing projects.

Economic development has led to the constant improvement of the material and spiritual lives of the people. Prior to the revolution, Mongolia was one of the most backward countries in Asia. Virtually its entire population was illiterate and 45 percent of its young men joined the Buddhist priesthood and lived as parasites upon society. Today, illiteracy has been virtually wiped out and one of every four citizens is attending school. The number of college graduates has risen rapidly. As a percentage of the population, the number of students attending college in Mongolia is nearly equal to the average of the SEV member countries. Mongolia now has 25 vocational middle schools with an enrollment of roughly 20,700 students. In the field of public health, there are 23 doctors and 109 hospital beds for every 10,000 persons.

The path that the Mongolian people have followed, the path of steadfast and brave struggle, and the achievements that the Mongolian working people have recorded under the leadership of the MPRP are bright examples and a source of strong inspiration to the developing countries.

Through these achievements and through its peaceful foreign policy based on principles, the Mongolian People's Republic has made and is continuing to make worthy contributions to the strengthening of the socialist community and

positive contributions to the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. These facts have angered the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. They have been conducting continuous acts of provocation against the Mongolian People's Republic. The authorities in China do not try to conceal their desire to gobble up Mongolia and make it part of China. Having failed in their attempt to annex Mongolia, they have turned to acts of provocation and sabotage, to creating a tense situation in border areas. They have built military fortifications and sent additional troops into border areas, intensified their acts of provocation, unleashed many attacks and instigated armed clashes along the border. At some places, Chinese forces have advanced dozens of kilometers into Mongolia to conduct reconnaissance operations and fire on livestock herds. They have even resorted to such heinous tactics as driving livestock afflicted with dangerous communicable diseases into Mongolian territory in a vain attempt to cause an epidemic, kill livestock herds and cause the rapid decline of Mongolia's livestock sector. In the face of these filthy, hostile actions by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, Mongolia has been forced to take measures to defend and protect the country's independence and maintain the people's security.

As close friends of the Mongolian people, the Vietnamese always follow with warm affection the Mongolian people's cause of building and defending their country. On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Mongolian People's Republic, we sincerely extend to the fraternal people of Mongolia our heartiest congratulations and our feeling of confidence that, under the clear-sighted leadership of the MPRP, headed by General Secretary J. Batmonh, through their spirit of diligent and creative labor and with the comprehensive, unselfish assistance of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the people of Mongolia will surely overcome every challenge and difficulty and record increasingly brilliant achievements in socialist construction.

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PORTY YEARS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ALBANIA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 84 pp 67-70

[Article by Trinh Dan]

[Text] On 29 November 1944, following many years of steadfast and brave fighting and strengthened and inspired by the victories of the revolutionary armies over fascism around the world, the people of Albania, under the leadership of the Communist Party (now the Albanian Workers Party) liberated their country from the yoke of fascist aggression, thereby ushering in a new era in Albania: the era of national independence and socialism.

Through 40 years of struggling and building, the people of Albania have developed their once backward country into a socialist country in which industry and agriculture are constantly developing, science and technology are progressive and the material and spiritual lives of the people are being continually improved.

In this process, the Albanian people have had to overcome tremendous difficulties and challenges. Prior to the revolution, Albania was one of the most backward countries in Europe. It had virtually no industry (industry accounted for only 6.6 percent of the total value of industrial-agricultural output). During World War II, Albania suffered heavy losses of life and property: 7.3 percent of its population was killed or disabled, 21 percent of its buildings were demolished, more than one-third of its livestock were killed and economic bases were seriously damaged. During the late 1970's the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, displaying an attitude of big country chauvinism, posed more than a few difficulties to Albania's economic development. Without notice, they cut off their aid to Albania and withdrew their specialists.

Albania overcame these difficulties and challenges and has recorded important economic achievements primarily because the Albanian Workers Party has steadfastly pursued a socialist industrialization policy that gives priority to the development of heavy industry in a manner consistent with the country's natural resources while attaching full importance to agriculture and light industry. In its economic development, Albania has stressed the need to

establish a rational economic structure, mainly an industrial-agricultural structure, and, on this basis, build an effective management system. Socialist industrialization in Albania has occurred in two stages: from just after liberation day until 1960, the main task of industrialization was to build the basic industrial sectors, which include the oil and gas, coal, electric power, mining, metals, chemical and machine manufacturing sectors, light industry and the food product industry. The stage of strengthening and expanding existing sectors began in the 1960's, with special importance attached to the mining industry because it accounts for the largest portion of the value of Albania's heavy industrial output. During this stage, practically all industrial sectors have been strengthened by diversifying their product lines, raising their product quality and improving their industrial processes in order to turn semi-finished products into finished products. For example, the copper industry has been improved in every area from the mining and smelting of copper to the processing of copper into such finished products as copper wire and other copper products.

Within heavy industry, Albania's policy has been to "develop electric power first" and closely tie industrialization to the development of electric power. On the basis of the country's abundant sources of hydropower, Albania has attached special importance to the construction of hydroelectric power projects. Albania completed the electrification of the country in October, 1970. All cities and rural areas, even the most remote, have electric power for use in production and everyday life. In 1972, Albania began exporting electricity. In 1983, electricity output in Albania reached roughly 3.3 billion kilowatt hours, 80 percent of which was generated by hydroelectric power projects. Along with the power industry, all other industrial sectors have developed rapidly. In 1983, Albania produced approximately 1.5 million tons of petroleum, 1.8 million tons of anthracite coal, more than 1 million tons of cement, 1.2 million tons of chromium, 9,000 tons of copper, 7,000 tons of nickel... As regards its machine manufacturing industry, Albania has been producing 75/CV tractors since 1978. At present, 95 percent of machine spare parts is produced domestically. The development of heavy industrial sectors that have solid, domestic raw material bases and supply means of production directly to agriculture and light industry has provided the capital needed to develop the entire economy.

Albania's light industry is primarily based on sources of raw materials within heavy industry and agriculture. Within light industry, the sectors that have been strongly developed are the production of cotton, wool and silk cloth. The synthetic cloth and fiber sector, the plastic goods sector, paper production, the lumber sector... During the initial period, heavy industry grew at a more rapid pace and accounted for a larger portion of the economy than light industry. In recent years, although heavy industry has continued to grow more rapidly, the gap between the rate of heavy industrial and light industrial growth has narrowed. By 1983, heavy industry was eight times larger and light industry was 4.4 times larger than in 1960. However, in 1983, heavy industry was 2.6 times larger and light industry was 2 times larger than in 1970, that is, the rate of growth of light industry was higher during the last decade than the preceding decade. In 1983, light industry accounted for one-third the value of industrial output.

The rapid development of industry has stimulated the development of the Albanian economy at a high and stable rate. Between 1951 and 1980, the entire economy grew at an annual average rate of 8.7 percent, with industry growing by 12.4 percent, agriculture by 5 percent and national income by 7.4 percent.

Albania maintains that its economy must move forward on two feet, modern industry and modern agriculture, and that industrialization is the factor determining the stable development of agriculture. Before it embarked on the stage of modernization, the cooperativization of Albania's agriculture was completed. During the first 10 years, from 1946 to 1955, agricultural cooperativization mainly involved bringing farmers into low level cooperatives on the basis of raising their consciousness and showing them the superiority of socialist collective production. During the years from 1956 to 1960, Albania virtually completed agricultural cooperativization nationwide. Next, small cooperatives were merged to form increasingly large-scale cooperatives. At present, the average cooperative measures 1,200 hectares. In the lowlands, each cooperative has between 2,000 and 3,000 hectares of land. The establishment of large cooperatives has facilitated the irrigation and drainage of fields, mechanization, the application of advanced science and technology and many other aspects of production. In Albania, high level agricultural cooperatives, which currently account for 24 percent of the country's cropland and have been built primarily in the lowlands, are types of cooperatives that have been provided with capital by the state for the development of production, capital which does not have to be paid back. Within these cooperatives, cadres and cooperative members receive wages and welfare benefits similar to those paid at state-operated economic units.

Today, Albania's countryside has been fully equipped with tractors and other types of machinery in order to mechanize the main jobs in agricultural production. The use of fertilizer has also rapidly risen. In 1950, an average of 3 kilograms of chemical fertilizer were applied per hectare. In 1983, 145 kilograms were applied per hectare. The development of irrigation and drainage projects also represents a major effort on the part of Albania. Because of the country's natural conditions, Albania's agricultural land lies in two separate regions: 40 percent lies in the lowlands, the rest in the midlands and mountains. Practically all of the farmland in the lowlands is marshy. The Albanian state has invested billions of lek in the construction of irrigation and drainage projects, including some 600 reservoirs, throughout both agricultural regions. As a result, nearly 60 percent of the country's cropland is effectively irrigated and drained, thus making Albania one of the leading countries of Europe in terms of the percentage of total cropland irrigated and drained.

Once only the "kingdom of corn," Albania has been and is building a diversified agricultural economy. Its policy is to develop all economic sectors in the countryside in a balanced manner, to develop crop, livestock, grain, industrial crop, vegetable and fruit production, develop the fishing industry and the forest industry while giving attention to the lowlands as well as the midlands and mountains.

The technological revolution within agriculture has resulted in high crop and livestock yields. In 1983, the wheat yield was 6 tons per hectare and the

corn crop yielded 12 tons per hectare on all land under cultivation, thus bringing total grain output for the year to 1.6 million tons. Today, Albania is fully meeting the needs of the people for grain, meat, milk, vegetables, fruit and eggs on its own and meeting 80 percent of the raw material needs of light industry and the food product industry. Agriculture also supplies 10 percent of the country's exports.

Due to the development of its industry and agriculture, Albania's foreign trade has also developed. Albania's exports primarily consist of minerals that have been pre-processed domestically, such as petroleum, natural gas, copper, nickel, bauxite and so forth, electricity, mining equipment, chemicals, cloth, tobacco, canned goods... Albania ranks second in the world in the exportation of chromium. At present, Albania's exports pay for its imports and provide for a certain amount of capital accumulation, thereby accelerating the process of building the economy and improving the welfare of society.

Along with the achievements that have been recorded in the cultural and social fields, the economic achievements of the past 40 years are a source of legitimate pride to the Albanian people. On the occasion of Albania's 40th National Day, the people of Vietnam express their joy over the achievements recorded by the fraternal people of Albania in the building of their country. We are confident that, on the basis of the victories that have been won and with their tradition of diligent and creative labor, the people of Albania, under the leadership of the Albanian Workers Party, headed by Enver Hoxha, will surely score increasingly brilliant victories in the course of building the socialist economy, thereby bringing increasing prosperity and happiness to the "land of the phoenix."

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