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Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 9, SEPTEMBER 1986

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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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COMMEMORATING THE 41ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE AUGUST REVOLUTION (1945) AND NATIONAL DAY (2 SEPTEMBER): THE DIFFICULT AND LONG SOCIALIST REVOLUTION WILL SURELY BE VICTORIOUS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 1-5

[Editorial]

[Text] After completing the national democratic revolution, our entire country shifted to the socialist revolution. The socialist revolution is a difficult and long revolution. It would truly be a mistake to think of the socialist revolution as a stroll in a beautiful garden. No, the socialist revolution is exceedingly difficult and very long. This revolution is difficult and long because its goals are to establish the public ownership of the primary means of production in place of private ownership and to abolish each and every form of the exploitation of man by man. Established models of a socialist economy do not exist for the socialist revolution. A socialist economic segment based on public ownership of the means of production cannot come into being and grow within an old society based on private ownership.

In the socialist revolution, the administration of the laboring people led by the working class carries out the transformation of the old economy and builds the new economy. At the same time, it carries out revolutionary transformation in every other field of social life, particularly the fields of culture and ideology. Therefore, a special period of transition is needed in order for the socialist system to replace the capitalist system. This period begins when the administration of the laboring people led by the working class is established and concludes when the tasks of the socialist revolution are completed, that is, when socialist construction is completed and the first stage of communism begins.

K. Marx said: "Between capitalist society and communist society is a period of revolutionary change from one society to the other. Corresponding to this period is a period of political transition, and the state during this period can be none other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."(1)

The period of transition is an historic age in which the working class uses the people's administration to transform social relations, abolish the old base of society and build the new, socialist base. The development of the revolution in production forces is necessary for the victory of socialism.

During the period of transition, the working class trains itself in the process of managing the state and developing the economy. In the struggle against the habits of the old society, the laboring people gradually transform themselves in the spirit of socialism. The performance of these tasks entails a long process fraught with difficulties and hardships.

In Vietnam, the socialist revolution will be more difficult and longer than in the fraternal countries. Why is this? It is because our country is advancing to socialism from a very low starting point. It is advancing from a backward economy of small-scale production, an economy once dependent upon imperialism to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. Our nation was exploited by the Chinese expansionists and feudalists for thousands of years and exploited by Western imperialist powers for hundreds of years, which kept us in abject poverty. In addition, we have experienced a long and bitter war and embarked on the period of transition to socialism with practically nothing more than our bare hands.

A large-scale machine industry is the material pre-requisite to the transition to socialism. In the European countries, a large-scale machine industry was created in the course of development of capitalism. Vietnam has not experienced the stage of capitalism and, therefore, had no large-scale machine industry when it began the transition to socialism. However, under current conditions, with socialism having won victory in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and become a world system, Vietnam, being led as it is by the working class, can follow the path of non-capitalist development. After throwing off the yoke of imperialism, our country was able to avoid the slow and painful process of capitalist development, shift from the national liberation revolution to the socialist revolution and gradually embark on the path of socialist construction. This capability is the result of the assistance provided by the advanced countries in which the proletarian revolution has won victory.

The establishment of socialism can only be guaranteed on the basis of large-scale, mechanized production. Lenin wrote: "The material base of socialism is large-scale, mechanized industry that is capable of also transforming agriculture."⁽²⁾ It is for this reason that our party has established socialist industrialization as the central task in the period of transition in our country. Industrialization requires a very large amount of capital. In addition to stepping up production and producing many surplus products, we must practice frugality in consumption in order to accumulate the capital necessary for industrialization. Because our country's circumstances demand that we make very large expenditures on national defense in order to defend the fatherland against aggression by expansionism-hegemonism and imperialism, we cannot concentrate all our manpower and wealth on building the country. Our country and the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia are encircled by imperialism, expansionism-hegemonism and international reactionary powers, which are trying by every means possible to sabotage our people's socialist construction. As a result, the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country have been made even more difficult and longer.

The historic realities of many countries in the world show that it takes centuries to advance a country from small-scale production to large-scale

production. It has taken the countries of Eastern Europe more than 100 years under capitalism and more than 40 years under socialism to advance from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production. Yet, there are still some countries, such as Poland, for example, that have not completed the main tasks of the period of transition.

Under the new international circumstances that prevail today, with the existence of the world socialist system and assistance of the fraternal countries, the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production in our country need not take centuries. However, it is nothing more than a harmful illusion to think that we can greatly reduce the length of this process and complete socialist construction in only a few decades. The practical experience of the past 10 years shows the harmful mistakes to which subjective, impetuous thinking leads! Clearly, the period of transition in our country will be a relatively long period of history.

Our entire country entered the period of transition in May 1975, more than 11 years ago. The North began the period of transition in July 1954, more than 32 years ago. Yet, we are still in the initial stage of the period of transition and many more years are needed to complete the tasks of the initial stage and begin the next stage, the stage of large-scale industrialization. We must struggle hard for many more years to achieve socialist industrialization, build the material-technical bases of socialism and conclude the period of transition in our country. Therefore, we cannot be impetuous. Being hasty and wanting to skip stages would be a mistake, would result in having to do things over, in going around in circles and would make the period of transition even longer and actually slow us down at a time when we want to make rapid progress.

Wanting to build the country very rapidly so that the fatherland quickly becomes prosperous and the people are happy is a fine and noble desire and aspiration that cannot be criticized in any way. However, we are not practitioners of utopian socialism, which is divorced from the real conditions of the country. We are supporters of scientific socialism. As such, we are practical in our thinking, evaluate the actual situation correctly and act in a manner consistent with objective laws. We may not be subjective or hasty or set targets and norms that exceed our real capabilities.

With a population of more than 60 million our country definitely must be industrialized, must have heavy industry, iron and steel, modern equipment and machinery, must manufacture automobiles, tractors, locomotives, aircraft and so forth. To accomplish these objectives, we must struggle hard for many decades. These objectives simply cannot be achieved in the space of three or four 5-year plans. However, regardless of how long it takes, be it five decades or even longer, our nation of Vietnam will surely persevere in the struggle to advance the cause of industrialization to total victory.

Maintaining that building large-scale, mechanized industry is something that should not be done because it is too costly, requires much capital and affects the standard of living of the people is rightist thinking and the abandonment of industrialization. Such an approach would mean forever resigning ourselves to a state of economic backwardness without making efforts to move forward and

build a modern economy, create the conditions for improving the standard of living of the people in a fundamental and permanent way and developing the material base needed for the defense of the country.

Conversely, maintaining that we can build large-scale, mechanized industry quickly and, as a result, setting targets and norms that are too high compared to actual capabilities reflect subjective, hasty thinking. This approach is harmful because it causes major imbalances within the national economy and leads to large difficulties in production and everyday life.

Only by firmly adhering to the basic tenets of scientific socialism while taking into consideration the basic characteristics of our country's revolutionary situation and international circumstances and firmly adhering to our party's general line on the socialist revolution and its line on building the socialist economy can we adopt correct guidelines and avoid the deviations of rightism and "leftism" in building and developing the economy.

To advance the socialist revolution and the cause of socialist construction to victory, we must respect objective laws. General Secretary Truong Chinh said: "We cannot advance to socialism by going against laws. The more we go against laws, the more we move ourselves farther away from, not closer to, socialism. While it seems that skipping stages and going against laws would make for more rapid progress, they actually cause us to move ahead very slowly... Respecting objective laws, correctly applying and acting in accordance with laws, these are the most correct and rapid way to advance to socialism. There is not other path."(3)

The socialist revolution in our country is difficult, hard, complex and long but will surely be victorious. Our country will surely advance to socialism because this advance is the imperative of history and complies with the laws of development of mankind. The socialist revolution in our country will be victorious because our party has adopted a correct line on the socialist revolution, one which rests upon the solid foundation of scientific socialism, because our people are heroic and diligent and have a very deep love of their country and patriotism, because we have the militant alliance of the three fraternal countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and because we enjoy the large and effective assistance of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries.

Under the correct leadership of the party, it is the unshakeable determination of our people to advance to socialism. Regardless of how long the socialist revolution in our country might be, our people will persevere in their struggle, overcome each difficulty and advance the cause of the socialist revolution to total victory.

In the long struggle for the ideals of socialism and communism, we currently face enormous difficulties. However, we also have many advantages in our favor, and these advantages are basic.

Upholding and building upon the traditions of our party and people in the August Revolution of enduring hardships, overcoming each difficulty and fighting bravely, we are determined to wage a long struggle and will surely successfully build socialism in our country.

FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Marx: "Critique of the Goethe Program," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1984, p 46.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book 2, Part 2, p 532.
3. Excerpt from speech at the Cadre Conference To Study the Draft of the Political Report, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 8-1986, p 11.

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CSO: 4210/2

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT HO TO THE PREPARATORY CONGRESS*

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 p 6

[Text] Dear Delegates,

I would like to be there with you to discuss the reports that will be presented at the congress. Very regrettably, however, I am unable to attend. Below are some thoughts to assist you in your discussions:

It has been a very long time since we were last able to hold a congress. Consequently, anyone who has an idea, an experience or a problem no doubt wants to present what is on his mind and have it acted upon immediately.

However, the circumstances of the resistance (time, location and so forth) do not permit us to do this. As we sit in discussion, the soldiers volunteering to kill the enemy on the front, the issue of resupply and other matters await us. Our congress, therefore, must also be militarized.

--We should very deeply study and very thoroughly discuss matters of primary importance. This will make matters of secondary importance easy to solve.

--We should not be "bookish" in the way that teachers are. Instead, we should try to gain a clear understanding of the essence of matters, of their development and the relationship between one matter and another.

--We should focus more on matters of the present and future than the past.

--We should only carefully discuss and thoroughly examine the main views concerning thinking, policies, guidelines and organization. All these views are contained within the Platform Report of Truong Chinh. If this report is thoroughly discussed, the other reports can be completely understood.

Our congress is the resistance war congress. The main tasks of our congress are to advance the war of resistance to total victory and build the Vietnam Lao Dong Party. Your discussions, therefore, must center around these two matters.

With loving regards and determination to win,
January 1951
Ho Chi Minh

Based on the document printed in "The Proceedings of the 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Party.

FOOTNOTES

* In early 1951, our party held its 2nd Congress. Uncle Ho sent this letter to the Preparatory Congress to direct the discussion of the reports to be presented at the congress.

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CSO: 4210/2

**CLOSELY UNITING AROUND THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND SUCCESSFULLY PERFORMING
THE TWO STRATEGIC TASKS**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 7-13, 5

[Address by Vo Chi Cong, member of the Political Bureau and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the meeting held in Hanoi to commemorate the August Revolution and National Day, 2 September]

[Text] Respected and beloved Comrade Truong Chinh, general secretary of the CPV and chairman of the Council of State; respected and beloved Comrade Pham Van Dong; dear presidium members; dear comrades and members of the diplomatic corps and other foreign guests; and dear comrades and friends, on behalf of the CPV Central Committee and the SRV government, I solemnly convey my warmest greetings to all beloved comrades, compatriots and combatants in the country and our overseas compatriots as well. I sincerely thank the comrades and friends in the diplomatic corps and other foreign guests for your presence here.

Forty-one years ago, in August 1945, the Vietnamese people throughout the country, from the north to the center and the south, after 15 years of courageous struggle, closely united within the Viet Minh Front and led by the Communist Party of Vietnam, firmly grasping the favorable opportunity created by the victory of the Soviet Union and other anti-fascist forces over Nazi fascism in Europe and Japanese militarism in Asia, rose up and simultaneously overthrew the colonial regime and set up their own revolutionary power.

The August Revolution took place through the harmonious combination of armed struggle with political struggle and limited uprisings with general uprisings; and through coordination between the urban and rural areas and between the clear-sighted and centralized leadership of the central government and the determination, dynamism and creativity of all leading echelons and people throughout the country. This revolution succeeded quickly and very gloriously, opening a shining new page in our nation's history.

On 2 September 1945, at Ba Dinh Square, President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese revolution, read a declaration of independence establishing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia and opening a new era in our country's history.

This year, our people celebrate the 41st anniversary of the August Revolution and National Day at a time when our party is actively preparing for its 6th National Party Congress where it will review the successes and achievements of our revolution since the 5th Party Congress and the experiences in revolutionary leadership and define the orientations, tasks and objectives for the coming years.

We celebrate the 41st anniversary of the August Revolution and National Day after our people have fulfilled the 1981-1985 state plan and have begun the next 5-year state plan (1986-1990). We obtained many important achievements in carrying out the 1981-1985 plan. However, several objectives and targets fell below the mark. Entering the 1986-1990 state plan, we still face many difficulties such as materials, energy, commodities, finance, money, prices and market control. Nevertheless, uniting around the party, our entire army and people are striving to carry out basic and urgent measures to surmount these difficulties gradually, stabilize production and life, distribution and circulation and prices.

More than ever before, the strength of all-people solidarity is the important guarantee for all new victories of the revolution. Just as in the past half century, every time the revolution faced fierce ordeals, the stability and the high sense of responsibility of the party--all party members unanimously uniting around the party--was the important and decisive factor in changing the situation.

We all remember that the revolution was in a very dangerous situation on several previous occasions, but the party's clearheadedness and the people's steadiness turned defeats into victories. Now, although the revolution faces no small difficulties, they are merely temporary and can certainly be overcome.

Dear comrades and friends, it is actually not easy to analyze correctly and objectively the comprehensive situation of the revolution in our country, especially the socio-economic situation, because the overall view is rather complicated. Despite successes and achievements, there are still some sluggish aspects and despite what is correct there are mistakes and shortcomings.

At the recent 10th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, the overall situation of fundamental tasks were presented and self-criticism was frankly conducted to admit mistakes and shortcomings and to define remedial measures. The conferences of cadres at all levels will gradually review tasks and carry out criticism and self-criticism. This is a great, broad democratic action drive in our party and society.

With an objective attitude and scientific methods, we certainly have an accurate view and can make correct decisions on the various issues concerning lines, policies, objectives and measures. How have we carried out the tasks and objectives set by the 5th Party Congress?

Agriculture is the foremost front. Agricultural production in the past years has obviously made substantial progress, especially in food production,

industrial crops, husbandry and land reclamation. The annual tempo of agricultural development in the 1981-1985 period was 4.9 percent. Especially, food production increased from 14.4 million metric tons in 1980 to 18.2 million in 1985 despite unfavorable weather and shortages in material supplies. As a result, the annual per capita food production rose from 268 kilograms in 1980 to 304 kilograms in 1985. Nevertheless, the food problem has not been completely solved on a national scale, and food production remains unstable.

Industry has also undergone some definite changes, especially small industry, handicrafts and local industry. The annual increase of industrial production in the 1981-1985 period was 9.5 percent.

In the past years, the southern rural areas have changed and are changing socio-economically. The exploitative class has been essentially wiped out. Large numbers of peasants have entered the path of collective work. The vestiges and consequences of colonialism are being overcome. A new life has begun.

In the countryside nationwide, socialist production relations continue to be consolidated qualitatively while we gradually improve the management system and expand the autonomy of basic economic units in production and business.

In the matter of material and technical bases of socialism, about 300 major projects have been completed in addition to thousands of medium and small-sized projects. Fixed capital in 1985 increased by nearly three-fold over 1976.

This will not be a small productive force if it is reorganized and used in a balanced and effective way. In the whole of the country, the first material and technical bases of socialism are being laid.

Remarkable achievements have also been recorded in culture, education, public health, science and technology, literature and art. Through 11 years of building socialism, our people have continued to uphold their revolutionary heroism and their tradition of labor and creativity and have created new and valuable factors.

In the defense of the fatherland and the maintenance of political security and social order, our People's Armed Forces and security forces, by fighting courageously and overcoming all difficulties and hardships, have won important successes in countering the land-grabbing attacks on the border and the multifaceted war of sabotage by the hostile forces outside the country.

On the occasion of this glorious National Day celebration, the CPV Central Committee, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers would like to inquire solicitously about the health of all the war invalids and ill soldiers and the families of fallen heroes and to commend warmly the compatriots and combatants nationwide as well as the cadres of various echelons and sectors for their great, praiseworthy contributions to the cause of socialist construction and national defense.

Our victories and successes are very valuable because they are the fruits of a hard struggle in a situation in which the country, immediately after being freed from many long wars for national liberation, has had to cope with a new war and to fight against the policy of encirclement and blockage of the imperialists and struggle in a situation in which the country, immediately after being freed from many long wars for national liberation, has had to cope with a new war and to fight against the policy of encirclement and blockage of the imperialists and the international reactionaries.

Our successes are the direct results of the party's correct lines approved at the 4th and 5th CPV Congresses. The general lines of the socialist revolution--the economic development line, the national defense line and the international line of the party--are very correct, for they are imbued with popular principles of Marxism-Leninism, which are inseparable from the reality of our country.

We have, however, also committed mistakes while substantiating our policy lines in the initial stage, especially in matters of determining economic, management, distribution and circulation structures and applying the objective economic laws of the transitional period.

Errors, subjectivism, impatience, haste, aloofness from reality and the masses, bureaucracy, subsidization, conservatism, procrastination, liberalism, fragmentation and indiscipline are major obstacles to development and create chaotic and negative phenomena in economic and social activities.

From the central down to the grassroots levels, various echelons and sectors must, through the party congresses at all levels and the national party congress, conduct criticism and self-criticism and examine and review all fields of our activities.

We affirm that our party and the compatriots nationwide are fully capable of and qualified to assess correctly the overall situation, analyze correctly successful and unsuccessful lessons and determine accurately the immediate orientation and objectives of the revolution in the advance toward stabilizing the overall situation and pushing our country ahead.

Our economy is now in the initial stage of socialism. There are many imbalances that we cannot promptly overcome. But our existing potentials are also not meager. Furthermore, we are enjoying great assistance from the Soviet Union and are broadening our cooperation with fraternal countries of CEMA.

With efforts directed at exploiting our existing capabilities in manpower, land and production potentials already built up, we must concentrate our capital and materials on developing agriculture, forestry, fishery, consumer and export goods producing industries and those heavy industries that directly serve these production branches.

We must work out a program for economic development based on practical capabilities and insure all the necessary conditions to fulfill it. Our

people want to see an improvement in the way of thinking and working that can insure higher and practical efficiency.

Many urgent problems are arising and need to be tackled. They are the ones encountered in the field of distribution and circulation, in which we have made mistakes.

We must first strive to stabilize prices and real wages gradually. To stabilize prices, we must develop production and control the market. The law of value is an objective law. Only by firmly grasping and applying it to the whole system of those laws now developing their effect in our country's society during the transitional period--with specific laws of socialism playing a leading role--and fully understanding plans, the market and goods-money relations can we control production, circulation and distribution, thereby generating a strong momentum for socio-economic development.

On the basis of applying various objective laws correctly, the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers are trying to study and take effective steps aimed at stabilizing production, circulation, distribution, prices and the lives of our people of all strata.

Dear comrades and friends, the Party Central Committee has passed a draft political report for discussion by the entire party and approval by the 6th Party Congress. At production, work and residential units, mass organizations will hold discussions to contribute their views to the party on socio-economic programs for the coming years and on other important issues of our country. Through the mass media, direct meetings and letters, cadres and the people have enthusiastically responded to the Party Central Committee's appeal and contributed their opinions to party congresses at all levels and the national party congress. A broad emulation movement is being organized everywhere to score achievements to welcome the party congress. These are vivid signs eloquently proving that the close bonds between the party and the people and the identity of will and action displayed by the entire party when the revolution is developing favorably as well as when it is faced with complex trials constitute the invincible strength of the revolution.

Revolution is always an undertaking of the people, and the people are those who decide all the successes of the revolution. The party comes from the people and strives for the people's happiness. In the face of immediate difficulties, the party must rely on the people to overcome them. The compatriots throughout the country have clearly displayed their unity around the party by sincerely contributing their views, providing criticism and offering suggestions while striving to overcome difficulties and step up production and other activities.

The common denominator of the aspirations of our cadres, compatriots and combatants is expressed in the demand that we change our way of thinking and style of doing business; the demand that we truly transform all our activities; the views criticizing the ills of bureaucratic centralism, the lack of organization and discipline and irresponsible business methods that fail to consider socio-economic efficiency as the primary criterion; the opinions strongly condemning officialism and disregard for the masses'

legitimate interests; and the stern condemnation against and the demand that the most effective measures be taken to put an end to illegal business practices and negative manifestations concerning lifestyle and ethics.

The demand for new and effective business methods is a revolutionary requirement. The demand for building a society and a lifestyle characterized by ethics and discipline is also an important revolutionary requirement. Such changes will surely generate a new strength and a new vitality for our society.

The people also demand that the party cleanse its ranks and purify the state organs in order to guarantee at all costs the people's right to mastery. These are very legitimate demands that reflect our society's political maturity; and they are also the very potentials of our society and our country's revolution. Highly respecting the views and suggestions of cadres, compatriots and combatants, the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers are studying them with high revolutionary spirit.

Considering the general difficulties facing our national economy, everyone understands that our life cannot change immediately. More than ever before, everyone must now strive to work, produce and practice thrift, upholding diligence, thrift, honesty and justice to contribute to the common cause. Since the party and state are determined to correct shortcomings and mistakes in socio-economic management, find new business methods, rely on the people and vigorously develop the laboring people's right collective mastery, it is certain that we will achieve the socio-economic targets already set.

Dear comrades and friends, concerning the world situation, we are interested first of all and follow with special pleasure the vigorous development of the revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world. The socialist community--the factor deciding the development of the international situation--is embarking on a new, very important stage of development which will surely lead to even broader and deeper changes when mankind enters the third millennium. The 27th CPSU Congress was an historic milestone marking the comprehensive development of the land of the October Revolution and a new step of development of Marxism-Leninism. The extremely rich experience of realistic socialism in the Soviet Union was recapitulated. This is a valuable treasure and an unprecedented source of strength for the world revolution. The broad reforms being carried out in the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries are creating a new strength and an extremely massive upsurge of dynamism and social potentials, and the lifestyle of socialism is being harnessed and developed more satisfactorily. The superiority, appeal and prestige of socialism are increasing before the laboring people and freedom-loving nations the world over.

The biggest obstacle to the development of socialism and man's life is the arms race conducted by U.S.-led imperialism. The world situation is now extremely grave. The danger of a nuclear war is reaching unprecedented levels. Imperialism is the mastermind of a world war and the biggest oppressor, exploiter, troublemaker and international terrorist.

Preserving peace and repelling the danger of a nuclear holocaust has become a central and urgent task of the entire world. Mankind, not resigning itself to wait for a nuclear disaster to come, is standing up and taking action. Mankind has great material and spiritual strength with which to answer the challenges of imperialism. This is the irreversible equilibrium of the means of retaliation. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries do not use strategic weapons as a threat for political blackmail; and they have taken the initiative of putting forward a program for nuclear disarmament in three stages aimed at saving the whole of mankind from the nightmare of a nuclear holocaust before the coming of the 21st century.

Our party, state and people totally support the Soviet Union's renowned peace initiatives successively put forward since April 1985. We warmly respond to and coordinate actions with the Soviet Union in connection with the peace initiative for the Asia-Pacific region announced by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his speech delivered on 28 July in Vladivostok. The Soviet Union's decision to unilaterally extend the moratorium on nuclear tests till 1 January 1987 once again proves the good will for peace of the largest socialist country. Exactly as Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh put it, this initiative is deeply imbued with the spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress; and it clearly reflects the loftiest goal of socialism of constantly consolidating peace and the security of nations.

As in the past, today solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and total reliance on its all-round assistance constitute the principle and fundamental policy of our party and state. The talks between the Soviet party and state delegation headed by Comrade Gorbachev and our party and state delegation headed by Comrade Le Duan back in June 1985 as well as the recent meeting between Comrade CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Gorbachev and Comrade CPV Central Committee General Secretary Truong Chinh marked new steps of progress and a new quality in the solidarity and comprehensive cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union. At its 19 August 1986 meeting, our Political Bureau highly appreciated the vigorous support and valuable assistance given by the Soviet party, government and people to our people in their undertaking to build socialism and defend the fatherland.

On this occasion, we once again express our sincere gratitude to the fraternal Viet party, government and people.

The strategic alliance between Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia is now very fine. This is a favorable condition for the revolution in each country to continue advancing. Solidarity, cooperation and mutual assistance constitute the principle and the law governing the development of the revolution in our country as well as of the Lao and Cambodian revolutions.

Our people will continue to do their best to contribute toward strengthening our comprehensive cooperation and consolidating the firm alliance between the three countries on the Indochinese peninsula in their common struggle to achieve peace and build a new life in each country.

Solidarity and cooperation with all fraternal socialist countries on the principles of socialist internationalism has become a reason for the survival of our people and an inevitable condition of our country's revolution. The international factor always remains important for the success of the Vietnamese revolution. We totally support the Mexico statement issued by leaders of six countries--India, Mexico, Argentina, Tanzania, Greece and Sweden--in the interest of peace and nuclear disarmament.

In the spirit of the August Revolution, National Day of 2 September, and our people's wars of resistance against aggression by imperialism, we once again declare our warm support for and stand on the side of the struggles for independence, democracy and social progress of all nations. We are always standing by the side of the just struggles of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, El Salvador, Chile, Palestine, Lebanon and Haiti. We are always standing by the side of heroic Nicaragua.

Now and in the future, just as before, we--in our capacity as a member--will always remain loyal to the lofty goals and progressive policy against imperialism and colonialism of the non-aligned movement and support the clear-sighted decisions of this movement. We hold in very high regard the important role of India, chairman of the non-aligned movement, and strongly support the movement's eighth summit now being held in Harare, the capital of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

We continue to struggle for peace and stability in Southeast Asia and persist in the policy of peaceful coexistence and friendship between countries having different social systems in this region. We call for contacts, normalization of relations, frank dialogue and mutual respect between the group of Indochinese countries and the group of ASEAN countries.

The Vietnamese people highly cherish their traditional intimate friendship with the Chinese people. The Vietnamese and Chinese peoples once united with and supported each other in their struggle against imperialism. The two countries share the same interests of peace, independence and economic and cultural development. We want to look toward the future and wish to restore normal and friendly relations with China at any level, any time and anywhere in order to resolve realistic issues in bilateral relations and issues of mutual interest.

Dear comrades and friends, the revolutionary state of the Vietnamese people founded 41 years ago has undergone a series of trials and has constantly grown big and strong. In the process of conducting the socialist revolution, the SRV has gained new, great sources of strength--national independence and freedom, reunification of the country, the laboring people becoming genuine collective masters of society and militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. All our party, people and army are closely uniting around the Party Central Committee to successfully carry out the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the Vietnamese socialist fatherland. No difficulties or challenges can prevent Vietnam from advancing on the glorious road to socialism.

All for the socialist fatherland, all the people's happiness!

Long live the spirit of the August Revolution and National Day of 2 September!

Long live the glorious CPV!

President Ho Chi Minh lives forever in our cause!

Thank you, comrades and friends.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY: A CONTRIBUTION TO GOOD SOCIO-ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT BY OUR STATE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 14-18

[Article by Tran Le, chief of the Supreme People's Organ of Control]

[Text] The management work of our state poses many pressing problems that must be resolved in order to establish a rational social order and insure success in the work of building and defending the socialist fatherland. The improvement of management and the establishment of the new management mechanism called for by the 6th and 8th Plenums of the 5th Party Central Committee are also designed to achieve these objectives. Soon, at the party's 6th Congress, together with resolving the issues of revising our thinking, particularly our economic thinking, improving the style of work and revamping our organization and corps of cadres, the management work of our state will also be comprehensively examined. To contribute to the successful performance of this task, we would like to express some thoughts concerning the political-legal aspects of the socio-economic management currently being provided by our state.

Socio-economic management is a very difficult, complex and new but exceedingly important task of our state, because, each socio-economic policy of the party and state is implemented mainly through management activities, which are activities that relate to many different fields of social life and must be scientific, well coordinated and effective. However, we lack economic knowledge and are weak in socio-economic management. Therefore, there is no other course open to us than studying management in order to "learn how to win victory by means of management methods," "how to organize on the practical level," as Lenin taught. This is exceedingly difficult work "because the issue here is to organize by a new mode the deepest bases, the economic bases, of the lives of tens and hundreds of millions of persons."⁽²⁾ However, we cannot perform this work "by appealing for 'volunteers' or by 'raising the flag, beating the drum and sending our forces off to win victory.'" Rather, we must employ management methods, must calculate the socio-economic returns from each dong of capital invested and not simply do things at any price. Our people had to wage an extremely hard fight marked by enormous sacrifices for nearly one-half century under the glorious banner of the party to win independence and freedom and reunify the country. However, as President Ho pointed out: "Winning victory over the imperialists and feudalists will be

relatively easy; winning victory over poverty and backwardness will be much more difficult."(4)

Due to the specific historic circumstances of the country, we must provide socio-economic management under especially difficult conditions: advancing from a society whose economy is still largely one of small-scale production directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development while having to deal with the serious, wide-ranging consequences of the decades-long war of aggression unleashed by the imperialists and still having to perform the two weighty tasks of building and defending the socialist fatherland. The subjective and objective factors mentioned above have made it difficult for our state to avoid certain limitations and mistakes in its organization and management activities. Examined from the standpoint of the mode of management, we see that some of the causes of these problems are the slowness with which we have strengthened the socialist system of law, lax compliance with the law, lax discipline and a lack of determination and thoroughness in the struggle against violations of the law and social ills. Some persons maintain that our country's current socio-economic situation is such that we cannot strengthen the socialist system of law because we have yet to establish the material-technical bases of socialism. True, the system of law does reflect and is dependent upon the infrastructure. However, as is the case with the other components of the superstructure, the system of law possesses a degree of relative independence. It has a reciprocal impact upon the infrastructure. The enforcement of laws that are outmoded impedes socio-economic development. Conversely, the enactment and enforcement of laws that are appropriate and progressive help to solve difficulties and stimulate socio-economic development. Therefore, our party has defined the socialist system of law as a highly effective organizational tool of the proletarian dictatorship state. Consequently, we should not think that the socialist system of law exists only to punish those persons who violate the law, but must see that the foremost requirement and principle of the socialist system of law is that it be obeyed and scrupulously implemented by the agencies of the state and each cadre and personnel of the state and that society be managed in accordance with the law as stipulated in Article 12 of the Constitution.

Through inspections into compliance with the law by the ministries and other agencies of the Council of Ministers, local administration agencies, social organizations, people's armed units, personnel of the state and citizens and the exercise of the prosecutorial powers given to the control sector by the state, we see that the results of our state's socio-economic management is still being limited to some extent by the failure to meet this requirement in the nature of a principle of the socialist system of law. An abnormal situation currently exists in the management activities of our state, one that must be quickly corrected: many laws that have been promulgated are not being strictly observed and some are not even being observed at all, many cadres and party members are violating the law and, in particular, cadres are abusing their public positions to do things that violate the law but are not being harshly prosecuted. If determined efforts are not made to immediately correct this situation, our state will have laws but not have laws and, as a result, be unable to manage society in accordance with the law. On this occasion, we feel that it is also necessary to emphasize that until we eradicate bribery of

every form in social life, persons who commit bribery will continue to render many policies and laws of our party and state ineffective and cause many cadres and party members to fall by the wayside.

In recent year, in the performance of its duty, our control sector has brought to light and reported to the various party committee echelons many cases of cadres and party members violating the law. However, some party committees and state agencies have failed to correctly implement the party directive that discipline be equally applied to everyone without exception and that persons who hold higher positions and have been in the party longer be subjected to harsher disciplinary action if they violate the law. Instead, these party committees and state agencies have "detained" party members in order to take disciplinary action against them internally, which, in essence, is protecting persons of position and authority who violate the law. More than 60 years ago, a similar matter was severely criticized by Lenin. Angered by the leniency of the Executive Committee of the Moscow party organization toward communist party members who had committed crimes, he wrote: "What we have here is something truly disgraceful and bizarre: a party in power protecting 'its own' rogues." (5) Lenin demanded that the penalty for party members who commit a crime be three times more severe than for non-party members who commit the same crime and that any judge who failed to meet this requirement be dismissed from office. (6) Recently, the Secretariat of our Party Central Committee issued a directive to party committees instructing them not to take over specific trial functions and to allow state agencies to prosecute under the law each cadre and party member who violates the law.

We have also found through the reality of inspection activities that one difficulty being encountered by our state in its socio-economic management is that the system of law is incomplete. Many important laws are lacking and many provisions of the law are contradictory or outmoded. The failure to promptly correct the disorder in production, business, distribution...and the failure to take timely corrective action in cases in which guilty persons have been allowed to go unpunished and innocent persons have been falsely accused are partly the result of the lack of economic law, criminal prosecutorial law... It is truly difficult to manage security and social order well when we lack a code of administrative law. It is also impossible to achieve high results in the struggle against crime when we have a criminal code but lack a code of criminal prosecutorial law, and law on detentions and reeducation through labor. The phenomena of "tearing down fences," doing as one sees fit, localism, parochialism and the establishment of inspection stations to stop river traffic and prevent markets from being held are posing considerable obstacles to the implementation of the country's overall socio-economic plan and are seriously undermining the unified nature of the socialist system of law. These phenomena are partly the result of the fact that we still lack a complete body of law.

In the recent sessions of the National Assembly, many deputies raised the issue of the effectiveness of inspections to check compliance with the law, maintaining that this effectiveness is not high. This is a fact. There are many reasons why inspections have not yielded the results desired by our party, state and people. To begin with, from a subjective standpoint, we see that although the party and state have concerned themselves with providing

elementary and advanced training, the corps of inspectors is still too small and its skills are weak, particularly in the face of a situation in which management is very difficult and complex and knowledge about how to manage each aspect of social life is constantly being augmented, as is the case today. However, in the face of difficult economic circumstances and the negative phenomena of society, the vast majority of inspection cadres have maintained the qualities and ethics of a cadre and party member and followed the teaching of the great President Ho Chi Minh: be just, honest, objective, prudent and modest. From an objective standpoint, there are two factors that have had a clear impact upon the results of inspections. One is that the laws of our state are seriously lacking in terms of being a system, in terms of being well coordinated and some provisions of the law have become outmoded but have not been revised or rescinded. Therefore, it has been very difficult in many cases to determine whether or not the law has been broken so that correct measures could be taken. The other factor is that our legislative work has not been carried out in accordance with a thorough plan and some policies and positions of the party have not been promptly codified, have not become laws of the state. As a result, many state agencies deal with specific cases directly on the basis of the directives and resolutions of the party committee. This situation has led to some leadership cadres at state agencies giving light attention to the law and even viewing the lines and policies of the party as the opposite of the laws of the state. This thinking is incorrect because the policies of the party and laws of the state are unified. Laws reflect policies. The party exercises leadership mainly through the activities of the state and all state agencies from the central to the basic level must obey the law. Even the organizations of the party must operate within the framework of the Constitution and may not, to suit convenience, set regulations that are contrary to the law. Such negative phenomena as the internal distribution of goods at very low prices, the establishment of slush funds to provide money for trade, the profits from which are shared, the awarding of sweeping material bonuses, the giving of public property as gifts and presents to one another....are being carried out in accordance with separate regulations adopted by a number of localities, sectors, agencies and units. These are manifestations of special rights and privileges, which the party and state have forbidden and our people have been and are waging a struggle to eradicate.

Another objective factor that has constantly affected the results of inspections is the persons who are the subjects of inspections. Through our work, we have found that the heads of some sectors, agencies and units still do not fully recognize their responsibility to scrupulously implement and organize and inspect the implementation of the law within their sector, agency or unit. It must also be stressed that while it is difficult to draft and promulgate laws and regulations, it is even more difficult to organize the correct implementation of these laws and regulations and that leadership which is not backed by inspection is the same thing as no leadership at all. Concerning compliance with the law, Lenin pointed out: "What we need is not new regulations, new agencies or new methods of struggle. We need to inspect the skills of personnel, inspect actual compliance... Inspecting personnel and inspecting compliance--the key to all our work, to our entire policy at this point in time lies herein and only herein."(7)

Because they have a less than full and somewhat incorrect understanding of the impact of internal inspections and control work, the leaders of some sectors, agencies and units still give light attention to this work. Moreover, these comrades also want to keep themselves outside the scope of inspections into compliance with the law, which is the function assigned by the highest organ of state power (the National Assembly) to the control sector. Therefore, some state agencies not only do not coordinate with or make it possible for the organ of control to bring to light and prosecute violations of the law, but also fail to study, respond to and fully implement the requests, proposals, suggestions and decisions of the organ of control as required under the law. Deserving of attention is that the people's committees on the provincial, municipal, precinct and district levels, which are the executive arm of the organ of state power on the local level, have very rarely been inspected by the organ of control on their level for compliance with the law. In essence, therefore, the people's committees on the provincial and district levels have not been upholding the supreme authority to supervise compliance with the Constitution and the law of the highest organ of state power (the National Assembly) and the people's organs of control have not been fulfilling the responsibility assigned to them by the National Assembly of "insuring thorough and uniform compliance with the law."

Lastly, one factor that is in the nature of a principle and has a decisive bearing upon the effectiveness of inspection work is the party's leadership of the control sector. Facts have shown that wherever the party committee concerns itself with providing this leadership, the organ of control operates in a highly effective manner. For example, some party committees have regularly adopted major positions and measures concerning this work, receive reports from the organ of control on its work and inspect the implementation of these positions and measures, thus creating the conditions for the organ of control to fulfill its function in exact accordance with the law. As a result, control work has exerted a good impact. To insure that this decisive factor plays the role it is intended to play, the Party Secretariat has issued a directive on strengthening the party's leadership of the activities of judicial agencies, including the organs of control, and establishing a place on the party committee for the chief of the organ of control. This is a new advantage for us in the activities of the control sector.

During the more than 25 years since its establishment and under the leadership of the various party committee echelons, our people's control sector has always oriented each of its activities toward the implementation of party directives and resolutions and has helped to increase the effectiveness of the management activities of the state. Although we still have some shortcomings and face difficulties, we are confident that, under the light of the resolution of the upcoming 6th Congress of the Party and together with the other agencies within the state apparatus, the control sector will work hard to successfully complete the tasks assigned it by the state of "protecting the socialist system of law, protecting the socialist system and the system of collective ownership of the laboring people, protecting socialist property and insuring respect for the life, property, freedom, honor and dignity of the citizen."(8)

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 36, pp 216, 210.
2. Ibid., p 210.
3. Ibid., pp 8-9.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 148.
5. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 45, p 65.
6. Ibid., Volume 44, pp 486-487.
7. Ibid., Volume 45, p 19.
8. See: the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (Article 127).

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY: DEVELOPING THE STRENGTHS OF SON LA PROVINCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 19-23

[Article by Hoang No, secretary of the Son La Provincial Party Committee]

[Text] Lying in our country's Northwest, Son La Province consists of nine districts and one city and measures 14,468 square kilometers. Its population of 560,000 encompasses 12 ethnic groups: the Thai, Hmong, Dao, Xinh-mun, Kho-mu, La Ha, Khang, Kinh and others. Generally speaking, Son La is a sparsely populated province, averaging only 39 persons per square kilometer.

The Son La Provincial party organization consists of 187 basic organizations of the party with nearly 18,000 members.

As is the case with the other mountain provinces, Son La has three strengths: the harvesting of forests, the cultivation of industrial crops and the raising of the species of large livestock.

Son La has row after row of forested mountains. The forests of Son La cover a rather large portion of the province. They grow and regrow rapidly. They are rich in natural resources, including many types of rare forest products and valuable species of animal life. If, given their large size, nearly 2 hectares per person, the forests and forest land of Son La were protected, improved, planted, harvested and used for commercial purposes in a rational manner, they would not only meet production and everyday needs of the province's people, but also supply many products of value to the central level and for trade with other provinces while playing an important role in protecting man's environment within a large region.

Son La has many favorable conditions for developing the production of high yield industrial crops of high economic value, such as tea, kamala, T'ung trees, cotton, peanuts, soybeans, sugarcane and so forth, and many valuable pharmaceutical crops.

Son La has many small valleys in which wet rice can be raised. The Nga San and Moc Chau areas have very large grasslands, a suitable climate and good conditions for developing the production of the species of large livestock.

In addition, the Da River and the Ma River run from the northwest to the southeast through Son La. Their very many rapids provide large sources of hydroelectric power. Beneath the ground, Son La has a number of minerals for which explorations are currently underway, such as coal, tin, lead, copper, gold, silver and so forth, some of which have begun to be mined.

The blessings of nature together with the diligent and highly experienced labor of the people and the socio-economic conditions created in the process of socialist transformation and socialist construction are the basic advantages that Son La has in its favor in its effort to develop and build upon its strengths.

In recent years, especially since 1982, in keeping with the guidelines, tasks and targets of socio-economic development set forth in the resolution of the 5th Party Congress, the resolutions of party plenums and the resolutions of the 6th and 7th Congresses of the Son La Provincial Party Organization, the various levels and sectors, the economic units and the people of the various ethnic groups within the province have, in the spirit of self-reliance, initiative and creativity, made every effort to overcome their difficulties, actively develop our strengths and recorded a number of important achievements.

Between 1981 and 1985, Son La planted 2,954 hectares of forest. Many advances have been made in the management of forest resources and the business in forest products. The province has parcelled out 240,000 hectares of forests and forest land to 17,000 households and 260 cooperatives for them to manage and use for commercial purposes. Some 10 percent of forests and more than 10 percent of cooperatives have begun to organize forest production and a forest business based on the model of combining agriculture and forestry. Each year, Son La has been supplying 12,000 cubic meters of wood of various types to the central level...

Attention has been given to the development of many types of industrial crops. The decline in the amount of area under the cultivation of tea was stopped. Now, relatively stable development is gradually being achieved. The production of sugarcane, cotton, peanuts, soybeans and medicinal crops of high value has been maintained and increased. During the 5 years from 1981 to 1982, the output of fresh tea leaves increased by 1,620 tons, peanut output by 106 tons, cotton output by 107.8 tons and sugarcane output by 2,865 tons compared to the previous 5 years.

The total number of large livestock and poultry being raised increased, with the production of some species increasing rapidly. During the past 5 years (1981-1985), the cattle herd increased at the average rate of 10.5 percent, the buffalo herd at the average rate of 3.8 percent and the hog herd at the average rate of 5.8 percent, with the meat hog herd increasing at the average rate of 8.9 percent compared to the previous 5 years. The raising of chickens, ducks, fish, honey bees and so forth continue to be expanded, even at some places in the highlands.

Looking back over the past 11 years, it can be said that the local economy has gradually been combined with the central economy to develop the strengths of

Son La Province. We have begun to establish a number of centralized production areas, such as the industrial-agricultural tea and dairy cattle (the central economy) and agro-industrial tea (the local economy) combine in Moc Chau, which produces more than 800 tons of finished tea products per year, more than 50 percent of the province's output of tea products; the Phu Yen agro-industrial tea growing area, which produces 150 tons of finished tea products per year; the Nga Son tea and corn agro-industrial area, which produces approximately 350 tons of finished tea products and more than 4,000 tons of corn seed annually, including more than 3,000 tons of commodity corn, which accounts for more than 50 percent of the total corn mobilized each year by the province; and the Ma River soybean growing area, which annually produces nearly 300 tons of soybeans and red kamala. In addition, we have also established small areas, such as the sugarcane-sugar-wine areas in Thuan Chau, Mai Son and Phu Yen, a number of places where beef buffalo and cattle are being raised in Moc Chau and Yen Chau, etc.

However, for many years now, efforts to develop the strengths of Son La have been limited by many factors. In some fields, a decline worthy of concern has occurred. Agricultural-forestry production has not developed beyond monoculture and non-intensive cultivation. The economy is still virtually a subsistent economy. Not enough food is being produced and many items are in short supply, particularly grain and initial capital. The labor force has not been reorganized and much labor is being wasted. Nomadic farming is still widespread. Commodity production has developed slowly. Grain output has increased slowly. Meanwhile, more land is becoming depleted with each passing day and serious damage is being done to the forests. In 1963, the forests of Son La covered 19 percent of the province's land. Today, they cover only a little more than 9 percent. Forests with wood reserves of 100 cubic meters per hectare now only make up about 5 percent of the total forests in Son La. This is an alarming development. Industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, particularly the processing of agricultural and forest products, have not developed in a manner commensurate with the locality's potentials. The relationship among the various sectors of the economy, particularly between agriculture and forestry and between agriculture-forestry and industry, is still loose. Capital construction, particularly the construction of infrastructure projects and roads, is still very weak. Many aspects of distribution and circulation remain complex and disorganized.

Although the people's standard of living has been improved in some respects, they generally continue to encounter many difficulties. Deserving of attention is the fact that there are still more than 80,000 nomads. They are experiencing many difficulties in production and with their living conditions. At many places, they even lack potable water. Cultural and spiritual life is still underdeveloped. Some old and backward funeral, wedding and other customs are re-emerging. There are still many negative phenomena.

One of the important causes of the difficult and negative situation described above has been the fact that the leadership provided by our provincial party committee continues to be marked by shortcomings and weaknesses. The lines and positions of the central level have not been applied or concretized in a manner that is truly consistent with the locality's specific conditions. Ideological work, organizational work and control work have been marked by

inertia, conservatism and ineffectiveness in some areas; have not promptly addressed or supported new tasks, particularly the tasks of building and managing the economy; and have not focused on building and strengthening basic units or strengthening the highlands. The management mechanism is still based on old practices. Appropriate importance has not been attached to cadre work. Discipline within the party is not strict. Compliance with the socialist system of law is lax. There is a lack of determination and thoroughness in the struggle against violations of the law and social ills.

At present, Son La is actively preparing for and holding party organization congresses on the various levels in advance of the party's 6th Congress. In strict compliance with Party Secretariat Directive Number 79 on self-criticism and criticism and in the spirit of squarely facing the truth, correctly evaluating the true situation and speaking the truth, we have been confirming the victories and achievements that have been won and recorded, pointing out existing weaknesses and shortcomings and clearly analyzing their causes while charting our course.

The draft of the Political Report to be presented by the Party Central Committee at the party's 6th Congress points out: "We must build the midland and mountain provinces of the North into a solid belt defending the fatherland. We must develop their industrial crop potentials, particularly export crops (tea, T'ung trees, lacquer, anise...), combine forestry with agriculture and the raising of the species of large livestock and build many important basic industrial units in the coal, hydroelectric power, metallurgy, apatite, rare earth metals and other sectors. We must complete the settlement of nomads, make full use of the economic forces of the army and receive fellow countrymen arriving from other places. We must develop the economy in a manner closely tied to resolving cultural and social problems so that each ethnic group and each area makes marked advances in the economic field and in terms of the standard of living."

Under the light of the resolution of the 10th Party Plenum and in accordance with the guidelines set in the draft Political Report, we are preparing the agenda of the provincial party organization. This congress of our provincial party organization will discuss and decide important matters concerning production guidelines, with efforts being made to gradually move away from a subsistent economy, redistribute labor in a manner closely linked to reorganizing production, introduce commodity production and closely tie production to distribution, circulation and consumption; virtually resolve the problem of nomadism among our fellow countrymen in the highlands with the aims of stabilizing production and the standard of living; put a stop to the destruction of forests and the practice of allowing livestock to roam free; correct the state of disorder in distribution and circulation; maintain public security and strengthen and build national defense forces; and, through these efforts, further increase the leadership ability and fighting strength of the party, uphold and build upon the right of collective ownership of the people and increase the management effectiveness of the state.

To accomplish these objectives, we must structure production and investments correctly with the aim of developing each potential that lies in arable land, labor and existing material-technical bases as best possible; resolve the

grain problem, develop the province's three strengths; rapidly increase our exports; strengthen our economic cooperation and economic ties; actively apply scientific-technical advances; strengthen socialist production relations; tap the strength of the household economy; establish the new management mechanism, revise our economic thinking and improve our style of work and work methods.

The primary responsibility for developing the strengths of Son La lies, of course, with us. However, assistance from the central level is of utmost importance. On this occasion, we would like to make the following suggestions to the central level:

1. The central level should soon establish and approve economic zoning and permit Son La to exercise autonomy in its production and business on the basis of its existing capabilities and with the aim of thoroughly developing its strengths. The potentials of Son La are very large. But Son La has been unable to fully develop these strengths. There are many reasons for this situation but the direct cause is that some of the norms and tasks assigned by the central level to Son La have not truly been compatible with the locality's capabilities. For example, for the past several years, Son La has been given the task of achieving self-sufficiency in grain while fulfilling a grain obligation to the state of considerable size. This unbalanced emphasis on grain production has had many adverse consequences: the forests have continued to be destroyed, upland terraces have continued to erode and the amount of area under the cultivation of industrial crops and in grasslands for livestock production has steadily declined. Unintentionally, a contradiction that is difficult to resolve was created between grain production and the development of Son La's other strengths. If, in the near future, the central level were to begin supplying some grain to Son La and permit it to focus its efforts on industrial crop production, afforestation, the harvesting of the forests and the development of livestock production, Son La would surely be able to produce products and goods for exportation and help bring prosperity to the national economy. The central level should also soon study and promulgate policies that provide reasonable incentive for the planting of industrial crops, the harvesting and processing of forest and native products and the development of the production of the species of large livestock.

2. Communications and transportation are a weakness of Son La. Practically all roads (including those in the national system) are in poor condition. The opening of water routes is totally dependent upon the rate of construction on the Da River hydroelectric power project. Supplies, raw materials and other items necessary for construction in the field of communications are very difficult to obtain and transportation charges have soared. This poses a major obstacle to developing production, accelerating distribution-circulation and expanding the trade relations of Son La. We suggest that the central level soon adopt a plan for repairing the national highways leading to and within Son La and supply Son La with a number of materials (such as dynamite, iron, steel and so forth) to help us open a number of roads connecting the areas and districts within the province.

3. Son La has rather rich sources of raw materials in its agricultural and forest products. However, in recent years, the use of these raw materials has not gone beyond the framework of a subsistent economy and has been very

simple, crude and wasteful. To turn these sources of raw materials into goods of high economic value, it is necessary to concentrate efforts on building basic units in the agricultural and forestry products processing industry. At present, however, we are experiencing a very serious shortage of capital, equipment and technical labor. We have been and are trying to resolve these difficulties on our own by broadening our cooperation and economic ties with Hanoi and other provinces. However, the scale and rate of construction of these basic units are still very small and limited. We respectfully suggest that the central level consider the possibility of loaning Son La the initial capital needed for us to accelerate the performance of this task.

4. To meet essential needs in production and the everyday life of the people and be able to procure many agricultural and forest products, the Son La commerce sector must have a significant quantity of industrial goods, most importantly production tools and consumer goods that are of good quality and are reasonably priced. At present, however, the central level is only supplying to Son La a very small quantity of consumer goods. These goods are of very poor quality and their prices are very high. A 3,600 dong bicycle falls apart even before it is ridden; a pair of dry cell batteries costing 50 dong last for only a few days. Incandescent lightbulbs and thermos bottles also only last for several days... These are things that bring very many complaints from the people and pose major obstacles to distribution-circulation in Son La. It is suggested that the responsible sectors and agencies fully concern themselves with this problem and take steps to improve the quality of products and supply many more essential goods to Son La.

5. The human factor is the factor of decisive significance in the success of socio-economic development and victory in defending the fatherland. However, in Son La today, the standards of cadres, party members and the people are still very limited. The problem we face is that we must accelerate education and training and raise the standards of cadres, party members and the people in all fields. But the minimum conditions needed to perform this task (such as material bases, equipment, teachers, public health cadres, scientific cadres and so forth) are very seriously lacking in Son La. At present, we lack more than 30 percent of the middle school teachers and nearly 30 percent of the public health cadres we need. Of the province's 1,200 cadres who have a college education, only 1.2 percent have been trained in forestry. Of our 600 cadres who have a vocational middle school education, this percentage is only 2.5 percent and so forth. We suggest that the central level adopt an investment plan to help Son La with materials and equipment for the construction of material-technical bases supporting this task; attach importance to assigning a number of cadres and teachers to Son La, particularly middle school teachers, academy teachers and forestry cadres; and research, revise and promulgate rational policies aimed at attracting cadres to work in Son La.

Resolving the above mentioned problems well will surely help us to unleash new forces that stimulate the development of the strengths of Son La, thereby helping to change the situation and gradually make Son La a province that has

a prosperous economy and is solid and strong in national defense and security, a province that symbolizes the implementation of the party's nationalities policy as advised by General Secretary Truong Chinh.

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CSO: 4210/2

TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY: THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE QUALITY OF PARTY MEMBERS IN THE HANOI PARTY ORGANIZATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 24-28

[Article by Tran Tan, deputy secretary of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee]

[Text] The Hanoi party organization currently has more than 150,000 members active in 1,800 basic organizations of the party. Hanoi is the political, cultural and scientific-technical nerve center of the country and is also one of the country's major economic and international trade centers. It consists of both an urban zone in which many important agencies of the party and state are concentrated and a relatively large rural zone. Consequently, Hanoi's corps of party members is very diverse.

In the process of struggling to build a solid and strong party organization, the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee has always concerned itself with improving the quality of the corps of party members, considering this to be a very important factor in improving the leadership ability and increasing the fighting strength of the organizations of the party. As a result, Hanoi's corps of party members has constantly grown in size and quality in recent years. In the face of difficulties in their everyday lives and complex changes in the socio-economic situation, the majority of Hanoi's cadres and party members have maintained their revolutionary qualities, displayed political stability, steadfastly struggled to overcome difficulties, actively complied with and defended the lines and policies of the party and state and struggled against negative phenomena. However, the party member work of the Hanoi party organization continues to be marked by many shortcomings and weaknesses and is a weakness in party building on which we must soon concentrate our efforts in order to bring about more basic changes.

Recently, during the self-criticism and criticism campaign in preparation for the party congress, our municipal party committee studied and examined this matter and began to reach a number of conclusions in order to continue to provide the guidance needed to perform party member work better and do a better job of building the party.

To begin with, to improve the quality of party members, attention must be given to insuring that each basic organization of the party and each party member has a full understanding of the standards and requirements concerning party member qualifications.

In recent years, many basic organizations of the party in Hanoi, as a result of not having a firm grasp of the standards and requirements concerning party member qualifications, have been very confused with regard to evaluating party members, training and educating party members, accepting persons into the party and expelling unqualified members from the party. A number of places have given light attention to developing the party and some places have virtually closed the doors to the party. A number of places have not attached importance to educating and training party members, have been lax in the management of party members and have not taken determined disciplinary action against party members who have committed serious shortcomings involving their qualifications and qualities. To correct this situation, our municipal party committee adopted a plan to help basic organizations of the party grasp and give each party member a thorough understanding of the requirements concerning party member qualifications, distinguish between party members and good persons outside the party and regularly educate party members in how to comply with these guidelines and requirements in order to be worthy of being the vanguard militants of the party.

The standards and requirements concerning party member qualifications have been defined in the proceedings of party congresses and in specific instructions from the Organization Department of the Party Central Committee. However, party members work in different fields. Therefore, the specific requirements concerning their qualifications vary. On the basis of the general standards that have been set, the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee concretized the requirements concerning party member qualifications, emphasizing necessary points consistent with the circumstances and nature of work of the party members in each field. In particular, in view of the current situation, a situation in which many difficulties are being encountered in production and everyday life and many negative phenomena have arisen, our party organization demands that the party member not only maintain his revolutionary ethics, but also display high determination to struggle and a high revolutionary-offensive spirit, improve his ability to perform practical organizational work and actively contribute to strengthening the organization of the party and heightening the impact and effectiveness of party leadership. For example, we require that party members who are direct production workers be honest when it comes time to set economic-technical quotas and set examples by working hard to achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency and save on raw materials and fuel, maintaining labor discipline, making innovations and struggling against each negative phenomenon within the enterprise. Party members who are management cadres or professional cadres must take the initiative, dare to assume responsibility, be honest, creative and dynamic in implementing the new management mechanism, gradually move their unit or enterprise forward and step up production and business in a way that yields high productivity, quality and efficiency. Party members in the distribution-circulation sector must display a high sense of supporting production and supporting the everyday lives of the people; struggle against theft, the pilfering of goods, conspiracy and the siphoning

of goods to "black marketers" or internal trade and distribution not based on principle; correctly observe financial and credit principles, rules and policies; not accept bribes, not be authoritarian or arrogant and not pose a bother to customers; mobilize the entire unit to support production and everyday life well...

In its work of guiding the determination of party member qualifications, our municipal party committee has also helped the basic organizations of the party to distinguish between cases of bold thinking and dynamism in resolving problems and difficulties and cases involving the failure to correctly comply with principles and policies of the party and between party members who possess good qualities but whose activities are limited because they are ill, are old and frail or are experiencing difficult family circumstances and party members who exert no impact at all within mass movements.

Facts have shown that gaining an understanding of the requirements concerning party member qualifications and concretizing these requirements have helped the basic organizations of the party to do a better job of educating, training and managing party members, improve the quality of party development and purify the party's ranks.

On the basis of clearly understanding the standards and requirements concerning party member qualifications, all three measures of educating and training party members, accepting new members into the party and expelling unqualified members from the party have been taken simultaneously.

Educating and training party members are an important requirement in improving the quality of party members. It is the position of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee that party members must be educated in a comprehensive manner encompassing revolutionary qualities, knowledge and skills. We attach importance to teaching Marxist-Leninist theory and the lines and policies of the party in coordination with training party members in practical activities. The basic party organizations have planned the training of cadres and party members in theory and politics and have implemented this planning relatively well. By the end of 1985, 3,952 members of the Hanoi party organization had completed their studies under the advanced program in theory, 24,991 had completed their studies under the middle level program in theory, 68,318 had completed their studies under the elementary program and 34,947 had completed their studies under the basic program. The good development of the movement to study theory and politics has helped to equip party members with the necessary knowledge of theory and politics and helped to gradually improve their ability to grasp the lines and policies of the party.

However, the teaching of theory and politics cannot be detached from training party members through practical work. This is a very basic requirement in the education and training of party members. The Hanoi Municipal Party Committee has actively guided an effort to improve the life and activities of the basic organizations of the party, put party members into combat positions in mass movements and, in this way, educated and trained party members. We feel that educating and training party members is the direct responsibility of the party chapter. Therefore, we have required that party chapters maintain monthly party activities that are specific and practical in content and are closely

tied to the political task of the basic unit. Party chapters have done a rather thorough job of assigning party members responsibilities in party work and work among the masses and have evaluated and classified their members on the basis of how well they have completed their work. Many party committees at basic units have done a good job of inspecting party members. Many party chapters have given their attention to arranging for the masses to criticize party members and party chapter activities. The inspections conducted by party committees and party chapters and the supervision provided by the masses have helped party members to forge themselves in all fields and struggle to complete the tasks assigned to them. Many have been fulfilling their vanguard-exemplary role.

However, the Hanoi party organization's education and training of party members are still marked by many shortcomings and weaknesses, some of which are quite serious. Recently, the municipal party committee conducted a review and found that, despite the socio-economic difficulties being faced, we have still not attached appropriate importance to teaching ethics and qualities to cadres and party members. Although many resolutions of the municipal party committee have cited the need to cultivate qualities and ethics in party members and struggle against negative phenomena within the party, we have yet to clearly establish the view concerning the way of life of the cadre and party member under the conditions that exist today. In the guidance it has provided, the municipal party committee has not taken specific or truly effective measures to improve the quality of party members and put an end to negative phenomena within the party. Many matters concerning standards and policy have not been clearly or strictly regulated. Conversely, other matters still have not been addressed, such as a policy on the use of housing, regulations on the use of automobiles, on bonuses, gifts, banquets and so forth. As a result, there are many loopholes in the management of party members. Many cases involving infractions of party discipline have not been dealt with in a timely, strict or fair manner. Consequently, negative phenomena have not been stopped and the confidence of large numbers of cadres, party members and the masses has declined. There are still many party committees and party chapters that have not done a good job of assigning responsibilities to party members, particularly responsibilities in work among the masses, and have not regularly or thoroughly inspected or managed party members. More than a few party chapters and party organizations are still conducting lax activities or activities that lack substance, activities that are not highly educational or militant in nature. Therefore, they are not fulfilling their role as the leadership nucleus of their unit. Many party chapters have not attached appropriate importance to inspection and supervision of party members by the masses. The slowness with which weak and deficient party chapters and party organizations have been strengthened has adversely affected efforts to improve the quality of the corps of party members. At present, more party members are retiring in Hanoi with each day that passes. This is a force that has been tempered and is rich in revolutionary experience. However, we have yet to take measures to organize these comrades in suitable activities in order to utilize them.

Together with the education and training of party members, giving attention to accelerating the development of the party and continuously bringing new forces into the party is a basic element in the improvement of the quality of party members.

Since the 4th Party Congress, the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee has been focusing its efforts on guiding, accelerating and improving the development of the party and has gradually put this work on a regular basis. Hanoi has a very diverse pool of prospective party members among youths, manual workers, collective farmers and socialist intellectuals. We instructed the basic organizations of the party to give their attention to these persons, with special importance attached to developing the party among the working class and the armed forces. We have also tried to implement the guideline of attaching importance primarily to quality while guaranteeing that we acquire the number of new party members needed to meet the requirements of revamping and reducing the average age of the corps of party members and increasing the fighting strength of the basic organizations of the party.

During the past 5 years (1981-1985), the Hanoi party organization accepted 22,082 new party members. Of this number 30.1 percent are direct production workers, 53.1 percent were members of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and 31.4 percent are women. These new party members have helped to improve the social makeup of the party organization and bring new vitality to the party organization.

The above results were achieved because the basic organizations of the party recognized the importance and urgency attached to developing the party. Many basic organizations delved deeply into educating, mobilizing and organizing the masses in emulation to overcome difficulties and complete production and work plans. Through this process, they selected outstanding persons for training and acceptance into the party. The basic organizations of the party also closely tied their plans for the development of the party to cadre planning and efforts to strengthen party chapters. The municipal party committee and the party committee echelons above basic organizations intensified their inspections and supervision, provided specific instructions and assisted basic organizations in correcting their weaknesses.

However, more than 20 percent of the basic organizations and one-half the party chapters of the Hanoi party organization have yet to do a good job of developing the party, even though they have all the necessary conditions. Deserving of attention is the fact that the force of party members is not evenly distributed. Many party members are concentrated in indirect production jobs. The number of party members in direct production and direct support jobs, particularly in the field of distribution and circulation, is still very small. At some places, there are no party members in these jobs. The number of party members who are direct production workers, although now higher than previously, still does not meet requirements. Therefore, our Hanoi party organization must further accelerate the development of the party and closely tie the work of developing the party to adjusting and redistributing the force of party members in accordance with the requirement

of improving the management mechanism from top to bottom. We must try to establish party chapters in all basic production and work units and party cells in all production sections, work sections and counters by 1990.

Purifying the corps of party members by expelling unqualified members from the party is a very important measure in the process of building the party organization, building the corps of party members. Because, only by regularly expelling from the party persons who bear the title party member but are degenerate and deviant is it possible to make the party pure, solid and strong. This has been very clearly proven by the realities in Hanoi over a period of many years. Under Party Secretariat Directive 192 on the expulsion of unqualified members from the party, Hanoi expelled an average of 3 percent of its total number of party members each year. Under Party Secretariat Notice 22 and Directive 72, Hanoi expelled nearly 5 percent of its total party membership each year. During the 3 years spent implementing Party Secretariat Directive 83 on the issuance of party membership cards (1980-1982), Hanoi expelled 3.4 percent of its total party membership. The districts in the outskirts of Hanoi have expelled higher percentages of their total party membership: Dan Phuong District: 9.8 percent; Gia Lam District: 6.8 percent; Ba Vi District: 6.7 percent and so forth. Some basic party organizations, such as those of Van Hoa Village in Ba Vi District, Duong Quang Village in Gia Lam District and Vinh Ngoc Village in Dong Anh District, have expelled 20 percent of their total number of members.

Generally speaking, the expulsion of unqualified members from the party has helped to purify the ranks of party members and increase the party's fighting strength. However, we understand that we cannot examine the quality of the corps of party members solely from the perspective of these statistics presented above. With economic and social conditions in our country posing as many difficulties as they do today, it is not a simple matter to examine the qualifications of a party member or evaluate the activities of an organization of the party. Since the issuance of party membership cards, the situation has raised many problems that we must continue to study and resolve. During the past 5 years, the Hanoi party organization only expelled from the party persons who were clearly guilty of embezzlement, bribery or serious violations of the law or policies and a number of party members whose level of political awareness was very low. At present, the Hanoi party organization still has a small number of party members, including persons who hold public positions and have authority, who have committed mistakes involving their qualities, such as allowing their revolutionary will to weaken, being irresponsible, displaying a poor sense of organization and discipline, engaging in embezzlement, bribery or opportunism, being unfaithful and intimidating the masses. However, the organizations of the party have yet to reach clear conclusions concerning these persons in order to take appropriate disciplinary measures. It can be said that these types of party members are found in every field, particularly in jobs that involve materials, goods, money, the hiring of personnel, the distribution and repair of housing, distribution of electricity, water and so forth. Besides these persons, there is still a significant percentage of party members who, although they have not committed any major shortcomings, are unable to fulfill the role of a party member. Many organizations of the party do not fully appreciate the need to improve the quality of party members. They still try to save face, are rightists or are afraid of

straining relations. There are even some places that cover things up, are lenient and do not take determined steps to expel unqualified members from the party. Facts show that there are some sectors and places at which there are many negative phenomena that have been criticized on many different occasions by public opinion but which, whenever party members are being rated, always have a high percentage of qualified party members and a very low percentage of party members who must be expelled from the party compared to other sectors and places. Clearly, the essence of the situation at these places cannot be correctly evaluated solely on the basis of figures. In the months ahead, our municipal party committee will continue to provide close and determined guidance of the effort to certify the qualities of party members and expel unqualified members from the party.

We are confident that, through the implementation of the Party Secretariat directive on self-criticism and criticism and by properly preparing for and conducting the party organization congresses on the various levels, the Hanoi party organization will surely bring about new changes in its party work and improve the quality of party members, thereby making positive contributions to strengthening and building the party.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY: RESTRUCTURING AGRICULTURAL AND FORESTRY PRODUCTION IN THE CENTRALIZED PRODUCTION AREAS OF THE MOUNTAINS AND MIDLANDS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 29-32

[Article by Truong Ngoc Uan]

[Text] At many places in the mountains and midlands of our country, following many years of construction and transformation, relatively centralized agricultural and forestry production areas have been established, such as areas which grow tea, coffee, rubber and grain, areas which produce large timbers and mine timbers, raw materials for paper, special product crops, pharmaceutical crops and so forth, all with a system of production federations, state farms, forestry sites, cooperatives, processing enterprises and energy plants and a system of technical services for seed, material supply, transportation, construction and repair work and services supporting everyday life within many different sectors and on many different levels. The establishment of these relatively large centralized production areas has made a significant contribution in profoundly changing the economy, society, security and national defense in the mountains and midlands and gradually advancing the economy in many areas from a natural state marked largely by subsistent production to areas of commodity production producing an increasingly large output of products, areas in which important changes have occurred in social life. This is a major achievement that must be confirmed.

On the other hand, from studies of the actual situation, we also see that, besides achievements, agricultural and forestry production in the mountains and midlands have also developed slowly in recent years. Yields and quality are still low. Much land and many natural resources are still being wasted. In many areas, the organization of production and management is still decentralized, counter-productive, ineffective and poses more than a few obstacles to developing production and improving the standard of living of the people within the area. Many sectors and economic units located within the same area do not coordinate with one another. Every sector and unit operates in accordance with its own separate master plan, which has led to fragmented planning and investments that lack centralized, unified guidance and are ineffective. Many aspects of the relationships within the area between the

central level and the local level and among the various sectors and segments of the economy as well as the relationships between state administrative-economic management and the management of production and business have not been clearly defined.

With the aim of implementing the resolutions of the party well, particularly with regard to the need to develop agriculture and forestry in the years from 1986 to 1990, we suggest that we restructure agricultural and forestry production in the mountains and midlands, beginning in the centralized commodity production areas, along the following lines:

Part I

We must first confirm the fact that, to us, the expansion of economic construction in the mountains and midlands, particularly in the fields of agriculture and forestry, mainly entails developing the construction of areas that have large potentials in their land and forests. However, the level of socio-economic development in these areas is, generally speaking, still low. Therefore, when building these areas, attention must be given to all aspects of development: the economy, society, security and national defense. Production must be structured in a way that combines specialized farming with a general business and closely combines agriculture and forestry with industry, production with processing and circulation and the development of production with the building of the infrastructure and the successful solution of social problems. In particular, we must develop the central, dominant role of the state-operated economy (in both organizing production and the technical services and organizing everyday life) in a manner that closely links the state-operated economy to the collective economy and the household economy within a unified economic structure, thereby insuring that the private economy and the self-employed economy are controlled and gradually transformed.

We must attach full importance to consolidating and strengthening the units of the state-operated economy. We must build solid and strong production federations, forestry sites, state farms, processing enterprises and service enterprises and develop the dominant role played by the state-operated economy in organizing and directing the development of the collective economy and the household economy and absorbing labor from various sources in production and business in agriculture and forestry. We must parcel out land and forests and specifically define the production-business task and the land and natural resource rights of each production unit. We must make use of the various forms of joint businesses and economic ties between the state-operated economy and the collective-household and private economies and create the conditions for gradually developing production in the direction of large-scale, socialist production.

Together with reorganizing and restructuring production, plans must be adopted for redistributing and restructuring the system of technical services and developing the construction of the infrastructure. Here, we must calculate the returns from employing the combined strength of the state and the people, the central level and the local level and agriculture, forestry and industry within the area. There must be a specific division of labor and assignment of responsibilities to each sector, each level and each basic production-business

unit in order to avoid fragmentation, disorganization or duplication and waste.

The system of services supporting everyday life and the public welfare projects within the area, such as stores, hospitals, medical aid stations, schools, libraries, clubs, convalescent centers and so forth, must also be re-examined and utilized or built in accordance with a unified plan for the area and for each district. A number of types of basic production units of the central level and the province that are located in many districts must also be combined with the districts in order to define land boundaries, establish production tasks and determine which support projects need be built so that close coordination can be achieved from the very outset.

Part II

The restructuring of production in the mountains and midlands in accordance with the requirements presented above demands that we examine and supplement planning and the guidance of plans as well as take another look at the relationships between the sectors and levels, between state economic-administrative management and production-business management in order to correct the contradictions and problems that now exist.

1. Planning and plans.

It is necessary to re-evaluate the data on land, natural resources, labor, material-technical bases and social life within each area in a way that closely coordinates the forces of the sectors, provinces and districts so that unified guidance can be provided and responsibility is assumed for revised documents and data or new planning. Major revisions and amendments to sector planning and the planning of an area must be examined and decided by the Council of Ministers. Matters that lie within the jurisdiction of the sector or locality must be discussed and resolved by the concerned parties.

In conjunction with this, it is also necessary to revise the methods of formulating and the contents of economic-technical argumentation or the investment plan of the area as well as basic economic organizations. This argumentation or plan must reflect the guidelines of closely combining specialized farming with a general business and closely coordinating all socio-economic factors to insure that this argumentation or plan is realistic, reflects the spirit of self-reliance and can be implemented in a stable manner. This argumentation or plan must not be all form and no substance nor can it be based on state subsidies.

In the distribution of investment capital, it is necessary to clearly establish how much capital is to be invested by sector or joint sector and how much is to be invested directly by territory and establish who is in charge of investments as soon as economic-technical argumentation is approved and the decision is made to build projects (with every effort being made to encourage the formation of capital by units themselves). The problems of decentralizing or duplicating investments and building projects only for the sector, thus

separating the sector from the surrounding territory, especially in the construction of infrastructure projects and projects supporting the life of society, must be corrected.

In the organizing of circulation, it is necessary to restructure the management mechanism to insure the unified management of products in accordance with the plan and facilitate the marketing of other products, particularly subsidiary products. Appropriate incentive must be provided to producers. At the same time, the interests of the locality must be insured.

2. Sector management responsibilities:

The economic-technical sectors must have the following responsibilities and authority:

--To formulate and manage overall planning and plans;

--To provide unified state management of all natural resources and products produced within the territory;

--To directly control a number of large basic economic units that play the role as the main forces of the sector in order to build models of how to advance to large-scale, socialist production and take the initiative in meeting the strategic needs of the overall economy;

--To unify the management and distribution of a specialized sector in accordance with the norms of the state plan;

--To train and distribute cadres; research, acquire and apply scientific-technical advances within the sector's specialized field and introduce certified sector level and state level technical advances in production;

--To assist the locality in formulating business planning, plans and guidelines based on the overall guidelines of the sector.

3. Territorial administrative-economic management responsibilities:

Within the scope of the province, most immediately within the scope of the district and village, territorial administrative-economic management is the responsibility of the provincial, district or village people's committee. All production-business units, technical service units and service units supporting everyday needs within the area, regardless of which management level they are under, must also be under the administrative-economic management of the local people's committee. This responsibility is manifested in the following areas:

--Providing administrative management of all land, natural resources, labor and the population. The economic units operating within the area must register with the administration and submit to regular inspection by the administration concerning compliance with policies and the law.

--Having the authority to participate in the formulation of production and business planning, plans and guidelines; observing and supervising the production-business operations and keeping abreast of the production-business efficiency of the economic units operating within the territory; and keeping administrative statistics on the products produced within the territory.

--Providing state management in the fields of security, social matters, the population, the military service obligation and so forth for all units within the area;

--Looking after the material and cultural lives of the entire population in accordance with the division of labor, the division of responsibilities and coordination that have been established.

4. Production-business responsibilities:

Production-business units have the responsibility of effectively utilizing in accordance with their approved planning and plans the land, natural resources and material-technical bases assigned to them and have full authority to organize the production and circulation of products in exact accordance with the plan and policies of the state. While operating within specific locales, every production-business unit has the responsibility of participating in building the economy and organizing social life within the area. In particular, the state-operated economic units of the central level and the province must display the superior nature of the state-operated economy by actively assisting the collective economy and the household economy and working with the district and village to build an increasingly prosperous, solid and strong locality.

Basic production-business units have the following responsibilities and authority:

--To correctly fulfill their function of being in charge of production and business within the scope of the land and natural resources assigned to them under planning, adopt guidelines for a general business and make full use of natural resources, land, labor and material-technical bases in the way that yields the highest possible efficiency in production;

--To establish very necessary, dynamic and creative joint businesses and economic ties in order to overcome difficulties and meet each plan norm;

--To comply with each regulation that is common to the sector and the locality; deliver in full all payments that must be made for inclusion in the budget; deliver material and products at the rates stipulated; and actively participate in other necessary construction work of the locality to the best of their ability;

--To fulfill their function as agent (as appointed by the sector and locality) in the procurement from the people and other units within the locality of products that are managed exclusively by the sector or the locality (for example, special products, pharmaceuticals, other agricultural products and so forth).

5. Joint businesses and economic ties:

The establishment of effective joint businesses and economic ties between the economic units of joint sectors and specialized sectors, between the state-operated economy and the collective economy and so forth within the area for the purpose of helping one another to coordinate in the use of land, natural resources, labor, materials, capital and so forth must take the following forms:

--Coordinating with one another in the formulation of production planning and plans based on a unified economic structure for the area;

--Helping one another with materials, equipment, capital and labor when necessary in order to achieve a combined strength in construction and production;

--Coordinating in the construction and use of the infrastructure, the system of public services and public welfare projects;

--Working together to resolve contradictions that arise and counter-productive efforts being made in production and construction;

--The state-operated economy must fulfill its dominant role very well and effectively assist the collective economy and the household economy.

As regards organization, in areas in which there are many economic units in many different sectors and on many different levels, we should study the feasibility of organizing a Coordinating Council with the aim of coordinating the relationships among units in the organization of production and management in order to support economic development within the area and at each specific place well, particularly within the district.

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**TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY: TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF THE
ELEMENTARY AND ADVANCED TRAINING OF KEY CADRES ON THE DISTRICT LEVEL**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 33-37, 68

[Article by Bui Hong Viet, director of the Zone I Nguyen Ai Quoc School]

[Text] It is the view of our party that the district occupies a strategic position of utmost importance. The district provides a suitable base for upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, advancing agriculture one step closer to large-scale, socialist production, carrying out socialist industrialization, establishing the new culture, molding the new, socialist man and strengthening security and national defense forces. The draft of the Political Report of the Party Central Committee to be presented at the party's 6th Congress states: we must build the district in a way that brings about comprehensive development, with our efforts focused on building an economic structure that is compatible with the conditions of each district, that is, an agro-industrial structure, an agro-fishing-industrial structure or an agro-forestry-industrial structure and so forth. The district must be used as the base for reorganizing production and redistributing labor in ways that closely tie agriculture to small industry, the handicraft trades and the processing industry, closely tie production to circulation-distribution and insure that the district economy develops in a well balanced manner in every area from production to processing and marketing. Economic development must go hand in hand with organizing the material and cultural lives of the people, molding the new man, building the new, socialist countryside and maintaining strong security and national defense forces.

The strategic importance of building the district and strengthening the district level demands a corresponding corps of leadership and management cadres who are capable of meeting the immediate and long-range requirements of our work of building socialism and defending the fatherland.

In recent years, our party has adopted many policies and taken many measures to gradually improve the elementary and advanced training of key leadership cadres on the district level. In particular, on 3 January 1983, the Party Secretariat issued Decision Number 15/QĐ/TU on "the work at party schools," which included a decision to merge the various departments of the Nguyen Ai Quoc School and establish three zone party schools in charge of the elementary

and advanced training of key leadership cadres for the district and precinct level and for state-operated enterprises. This reorganization has helped to bring about significant advances in the elementary and advanced training of key leadership cadres for the district level. In the 2 years 1983 and 1984 alone, according to incomplete data, the party schools and administration schools on the central level trained 1,471 cadres for the districts. In 3 years (1983-1986), the Zone I Nguyen Ai Quoc School held 15 training classes of many different types for 1,360 cadres from districts and industrial enterprises in 18 provinces and municipalities of the North: the training of successful cadres for the various key leadership positions on the district level through the formal and on-the-job training systems; the advanced training of key leadership cadres who currently hold positions in the districts; the advanced training of ethnic minority cadres in the highland border districts; the advanced training of leadership cadres between one congress and the next, etc.

Generally speaking, training has begun to be oriented toward solving practical problems of the district level and has helped to alleviate the shortage of cadres in the districts and raise the standards of the corps of district level leadership cadres. However, the training of key district level cadres is still marked by many shortcomings and weaknesses. To begin with, because of the slow progress that has been made toward planning the training of cadres, schools have not planned the opening of classes and the persons being sent for training have not approached their task of learning with a conscientious attitude. The subject matter being taught has not been improved to support the requirement of revamping party work, has not been improved in a manner consistent with each category of student or with efforts to resolve the practical problems being faced on the district level. Training methods are still monotonous and passive and have shown themselves to be unsuited to students in many respects. The material conditions needed to support education are not being fully provided. In particular, compared to the requirements of the new stage, the corps of instructors is still limited in many respects. This situation has affected the quality and efficiency of efforts to raise the theoretical standards of district level cadres and improve their methods of thinking as well as their practical skills.

The shortcomings and weaknesses described above are mainly the result of the failure of the party schools to provide good elementary and advanced training. However, they are also partly due to the failure of localities to truly take the initiative in cadre planning. Many places still send persons for training who are not in the categories being recruited for training or send secondary cadres to take the place of others who are "too busy." The central level has not set clear responsibilities and specific standards with the aim of insuring that the correct persons are sent for training; has not promulgated appropriate policies concerning cadres sent for training; and has not given the departments and sectors on the central level the responsibility of closely working with party schools in the elementary and advanced training of cadres.

On the basis of the realities of the Zone I Nguyen Ai Quoc School, we feel that attention must soon be given to resolving the following several problems in order to further improve the quality and efficiency of the training of key leadership cadres for the district level and meet the requirements of the new

period set in the draft of the Political Report to be presented at the 6th Party Congress:

1. Truly Attaching Importance to the Quality and Efficiency of the Elementary and Advanced Training of Key District Level Cadres

"Productivity, quality and efficiency" are currently a matter of special concern. In each field of activity, from the economic and social fields to the cultural and ideological fields, we have now made efficiency the yardstick by which the final results of work are measured.

The efficiency of cadre training depends upon many factors. In addition to subjective factors, namely, the party schools and their work in the areas of student recruiting, the establishment of programs of education, the building of the corps of instructors, the selection of methods of instruction and learning and the creation of an environment for education, there are also objective factors, such as the work of the party committees in planning, selecting and sending cadres for training, the coordination between the various sectors and departments and the party schools, etc. The efficiency of cadre training is not only expressed in the number of classes held or the number of persons graduating from schools. Rather, more important expressions are how the standards of the student are raised compared to the requirements of tasks in the new stage and the quality of the student's work upon graduation. In the case of key leaders, knowledge of theory and politics, overall knowledge, the scientific method of thinking, political viewpoints, the ability to analyze the events that occur in life, the ability to organize management, the ability to mobilize the masses and so forth are very important matters in which the party schools must give their attention to providing training.

The quality and efficiency of the training of leadership cadres, in general, and key district level leadership cadres, in particular, are dependent first upon the quality of the theoretical work of the entire party as reflected in the general line and the specific line adopted in each field of social activity, in the concretization of these lines in the form of positions, policies and stages of development and in organizing the successful implementation of these positions and policies. The quality and efficiency of the work of the party schools are also very heavily dependent upon the guidance of cadre training activities by the Party Secretariat, which creates the conditions for party schools to truly become educational and organizational tools of the party, become cadre training and theoretical research centers of the party. These requirements were clearly set forth in Party Secretariat Decision Number 15 QD/TU but they have yet to be met well. The zone party schools have not been receiving regular reports on the situation. Representatives of these schools are not invited to attend many conferences related to the district level. The work relationships between the schools and the departments and sectors on the central level, particularly the agencies of the state, have also not been clearly regulated. We suggest that the central level soon adopt a plan to review the work of the party schools, restructure the organization of the party schools in a way that is more rational and give fuller and closer attention to the work of the party schools. Because, the quality of instruction and learning at the zone party

schools directly affects the effort to increase the efficiency of the training of district level cadres. The party schools cannot perform their work well without the interest of the central level and the assistance of the various sectors and party committee echelons in everything from the establishment of correct targets and program subject matter to the recruiting of the right persons as students, from the establishment of appropriate methods of teaching and learning to the improvement of management, from the building of the corps of teachers to the building of an educational environment that has a positive impact upon the student and so forth.

2. Revamping the Planning of Cadre Training, Knowing Who Needs To Be Trained and Doing a Good Job of Selecting Students

The formulation of cadre planning occupies an important position in improving the quality of cadre training. It is an important guarantee of good results in training. At the same time, it creates the conditions for properly combining training and utilization. It is also a positive way to "economize."

Over the past several years, we have made many efforts to revamp the planning of cadre training and gradually put the selection of students on a regular basis. However, we have been unable to avoid shortcomings. A lack of coordination from the standpoint of formulating plans that are closely tied to the selection of students is a matter deserving of concern. There is always a lack of preparation in training because of the contradiction between training needs and the practices in the recruiting of students to open classes. The selection of students is still marked by many things that reflect a lack of thoroughness.

In the years ahead, in order to formulate good plans for the training of cadres, the central level should clearly establish who should be trained by the zone party schools; establish the goals and scale of this work; closely coordinate training with utilization, etc. The organization sections of the provincial party committees can prepare and quickly issue notices to the party schools concerning the situation surrounding the corps of key leadership cadres in their districts and their plans for sending cadres to training classes in the next 5 years. On this basis, the party schools must formulate training plans that are stable from the standpoint of the scale of training, training time and the program of education.

Assessing the situation regarding candidates for training is not merely a matter of compiling statistics on their age, the number of years they have been in the party, the level of education and so forth. More importantly, it is necessary to re-examine the corps of cadres on the basis of the requirements involved in implementing the positions and lines of the party and revamping the management system and from the perspective of the work of the district level in the fields of leadership and guidance. This effort is not only related to the establishment of goals and programs, but also to the guidance of each subject of study, to the selection of methods of teaching and learning compatible with the persons being trained. The instructors of schools must also go to districts to conduct studies, hear reports from the party committee on the situation concerning candidates for training and personally meet with the cadres who need training in order to determine their

level of awareness and learn what they think. It is our hope that the various party committee echelons will see the full importance of building the district and training district level cadres so that they formulate better cadre planning, formulate better plans for sending cadres to the various training classes held during each year and coordinate with the school in order to do a good job of selecting students. It is suggested that the central level study and promulgate at an early date specific regulations on standards, responsibilities, principles and policies regarding cadres sent for training. The departments and sectors should work closely with party schools and help them recruit the full number of students in the right categories.

3. Improving the Contents of Training Programs

The district is both a planning level and a management and coordinating level. Therefore, appropriate requirements must be established concerning the specific subjects in which key district level leadership cadres are trained. These subjects cannot be the same in which leadership and management cadres on the central and provincial levels are trained. In addition, they are different from the subjects in which theorists and scientists are trained.

In our opinion, efforts to improve the training program should be directed toward raising the level of awareness, revising concepts and thinking, particularly economic thinking, and improving the practical organizational skills of key district level cadres; combating everything that reflects a simple, one-sided approach in the teaching of theory; and fully implementing the basic principle of education, namely, closely tying theory to practice, closely tying training subjects to the actual work of the party committee echelons in the field of leadership and guidance.

During the past several years, our Zone I Nguyen Ai Quoc School has tried to apply these guidelines and has recorded a number of initial results. However, we still have many shortcomings. The contents of training programs are still too broad, are impractical and have not been promptly changed to keep pace with the requirements involved in revamping the management mechanism nor have they made positive contributions to solving new problems that have arisen in economic and social management. Our largest and most glaring shortcoming is that we still have not compiled a separate curriculum based on the requirements and task of training key district level leadership cadres.

Having discussed this matter collectively on many different occasions, we unanimously agree that the contents of the program of instruction in the years ahead must be basic and comprehensive as well as selective and practical. Key district level leadership cadres have the task of providing comprehensive leadership of a plan. 1. The work of the district level demands that they possess practical organizational skills and be able to engage in theoretical thinking. They must have the ability to examine and resolve practical problems that arise. Through this, they must be able to learn lessons and gain experience in order to provide more effective guidance. Therefore, they must be trained in Marxism-Leninism, the lines, positions and policies of the party and state, the science of management, personal qualities and practical organizational skills. In particular, in view of present conditions, full importance must be attached to providing additional necessary

knowledge concerning socio-economic management and the style of the leader and eventually equipping key district level leadership cadres with scientific knowledge pertaining to their specialized sector in order to help them take the initiative in solving pressing practical problems that arise in the locality.

In order for the effort to improve the contents of training programs to produce good results, we suggest that the Party Secretariat and the Propaganda and Training Department of the Party Central Committee provide closer, more detailed guidance of the plans for and specifics of this work. They should also try to eliminate duplication and counter-productive efforts that exist in cadre training programs between the schools on the central level and provincial party schools and the zone party schools. It is also our hope that the departments and sectors of the central level, such as the Agriculture Department, the District Development Department and the Nationalities Department, will establish even closer relations with the party schools. And, we hope to receive many opinions and contributions from the various party committee echelons and theoretical research agencies concerning this matter.

4. Revamping the Mode of Training

Generally speaking, the present corps of key district level leadership cadres is young, is rather highly educated (more than 40 percent of the students at the Zone I Nguyen Ai Quoc School have a college diploma) and has been forged and challenged to some extent in practice. They attend a party school to strengthen their grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory, gain a thorough understanding of the views and lines of the party and use this knowledge to shed light on practical activities and further improve themselves. Consequently, the forms and methods of instruction employed in their training must be integrated and well coordinated not dry and monotonous. Everything from lectures, the use of data and charts and seminars to the writing of essays and graduation theses, from curricular to extra-curricular activities must generate in the student the necessary interest and enthusiasm. Measures must even be taken to guide students in making effective use of their idle time in order to help improve their health, cultivate their intelligence and cultivate their aesthetic capabilities.

The revamping of the mode of training must have the purposes of helping the student to study more effectively, grasp the essence of matters, achieve higher awareness, improve his thought processes and improve his practical organizational skills while heightening the student's spirit of doing things on his own, his spirit of dynamism and creativity in order to turn the training process into a self-training process.

In the immediate future, together with continuing to build and refine the program of instruction in theory, we maintain that there is an urgent need to establish a program of practical instruction and combine instruction in theory with instruction in practical application. We must make increased use of teaching and learning by evocation, expand the use of seminars and give attention to closely guiding the writing of practical application reports and graduation theses by students, to guiding them in the direction of solving problems of the district level, in order to cultivate in them the habit of

taking the initiative and conducting research and the style of investigating and keeping closely abreast of the actual situation.

Improving training methods is very necessary and pressing. However, certain conditions must exist before this can be achieved.

To begin with, we must have a corps of skilled instructors and management cadres. At our Zone I Nguyen Ai Quoc School, the corps of instructors and management cadres is, generally speaking, still weak and is too small compared to the requirements of the task assigned to it. Despite numerous efforts on our part, the results achieved have not met requirements. We suggest that the upper level soon adopt a plan for strengthening the corps of cadres of our party school with the aim of meeting the requirement of improving the party's cadre training. The central level should promulgate reasonable benefit and supplementary compensation policies and make it possible for these persons to focus their efforts on research and instruction. We would also like for the other party schools to send us their opinions so that experiences can be exchanged concerning this matter.

Secondly, the material-technical base of the zone party school must be strengthened, particularly with regard to teaching and learning aids. This cannot be achieved without the concern of the upper level, particularly the Finance and Administration Department of the Central Committee, and the assistance of the localities.

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NAM DAN DISTRICT BRINGS ABOUT INITIAL CHANGES IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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[Article by Le Trong Khuyen, secretary of the Nam Dan District Party Committee]

[Text] Lying between the Thien Nhan and Dai Hue Mountain Ranges and along the Lam and Dao Rivers, Nam Dan is a district of beautiful mountain and river scenery. As is the case with the people in many other localities of the country, the people of Nam Dan have a revolutionary tradition, are diligent and eager to learn, possess ardent patriotism and desire to build a life of beauty and comfort.

Following the years and months of joining efforts with the rest of the country in the revolutionary struggle for independence and freedom and the fight to defend, liberate and reunify the country, our district focused its efforts and intelligence on accelerating socio-economic development within Nam Dan. However, in the 10 years following the conclusion of the war of destruction (1973-1982), the economic situation in Nam Dan remained virtually unchanged. A completely agricultural district with a population of 130,000 and nearly 30,000 hectares of land, 14,900 hectares of which are under cultivation each year, with 15,200 hectares being under the cultivation of grain, our district still had not resolved the grain problem and per capita grain production stood at only 200 kilograms per year. Some of the difficulties being faced were objective in nature, such as the unfavorable terrain, climate and weather (fields were fragmented, high in some spots and low in others, much soil was depleted, drought and flooding were chronic problems and so forth) and material bases were poor and backward. However, the main reasons were that the district party committee had not displayed a high spirit of ownership, had not displayed dynamism or creativity in guiding and managing production and had tied its own hands through the management mechanism based on bureaucracy and state subsidies instead of establishing suitable guidelines and taking appropriate steps based on the actual situation and determining which problems were of key importance in order to focus efforts on resolving them.

Under the light of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress and the resolutions of the subsequent party plenums and with the guidance of the provincial party committee and the assistance of the various sectors on the provincial and central levels, we gradually came to see our shortcomings,

determined which areas are of key importance and took appropriate measures in order to bring about significant changes. As a result, encouraging developments have occurred in the district's socio-economic situation.

In agriculture, the yield and output of all crops have risen in recent years. In 1982, the rice yield was only 32.4 quintals per hectare. In 1985, it rose to 50 quintals per hectare. As a result, grain output rose from 25,947 tons to 37,976 tons and per capita grain output reached 290 kilograms. In 1982, the peanut yield was 12.4 quintals per hectare and output was 1,216 tons. In 1984, the peanut yield reached 13.7 quintals per hectare and output rose to 1,400 tons. During the years from 1976 to 1980, the sugarcane yield was only 210 quintals per hectare and output was 9,769 tons per year. In 1985, the sugarcane yield rose to 430 quintals per hectare and output reached 14,243 tons.

The rise in grain production has stimulated the development of livestock production. In 1982, the hog herd numbered only 31,694 hogs with an average market weight of 35 kilograms per hog. By 1985, the number of hogs being raised had increased to 34,000 with an average market weight of 50 kilograms per hog. Between 1982 and 1985, the number of buffalo and cattle being raised increased from 19,967 to 21,509 head. Encouraging is the fact that livestock production has increased in all three sectors: the state-operated sector, the collective sector and the household sector. Attention has been given to developing the production of livestock, poultry and marine products.

The forestry sector has been strengthened and its development has been planned over the long-range. Our district has nearly 9,000 hectares of land suitable for use in forestry but only 33 hectares of natural forests. Afforestation, therefore, is an issue that was addressed long ago. Today, the district has 4,400 hectares of forests, 1,738 hectares of which are pine forests that have begun to be harvested for resin. The parcelling of land and forests to collectives and households has been virtually completed. The people recognize the importance of planting and protecting forests. At present, the district has 40 tree planting units. The cutting and destruction of forests have been stopped. The forest economy has become an integral part of the district's economic structure.

In years past, the district had practically nothing by way of industry. Following the establishment of a power network within the district, a number of industrial sectors, particularly in the processing industry, emerged and developed and began producing products and goods. The agricultural and food product processing enterprise, which came into existence in late 1984, is producing sugar, 90 percent alcohol, wine, cakes and candy and will install oil extraction equipment. The livestock feed processing enterprise went into operation in mid-1986 with a capacity of 1,000 tons per year.

The machine cooperative was reorganized and upgraded to an agricultural machine enterprise producing hand tools, plowshares, rice threshing machines, implements for working the soil and crude vehicles.

The building materials industry has developed rapidly. In 1985, we produced 3 million bricks, 3.4 times the average yearly output during the period from

1976 to 1980, and 1.5 million tiles, 1.8 times the yearly average during the period from 1976 to 1980.

During the past several years, the welding, blacksmith, carpentry and sawmill trades have been strengthened and developed.

Thus, following a period of struggle, of looking for ways to overcome our difficulties in order to chart a new course, our district has recorded noteworthy victories in agricultural production and established the economic structure of the district as agriculture-forestry-industry. In the years ahead, we will try to increase the percentage of the district's overall economic structure made up by forestry and industry.

Along with strengthening and developing basic agricultural, forestry and industrial production units, we have attached importance to organizing and developing communications-transportation so that distribution and circulation can be carried out well. Having begun with practically nothing, we now have 350 tons of mechanized river transport capacity, 150 tons of mechanized river-sea transport capacity, 40 tons of mechanized highway transport capacity and 20 tons of oxcart transport capacity. We have built or repaired 18 bridges and widened and upgraded dozens of kilometers of roads to enable mechanized vehicles to travel all the way to cooperatives.

Our district has also made advances in distribution, circulation, procurements, the control of goods and the supplying of materials for production and use in everyday life. In 1985, procurements totalled 46.4 million dong, 26 percent higher than in 1982. Nearly 9,000 tons of grain were procured, 2.8 times the average during the years from 1976 to 1980. As a result, we were able to meet grain needs within the district while sending some 2,600 tons to the province. Some 300,000 rubles-dollars worth of goods were exported, twice as much as the yearly average during the period from 1976 to 1980.

Good changes have also occurred in the cultural-social situation and in the fields of security and national defense. General school education has been strengthened and improved. Kindergarten education has been developed and stabilized. The district now has 33,554 general school students and 5,117 kindergarten students. Our forefathers' traditions of diligence, a desire to learn and a thirst for knowledge are being carried on and developed upon by today's children.

The information and propaganda network has been steadily expanded. Film shows and cultural entertainment programs are widely held. Cultural life has been partially improved. Negative phenomena in society are gradually being thwarted and stopped.

The achievements that our district has recorded in various fields in the recent past have created relatively favorable conditions for the socio-economic development of the district to continue at a higher rate. These, however, are only initial achievements. Compared to the requirements of life, they are still small, are not commensurate with the creative abilities of our people or the potentials that lie in the district's land. Although crop

yields have risen, they are not high. Annual per capita grain output has yet to cross the "threshold" of 300 kilograms. The agro-forestry-industrial economic structure is being established slowly. Forestry and industry still make up only a very small portion of the structure of the economy. Commodity production has not developed. There are still problems in distribution and circulation. Export goods are still small in volume and plain. In addition, some products are being exported in their raw, unrefined state. The cadres who manage the business and service corporations and industrial enterprises are weak in terms of professional skills, etc.

Of importance is the fact that our initial victories have generated confidence among the party organization and people of the district. With this confidence, we will be trying to implement larger plans and meet larger targets in the years ahead. Our targets for 1990 are: 50,000 tons of grain in paddy equivalent; 4,000 tons of peanuts; 27,000 tons of sugarcane; 40,000 hogs with an average market weight of 70 kilograms per hog; 24,000 buffalo and head of cattle; 9,536 hectares of forests; 5 million bricks; 3 million tiles, etc.

To meet these targets, all party members and laboring people in the district will work hard in an even greater spirit of dynamism and creativity.

From our practical efforts in recent years, we have begun to draw the following several experiences:

1. In the process of the district level being strengthened and in this period of production being organized, the district party committee itself must display a high spirit of collective ownership, gain a thorough understanding of the lines and resolutions of the party, apply them in a manner consistent with the characteristics of its locality, correctly determine which areas are of key importance and devote all efforts and intelligence to successfully resolving the problems in these key areas.

In the case of our district, the areas of key importance in recent years have been electricity and water. Clearly recognizing the decisive importance of water conservancy work in agricultural production, we became determined to find every way to resolve this problem and concentrated manpower and money in this area. In 3 years, under the guidelines "the state and the people working together" and "the district and the basic units joining efforts," we built an effective water conservancy network, one capable of irrigating from 5,500 to 10,500 hectares, or 75 percent of the land under the cultivation of rice. We have tried to achieve practical returns from our water conservancy work and have avoided doing things in an ostentatious, "form for form's sake" manner by building many small electric pump stations, which are compatible with the district's fragmented and irregular terrain. In 3 years, we invested 1.2 million mandays, more than 1,000 tons of grain, 34 tons of aluminum wire, 1,011 tons of cement, 930 concrete poles and more than 200 tons of steel in the construction of water conservancy projects. As a result, we constructed 18 kilometers of irrigation-transportation canals. Some 850,000 cubic meters of dirt and 7,500 cubic meters of stone were excavated and spread. We installed 60 kilometers of high and low voltage power lines. We constructed 27 transformer stations and 33 electric pump stations and raised our total

power capacity from 3,500 to 7,500 kw. At present, of the district's 24 villages and 34 agricultural cooperatives, 22 villages and 29 cooperatives have electricity for irrigation and drainage. Of the 152 million dong that have been invested in capital construction, the people contributed 45 percent, the state 55 percent.

With our key problems of electric power and water conservancy having been resolved, the districts agricultural production has undergone fundamental change and many new capabilities have emerged for developing production further. We have acquired the conditions needed to introduce new, high yield varieties in intensive cultivation on main crop fields. We have also acquired the conditions needed to change the allocation of crops and change the seasonal schedule in order to avoid the threats posed by natural disasters and shift land from the cultivation of an unstable 10th month rice crop to a stable summer-fall crop (summer-fall rice is usually harvested before the onset of the typhoon and flood season). In 1985, the district planted 3,700 hectares of summer-fall and early 10th month rice, 54 percent of the amount of land under the cultivation of 10th month rice, and achieved a yield of 25.4 quintals per hectare. The main 10th month rice crop generally only yields about 20 quintals per hectare. In the years ahead, we will continue to increase the amount of area under the cultivation of summer-fall rice. This is a basic direction to take in order to achieve a stable solution to the grain problem.

The expansion of the power network has also enabled us to combine agricultural production with industry within the district and closely tie production to processing in order to increase the value of products.

2. The scientific-technological revolution must be placed in the key position in the process of simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions. A correct dialectical relationship must be established between production forces and production relations.

Party Secretariat Directive Number 100 on product contracts in agriculture had the effect of encouraging the laborer to exercise his right of collective ownership and raise his labor productivity. In practice, the use of product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers has raised labor productivity but the extent to which contracts can raise productivity further is limited. Over the long-range, contracts will not be the basic factor guaranteeing a constant rise in labor productivity. The scientific-technological revolution is the only basic factor insuring that labor productivity rises continuously. Therefore, a constant concern of our district has been to turn science and technology into a direct production force within socialist production today.

Recognizing this fact, the 18th congress of our district party organization, which was held in late 1982, pointed out that, together with the use of product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers, it is necessary to strongly emphasize the key role played by the scientific-technological revolution. To our district, the principal and most critical problems in the initial stage are those of providing electricity, water and seed for agriculture and improving the soil.

Beginning in early 1983, the level of investments in strengthening and modernizing the material-technical bases of production was rapidly increased. On this basis, scientific-technical advances have been put into widespread use: new, high yield varieties have been introduced on more than 90 percent of the land under the cultivation of winter-spring rice and on 60 percent of the land under the cultivation of fall-10th month rice. The seasonal schedule has been changed. Increasing the amount of area under the cultivation of summer-fall rice has made it possible to increase the cultivation of winter subsidiary food crops and reduce the cultivation of spring subsidiary food crops in order to expand the amount of area under the cultivation of exported agricultural crops. New and effective farming methods that attach importance to efficiency have come into being and gradually replaced old and backward farming habits that were practiced for years. The scientific-technological revolution has made an even greater impact in the district's livestock production sector. The size of our district's hog herd has rapidly increased as a result of artificial insemination and new breeds. The average market weight rose from 35 kilograms per hog in 1982 to 50 kilograms per hog in 1985. The scientific-technological revolution has also helped us to maintain, strengthen and develop the material-technical bases of the collective sector within the context of product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers.

3. Within the scope of the district, even a completely agricultural district, agriculture cannot develop by itself. Rather, agriculture can only achieve relatively stable and steady development when the related sectors, particularly industry, have also been reorganized along lines that support agriculture.

In actuality, our district's agricultural production only recorded real advances after a scientific and widespread water conservancy network was established and the communications-transportation sector was strengthened. In addition, one important factor that has contributed to the advance of the district's agricultural production is the well organized crop and livestock protection system, a system that extends to the cooperatives. Increasing importance has been attached to the prevention and control of pests because our district is now raising several consecutive crops per year, which provides the environment for pests to develop. It is very regrettable that we do not have the materials, equipment or conditions needed to establish a crop insurance corporation and a livestock insurance corporation.

The machine industry supporting agriculture has been reorganized. In particular, the establishment and development of a processing industry has laid the groundwork for the development of a diversified agriculture within the district, one in which production is closely tied to processing and crop production is closely tied to livestock production.

Even within the district, agricultural production is related to many different sectors and among these sectors are close relations that stimulate one another's development. As a result, we must take an overall view and plan the development of all socio-economic activities within the scope of the district.

4. The style of work must be improved when the district shifts from being an indirect level that conducts purely administrative activities to a level that provides comprehensive and direct management of basic production units.

Providing comprehensive and direct management of basic production units is something new and our district has been unable to avoid confusion in this area. However, in the process of guiding, managing and coordinating work, we have gradually overcome obstacles and solved two pressing problems:

First, we have established the correct relationship between the district and basic units. We have made basic units the object of the district's activities (both collective and state-operated basic units) and encourage basic units to exercise their right of ownership. At the same time, the district must provide the conditions needed for basic units to do this, that is, must assume responsibility to basic units for the matters of which it is in charge.

In the recent past, our district has assigned additional competent cadres to basic units and distributed materials, equipment, means and so forth to basic units as planned. Under the guideline "concern for the needs of the basic unit, support for the basic unit," the district party committee has concerned itself with, observed and inspected the activities of basic units and worked with them to resolve problems. In the process, a relationship of two-way responsibilities has been established and steadily grown between the district and the basic units, thus making it possible for the district and these units to understand one another better, to trust one another more and truly join efforts to resolve problems that arise.

Secondly, along with reorganizing production and improving management at basic units, the district level must also be reorganized to improve its ability to lead, guide, manage and coordinate. The district level must study and grasp the positions and lines of the party and know how to work with the economic-technical sectors on the upper level. At the same time, it must work closely with basic units and keep abreast of their needs. With these as its guidelines, the decisions made by the district party committee over the past 3 years concerning yearly plans, the sector economy and measures to achieve implementation have, generally speaking, been relatively correct. These decisions have been respected and implemented. Consequently, they have made an impact and produced concrete results.

The district party committee does not take over or fulfill the functions of the administration as it once did. Instead, it has assigned additional competent cadres to the administration and created the conditions for it to exercise its right of ownership. As a result, the activities of the district people's committee, of the various sectors and levels have been more dynamic, smoother and more effective in the recent past.

The realities of managing and guiding production within an agricultural district that has the special characteristics and specific situation our locality does have increasingly shown us that stable socio-economic development requires close coordination among basic units, the district, the province and the sectors on the central level. There are some problems which the district, regardless of how much initiative it shows, cannot resolve on

its own, such as the problems of supplying electricity, pesticides and chemical fertilizers, supplying equipment to the processing industry and so forth. The supplying of these items to the districts must be carried out in accordance with rational plans and these plans must be thoroughly implemented. When things do not go as planned, it is necessary to determine who is responsible and prompt action must be taken against them.

We also feel that dynamic and appropriate management policies are still needed to establish a satisfactory relationship among the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer in the field of agricultural production. The state must adopt appropriate policies concerning the prices of agricultural products and industrial goods so that farmers themselves see that they are not suffering losses and, as a result, are encouraged and work hard to accelerate production.

The relationships that exist in the delivery of agricultural products and the supplying of materials between the district and basic units, between the province and the district and between the central level and the province must be fair and scrupulously maintained. All levels have the obligation to fulfill the responsibility that is theirs.

In view of the present situation, the district must be assigned additional scientific-technical cadres and management cadres, particularly cadres to manage distribution-circulation, the service corporations and the industrial enterprises.

We make the above suggestions as local activists, as persons who have become aware and gained an understanding of problems through specific jobs.

All the party members and people of our district are becoming increasingly aware of the important significance of accelerating socio-economic development within the district. Because, this is, above everything else, a matter that directly affects the vital interests of we who live, labor, work and study on this beloved piece of land called Nam Dan. Only by accelerating production and achieving efficiency in production can we improve our material and spiritual lives. Moreover, with boundless gratitude to President Ho Chi Minh, each of us has a burning desire to make Nam Dan a prosperous and beautiful district, one worthy of being the birthplace of the most esteemed Uncle Ho.

This being our outlook and desire, with confidence in our own strength and with the concern and assistance of the province and central level and the encouragement of our fellow countrymen nationwide, the entire party organization and all the people of Nam Dan District are determined to struggle, move ahead and record increasingly large achievements.

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AN OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY ON SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 44-50

[Article by Nguyen Duc Binh]

[Text] Held at a time of changes tantamount to a turning point on the domestic front as well as the international front, the 27th Congress of the CPSU had an important historic mission. It marked a new period of development of the country of the Soviets on the path of continuing to perfect socialism and advance to communism. It has increased the leadership role of the party in every field of the development of social life on the basis of strictly upholding the principles of Leninism in party work. It has made the Soviet Union able to make increasingly large contributions to the common struggle of the people of the world for the noble goals of our times. The congress reviewed the diverse practical activities and summarized the invaluable experiences of the communist party and people of the Soviet Union during the 25 years spent implementing the third platform, in particular, and the nearly 70 years that have been spent building socialism, in general. It shed light on many aspects of the theoretical and practical issues of socialist construction, of gradually advancing to the high stage of development of the economic form--communist society.

The documents approved at the 27th Congress of the CPSU together with the speeches by M.S. Gorbachev and the resolutions adopted at the plenums of the Central Committee of the CPSU held in April and October (1985) constitute an entity, a complete set of valuable materials that are of special importance not only to the Soviet Union, but also to the fraternal socialist countries, the international communist and worker movement and the nations struggling for independence and social progress.

In a span of time that is not long by historical standards, the Soviet Union has recorded enormous economic and social achievements and advances. In many areas of the economy, science-technology, education, culture and society, it has developed by leaps and bounds. The fact that the Soviet Union has continuously recorded unparalleled achievements in conquering space and maintaining a military-strategic balance with the United States is convincing proof of the results of the steadfast and highly creative labor of the Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU. In the economic field, national

income has increased four times, labor productivity 3.2 times, industrial output 5 times, agricultural output 1.7 times, real income per capita 2.6 times and social consumption more than 5 times compared to 1961.

While properly confirming the achievements that have been recorded and refuting distortions aimed at tarnishing these enormous changes of importance in the history of the world, the CPSU took a hard look at the country's current situation, frankly pointing out the shortcomings of the 1970's and early 1980's. These negative trends were summarized as: a marked decline in the rate of economic development and the rate of increase in labor productivity; a number of other norms on economic efficiency declined; the advancement of science and technology slowed; and the state of imbalance in the economy worsened. As a result, the tasks of 5-year plans were not completed and planned social measures also were not fully implemented. In addition to objective causes, many subjective shortcomings were committed, among which "the main causes...were the failure to promptly evaluate changes in the economic situation from a political standpoint, the failure to recognize just how pressing it was and difficult it would be to shift the economy to intensive development and the failure to make determined and consistent efforts to address the acute issues of changing economic policy and reforming the economic management mechanism, including the very psychology behind business activities." It can be said that the underlying causes were subjectivism, inertia and conservatism in thinking, in outlook and in the economic leadership activities of the party and state agencies. This situation could not be allowed to persist, particularly in the case of a party as large as the CPSU, a party that is responsible not only to Soviet society, but also the harsh demands of our times. Not just stagnation, but even a slowdown in the rate of development means lagging behind as history moves forward. The dialectic of development demands that we only move ahead and do so at an increasingly fast pace. And, the realities of what the Soviet Union has accomplished hold the promise of advancing much further. But the important factors here are that the party has promptly recognized the turning point that has been reached in development, accurately evaluated potentials, seen all the shortcomings that have been committed, rejected concepts that have not passed the test of practice and taken determined steps to break old habits and patterns of thinking and acting that are no longer appropriate and have become obstacles to further development. And, the April plenum (1985) of the Central Committee of the CPSU did these things. It stopped adverse trends and opened the way for newly created factors to develop. Conducted in the spirit of this plenum, the process of discussing the documents of the congress at basic units confirmed that the issues raised by the Party Central Committee were entirely correct. By bringing about a change tantamount to a turning point in the awareness and thinking of the entire party, the CPSU had once again implemented Lenin's teaching in excellent fashion: "The attitude of a political party toward its mistakes is one of the most important and reliable standards in determining whether this party is serious and whether it is truly fulfilling its obligation to its class and to the laboring masses. Openly admitting mistakes, finding the causes of mistakes, analyzing the circumstances that led to mistakes and carefully studying measures for rectifying these mistakes--these are the signs of a serious party, of a party that is fulfilling its obligations, of a party that is teaching and training its class and then the masses."(1)

Together with enormous changes within the country, the world situation during the 1970's and particularly during the 1980's became complex and demanded a greater sense of responsibility on the part of the CPSU than ever before. In keeping with the foreign policy line of peace, a line that has been consistently and continuously endorsed by the congresses of the party, the Soviet Union made positive contributions in the international arena. However, mankind continues to live in a time when each decision related to international politics must be examined in a very cautious, very clear-sighted and truly alert manner that carefully weighs both the interests of the nation and the entire world. While always being in control in order to prevent acts of negligence from occurring, it is necessary to take the initiative, take the offensive and do everything that can be done for the sake of peace, security and international cooperation. History demands that the Soviet Union--the staunch defender of peace, the bulwark of the world revolution and the dependable base of support of other nations--take another look at the panorama of world politics, take a fresh approach to the issues of war and peace and reassess class forces, the comparison of forces and the main contradictions and trends of development of the world.

The documents of the 27th Congress of the CPSU provide scientific and timely answers to the basic and pressing questions of Soviet society and the world, represent a new and important stage of development and are priceless contributions to the storehouse of theory on socialism and communism.

It is not easy to recognize the need for change or become determined to bring about change. But it is even more difficult to determine the direction that change should take. Here, there are the Leninist principles that apply in the formulation of a program, straying from which leads to serious political mistakes. The CPSU fulfilled this responsibility in fine fashion, bringing the principles of Marxist-Leninist methodology to life in the drafting of the revised version of its new Program.

Above everything else, the revised version of the Program reflects the continuation of the theoretical and political views set forth in the 3rd Program which--as M.S. Gorbachev analyzed--"is a matter of principle," is "a matter of loyalty by our party to Marxism-Leninism." Under the light of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU, a party that has always been loyal to the interests of the working class and laboring people in each stage of the revolution, applied the theory of scientific communism to practice and formulated the 3rd Program. The basic tasks set by the Program--developing and strengthening socialism, perfecting socialism and continuing to advance Soviet society toward communism--still lie ahead. Therefore, the CPSU did not raise the matter of changing the program in its entirety, but only revised, on the basis of experience gained and mainly on the basis of the new features in the changing domestic and world situations, certain points in the Program and arguments that truly have not withstood the test of time. While adopting the basic thinking embodied in the 3rd Program, the 27th Congress of the CPSU pointed out: "The unchanging and consistent nature of theory most assuredly demands the creative development of theory, the future enhancement of arguments and principles to make them consistent with historical experience. This is an entirely natural process." Marxism-Leninism, instead of preventing, demands that communists always re-examine each specific argument,

re-examine the special concepts and particular details of the overall program when performing specific political tasks and properly criticize any arguments that have truly been shown to lack sufficient foundation, to not be suited to the times or to be incompatible with new circumstances. More than a few such "corrections" and adjustments can be found in the documents of the 27th Congress. They can be found, for example, in the analysis of the main contradictions and trends of our times; in replacing the concept "building communism on a large scale" with the concept "perfecting socialism in a planned and comprehensive manner and advancing Soviet society farther down the path of communism on the basis of accelerating the country's socio-economic development"; in the authorization of specific tasks; in not describing the specific characteristics of communism or the milestones marking each stage... Having reviewed the situation from the standpoint of the realities of today, the CPSU has a clearer, more detailed and more precise concept that has come to the fore in the work of perfecting socialism and the struggle to safeguard peace."

One experience that can be considered of overriding importance in the formulation of lines which has been provided to the communists of all countries by the party of V.I. Lenin is the need to always be both revolutionary and scientific and make every effort to guard against two tendencies that readily arise: illusions and voluntarism and, the other, conservatism and inertia. At the 27th Congress, the thinking of wanting to "skip stages" was criticized. The revised version of the Program states: "Experience shows that each effort to move ahead and apply the principles of communism without taking into consideration the degree to which the material and spiritual conditions of society have developed results in failure and can cause adverse economic as well as political consequences." Communist ideals and the desire to rapidly advance to communist society are always wholesome and are necessary in every communist. However, unlike the utopian socialists, we understand that the transformation of society must be carried out in accordance with the theory of scientific socialism, that each development plan must rest upon solid scientific foundations, that the degree to which a society develops and matures is dependent upon the extent to which the factors and the relationships among the factors that make up this society have formed and been strengthened. Declaring that a stage of development has been concluded when the social body has yet to mature to the extent necessary and putting into practice the principles of the next stage too early, that is, before material and spiritual conditions have fully developed, not only cause serious economic losses, but are also a political mistake for which a high price must be paid. History holds more than a few examples of progress actually slowing down despite a desire to achieve rapid development. The realities of the past 10 years show that the Soviet Union's rate of economic growth markedly declined, falling short of the levels achieved in the 1960's and even farther short of the figures projected by the 22nd Congress. This unfavorable trend stands as a harsh demand that the prospects for the development of the country be rethought. The period between now and the year 2000 will still be a period of continuing to perfect socialism, that is, a period during which the remaining tasks of the lower stage must still be performed well. The extent to which progress is made into the higher stage of communism will depend upon the results achieved in accelerating the country's socio-economic development. The experience of the CPSU provides the fraternal

countries with a valuable lesson: the Program of the party can only be considered truly scientific if its contents can be translated into the language of specific plans and targets that are within reach and when laborers consider it to be their own program of action.

Marxism-Leninism is the philosophy of transforming society through revolution. Therefore, another and no less important aspect in formulating the party's Program is to thoroughly express the revolutionary spirit, express boldness and daring and combat every manifestation of conservatism and inertia in thinking as well as in action. Being satisfied with what has been achieved, being afraid to struggle against negative phenomena, voicing support for reforms while continuing to do things in the same old way, looking for ways to postpone reforms, being slow to carry out tasks that have become pressing...these are things that are alien to the stand of the working class, of a revolutionary party. The constant development of life demands that the communist adopt the attitude of always updating their thinking concerning pressing issues in the process of development and be determined to do away with everything that has become outmoded, that stands in the way of progress. If there is a lack of courage when taking the offensive, if there is hesitation in the face of difficulties, if there is satisfaction with the achievements that have been recorded, it is impossible to be dynamic and creative. As M.S. Gorbachev said: "We cannot avoid solving problems that have ripened." There is only one path that can be taken: to accept new challenges on the basis of having carefully evaluated necessary conditions, displaying the highest possible initiative and creativity, daring to think and daring to take bold action in order to advance the cause of the party, of society.

The revised Program is a realistic program under which the vast country of the Soviets will steadily advance down the path of perfecting socialism and move closer to communism. This program is the result of a highly Leninist ideological struggle to overcome the obstacles that impede the advance of society. As a party of action that bears a heavy responsibility to the country and world revolutionary movement, as the leader of profound social reforms and the work of perfecting socialism in a comprehensive and planned manner, the CPSU is formulating domestic and foreign policy for the final 15 years of this century imbued with the practical view, with the practicality of Lenin and is preparing the country of the Soviets, preparing world socialism, in general, preparing all mankind for the 21st century with a profound sense of confidence in the logical advance of history. This practical view is most evident in its analysis of the domestic and world situations. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee at the congress confirmed: "We can only carry out a correct policy and have a scientific argument for what we do if we clearly understand the key trends in the actual situation. Having a deep understanding of the dialectic and the objective logic of change and knowing how to reach correct conclusions that reflect the movement of time, while not simple, are very necessary."

The red thread running throughout the documents of the 27th Congress of the CPSU is the thinking "everything by and for man." Constantly perfecting the system of Soviet democracy; putting socialist self-management into practice; gradually raising the material and spiritual standard of living of the people;

improving all aspects of the life of man; implementing the principle of social fairness more fully with each passing day; achieving the balanced development of personal qualities; gradually bringing the various social strata closer together; gradually closing the gap between mental labor and manual labor, between the cities and the countryside; strengthening the friendship among nationalities...these are the clearest possible expressions of the class stand, are the most noble of goals, are the key issues in the party's strategy. The party has no goals other than struggling to serve the interests of the people and build a society in which there is true equality among persons and everyone is able to develop freely and fully. On the other hand, each policy of the party can only become reality when it begins with man himself, when it is as a result of man, when it is implemented through the laboring masses. Socialism is a society built and managed through the creative activities of the masses under the leadership of the party. The larger tasks are and the higher historic goals are, the more important it is to have the active, zealous and creative participation in the spirit of ownership of millions of persons in the performance of these tasks. Lenin said: "As the scope of historic activities expands and the scale of these actions becomes larger, more persons participate in them. Conversely, the deeper the reform we seek to make is, the more necessary it is for us to generate interest in and an attitude of awareness toward this reform, the more necessary it is for us to persuade millions and tens of millions of persons to believe in this necessity."(2) Of course, to develop the role of the masses, difficult tasks must be carried out simultaneously. This entails widespread, highly detailed organizational work and is both a science and an art. M.S. Gorbachev has stated: "Only through a carefully considered economic strategy, strong social policy and ideological education with have the stated goal of being closely combined and united with one another is it possible to promote the human factor, without which no task we set can be successfully performed."

The concept of perfecting socialism in each of its aspects embodies the thinking that efforts be well coordinated: the acceleration of the development of the national economy--the most important task, the strategic line--must be carried out at the same time as perfecting socialism in the social, political and spiritual fields; building the party internally must go hand in hand with perfecting the entire political system of society; and, while performing domestic tasks, full attention must be given to international obligations. Every gain made in one field will stimulate the performance of the tasks in other fields and vice versa. The essential difference between socialism and capitalism is: socialism's sole purpose is not to produce a truly large amount of wealth--even though the first and indispensable feature of communist society is "an abundant flow of wealth"--more importantly, under socialism, on the momentum of economic growth, interpersonal relations become increasingly beautiful and society is a society in which "one for all, all for one" becomes the principle that controls each thought and action of man.

The tasks of perfecting socialism in a planned and comprehensive manner and safeguarding world peace pose a new challenge to the party of Lenin. The 27th Congress confirmed: "Under present conditions, with the new scale and complex nature of the tasks being performed placing high demands upon all political, ideological and organizational activities of the party, the matter of utmost importance is to insure the fundamental reform of party work to establish

within each organization of the party an atmosphere of creativity, demands based in principle and self-criticism and find new and effective solutions to socio-economic problems, scientific-technical problems and problems concerning the teaching of ideology." "Fundamental reform of party work" means revamping every aspect of this work in order to make the party more solid, stronger and more dynamic, increase its fighting strength and, lastly, give it greater prestige in society. This spirit must be manifested in all areas: improving the skills of the basic organizations of the party; implementing internal democracy and the principle of collective leadership well; promoting self-criticism and criticism; maintaining unity; strictly requiring that what cadres and party members say go hand in hand with what they do; conducting inspections everywhere; improving the quality of ideological work, political education... This entire process must be carried out and can only produce high results on the basis of properly applying the tested Leninist principles on the building of the new style party.

The Soviet Union has been and will forever be the bulwark of peace and revolution in the world. Therefore, the close relationship between domestic policy and foreign policy in the program of the CPSU is natural. The 27th Congress has given mankind a concept of strengthening peace and a concept of social progress that are complete in every detail. The policy of peaceful coexistence "is closely tied to the basic tasks, the strategic tasks of the party at home and reflects the common aspirations of the Soviet people to engage in creative labor and live in peace with all nations." Of course, in the face of imperialism's schemes--intensely pursuing the arms race and building up nuclear arsenals, which are already too large, including extending the threat of war into space--the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community consider strengthening their economic and military might, maintaining the military-strategic balance between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and firmly strengthening the socialist social system to be the basis for preventing war, guaranteeing "mutual security" in international relations and safeguarding peace.

Ordinarily, much time must pass before the significance of political events becomes clear. However, history also holds more than a few examples of events whose importance was clear from the very outset. The 27th Congress of the CPSU was such an event. We communists can learn two lessons from the greatest vanguard unit of the international communist movement: first, the lesson of speaking the truth and engaging in self-criticism and criticism and, secondly, the lesson of applying Leninist principles and methods when formulating a line and performing practical tasks. Correctly defining the tasks that must be performed, finding the path that must be followed to perform these tasks and relying squarely upon the creativity of the masses--these are the premises of the resolutions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU that will become the profound and living reality in the great country, in the home of the great October Revolution.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 41, p 51.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 42, p 171.

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ESTABLISHING THE SYNCHRONIZED, SYSTEMS APPROACH IN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT TODAY

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[Article by Nguyen Van Tran]

[Text] Economic management, in general, and the management of a planned national economy are complex and difficult. These difficulties are even greater under the conditions of an agricultural country in which small-scale production is still widespread that is advancing directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. In the more than 10 years that our entire country has been building socialism, we have recorded significant achievements on the economic front, particularly in agriculture, and in building material bases, developing the national economy, healing the wounds of war, supporting the standard of living of the people and meeting national defense needs. However, we face many difficulties and challenges in managing the socialist economy, included among which is the pressing question of how to correct the serious state of imbalance of our country's economy today. Therefore, we would like to express some initial thoughts concerning the establishment of a synchronized, systems approach in the management of the economy in order to contribute toward resolving these difficulties.

1. Systems Science and the Systems Approach in Economic Management

Today, in every field of life, the term "system" is rather widely used. Although this term is defined in a number of different ways in scientific texts, a common understanding of its essential meaning has now emerged. It can be said that a system is a grouping or assemblage of many components, also called elements, that are closely related and tied to one another by certain laws for the purpose of forming a unified entity.

Some characteristics of a system are as follows:

--Every change in one or a number of elements is accompanied by change in the other elements. Changes in a number of relationships among various elements are accompanied by changes in the relationships of the remaining elements.

--Although the elements might be very different, when tied together in a system, they create a unified entity. The character of this grouping is not simply the sum of the qualities of its individual elements, rather, a new and qualitatively different character emerges.

The terms "system" and "element" are understood in their very broad sense. They can be the machine components of a technical system, concepts in knowledge and language, economic policies, etc. Present day systems science, in addition to providing us with a way to see things more clearly, also provides us with methods of analysis for building specific systems and ways to reach the best possible decisions in practical activities.

The socio-economic system is a very complex and very large system. Therefore, organizing its management is also a very complex matter and cannot be done well simply on the basis of rules and principles of a universal and simple nature. Management situations demand rational analytical methods and very detailed analysis. The elements that make up the economic system are also very complex: enterprises, cooperatives, the other production organizations and the various sectors and localities. In each field of activity, each of these units is a complex system consisting of smaller components. On the other hand, the economic system of every country is part of and affected by a larger system, the world economic system. Examined from the standpoint of internal relationships, the elements that make up the economic system are closely tied to one another in hundreds of thousands of very complicated direct and indirect relationships, among which indirect relations are frequently more important than direct relations. Another important point is that the economic system is always developing and growing with the passage of time. Analyses and decisions easily become outdated and inconsistent with the changes taking place.

To manage a planned economy, it is imperative that management responsibilities be assigned to the various levels because the central level cannot resolve all the problems that arise throughout the economy, basically because the central level's ability to process information is limited and the system we are dealing with is complex. When making decisions, the management organizations on the various levels give their attention to their own separate goals and interests in addition to common goals and interests. This is an objective reality. How best to combine and fully meet and satisfy these separate goals and interests and common goals and interests, as represented by the state management agencies on the central level, are one of the most difficult and complex problems in modern management science. If too much emphasis is placed on the common interests of all the people, we fail to stimulate activism, initiative and creativity on the part of basic units. Conversely, leaning too heavily toward the interests of basic units harms common interests and easily leads to imbalances throughout the national economy. Building the system of a new management mechanism that combines the various economic interests in a way that is well balanced essentially entails a research and design process that demands deep analysis of the modern economic system and the system of socio-economic goals within the context of the development of the world today.

Also because of the reasons cited above, when faced with economic management problems that are complex and require specific solutions, we often encounter

very many problems that are interrelated and easily find ourselves in a situation of not knowing where to begin. In practice, the issue here is to restrict problems to a goal and scope, to the capabilities and authority that exist for solving them so that they can be analyzed and then placed within the framework of the remaining problems, which must be viewed as preconditions to reaching a decision. In a system of problems, one problem cannot be considered more important than the others on the basis of some preconceived opinion, rather, detailed analysis must be conducted to determine which problems or factors become more important during each stage and each period. If resolved well, important factors or important problems are "breakthroughs" that create the conditions for moving on to solve the remaining problems. Lenin said: "In each particular period, we must find that one special link which we must make every effort to control so that we can maintain the entire chain..."(1)

2. Synchronizing and Increasing Current Production Capacity

What is synchronization? Every specific system has certain goals, as is the case with the socio-economic system, or certain functions, as is the case with the technical systems, which are created by man to serve man. To insure that these goals or functions are fulfilled, every system must have a rational structure, rational ratios among its component parts and rational relationships among its elements. It can be said that synchronization is what guarantees the quantitative ratios and qualitative relationships in the structure of the system that are needed for these goals or functions to be fulfilled. It is also that which provides balance within the structure. The absence of synchronization is evident in the following cases:

--When a number of the elements needed for the system to fulfill its goal or function are lacking;

--When all the elements of a system exist but they are not compatible with one another in terms of quantitative ratios or are not coordinated from the standpoint of qualitative relationships;

--When all the elements exist, are well balanced in quantitative terms and are coordinated from the standpoint of quality but are put in place and arranged by time and space in ways that do not make for rational relationships.

In all three of the above cases, the system either cannot operate or operates ineffectively and the desired goal or function cannot be fulfilled. In many cases, the ability of a system to work is determined by its weakest element. This is also a "narrow spot" that must be taken into consideration.

Within the production system, the arrangement and structuring of production factors and production forces are of very important significance. They can reduce the consumption of materials, increase production capacity and raise labor productivity. Within the system of economic policies, completeness and coordination among policies very greatly increase their effectiveness compared to cases in which synchronization is lacking. The same applies within the organizational system of the management apparatus. In addition, from the perspective of the entire economic system, completeness and coordination among

the production system, the system of economic policies and the organizational system of the management apparatus are necessary prerequisites to insuring that national economic development goals are met.

At present, we face serious imbalances in many areas of economic activity: the imbalance between production and consumption; the imbalance between the need to invest in economic development and sources of capital; the imbalance between the volume of money in circulation and the supply of goods... Within the structure of the national economy, the sectors are not proportionately balanced, the infrastructure is underdeveloped, production needs are not being met... The lack of synchronization in our policies, especially from the standpoint of prices, money and the management of the market within the context of a weak system of production has led to inflation, directly and adversely affected each economic activity and made our efforts to improve management and the measures taken to teach ideology ineffective or only slightly effective. Many different steps can be taken to correct this situation. However, the basic, long-range solution remains accelerating production and organizing social production.

Statistical data show that only 50 to 60 percent of average production capacity is currently in use in industry, construction and transportation. In some important production sectors, only about 20 percent of capacity is being utilized and only about 35 percent of the hours worked by persons employed by the state are productive. Some 20 percent of materials, fuel and grain is wasted or lost. Many statistics and reports reflecting similar situations in other areas can be read. Clearly, if we learn how to organize production, learn how to focus and synchronize investments, develop appropriate mechanisms and take proper steps, we can raise the percentage of production capacity being utilized and the number of productive hours being worked and produce many more products for society without having to invest in the construction of many new projects.

Let us analyze the lack of synchronization in conditions that have caused the low utilization of production capacity described above. The basic conditions can be broken down as follows:

--All the production factors needed to implement the production plan have not been provided. The production factors that have posed the greatest obstacles in recent years are sources of energy, fuel, raw materials and building materials. These factors are usually not provided in the quantity or quality or at the times needed or, as we say, are not provided on the input side to production units.

--There are not enough equipment, machinery, materials or spare parts to maintain or restore production capacity. This has led to a state of disrepair and caused production lines to be unsynchronized. Here, the problem is a lack of capital and foreign currency to invest in production. A lack of synchronization along production lines can be seen in practically all sectors and basic units and has occurred following many years of use without maintenance or the construction of new capacity without taking into full consideration the conditions needed to support this capacity.

--There is a lack of product plans or, in other words, a failure to make rational choices on the output side, which includes product marketing plans within the context permitted by production conditions and the needs of society. Emerging in importance recently has been the problem of prices and the phenomenon of unforeseeable inflation. As a result, production has not yielded the economic returns necessary to maintain the existing level of capacity utilization.

--The infrastructure of the economy, especially the communications-transportation system, does not permit us to fully utilize production capacity nor to maintain inter-sector material relations and the relations among production, marketing and supplies-raw materials.

In attempting to resolve the situation described above, we always encounter many different difficulties and limitations. Consequently, arriving at a solution demands that a choice be made among many different approaches and is dependent upon the ability of management cadres to engage in timely analytical thinking. Here, the analytical process of systems analysis can be applied to evaluate ways to solve problems for basic production units.

First, it is necessary to select a goal. This is often viewed as something simple and readily apparent. In practice, however, this continues to be a matter of key importance which must be constantly re-evaluated in the course of production. Consider, for example, the coal mining sector. In recent years, due to the high demand for coal, the state plan has always been higher than production capabilities, such as the ability to strip overburden, the ability to build shafts, transportation capabilities and so forth. To complete their plan, coal enterprises have had to "strip shallow and cut long" and put their problems off until later, thereby making it increasingly difficult to mine coal. Thus, in practice, coal enterprises have been forced to meet mainly immediate goals and, as a result, cannot do a better job of guaranteeing that long-term goals are met.

Secondly, it is necessary to limit and categorize the problems being analyzed. Efforts to achieve synchronization with the aim of increasing production capacity are related to very many different problems and can even be related to the entire national economic management system. However, attempting to solve many different problems at the same time or waiting for the entire economic system to change will not lead to results. But we can limit ourselves to and focus our efforts on those problems which basic production units have the authority to control and decide in order to achieve certain goals independent of all remaining problems. The effort to achieve overall goals must then be placed within the larger system. The analysis, evaluation and discovery of the resources that are under the control of the basic unit play a very important role in achieving goals. These resources are generally not correctly or fully evaluated by statistical methods or the classical approach. These resources are: real estate and machinery in use and not in use, potential sources of capital, cadres, manual workers and their specialized qualifications and other skills... Especially important today are sources of information on the needs of society, prices and materials, information on technical advances and technologies at home and abroad, existing potentials and potentials that can be created. The full and correct

analysis of these resources help to establish appropriate measures for achieving goals. At present, we still have very many unused resources within the economy. The success that many basic production units have enjoyed stems from seeing potential resources and analyzing them through new thinking.

The analysis of internal relationships: analyzing the component parts of the production organization in order to determine how to arrange these parts as well as select ways to distribute resources directly affects the results of production. Different methods of analyzing these components and different ways of distributing resources lead to very different results. Here, scientific methods of computation can be applied but solutions can also be arrived at through practical experience.

Lastly, it is necessary to select plans, re-examine the feasibility of meeting goals and adjust goals. When selecting plans, it is also necessary to foresee each change that will occur in the organization of the entire apparatus in the course of working to meet goals.

Thus, we can see that only basic production units have all the necessary information on their current situation and potential resources, and it is only on this basis that the most efficient production plans can be adopted.

However, when imbalances exist in many areas of the economy as they do today, the synchronized, systems approach, together with requiring that we tap the initiative and creativity of the basic units and localities, also requires that we increase the role of state planning and state balances in controlling and distributing important resources. In past years, we have not properly managed or rationally distributed basic resources, such as energy, fuel, capital in the form of foreign currency, important materials and so forth. The irregular supply of electricity and the failure to supply raw and other materials in the correct quantity, of the correct quality or at the right time are one of the causes of the lack of synchronization in production, a lack of synchronization of a chain reaction nature that is difficult to correct.

Overseas economic relations are of major strategic significance to our country's economy today. To meet the needs involved in synchronizing production, we must have foreign currency with which to import machinery, raw materials and parts and, as a result, must export goods to meet the need for foreign currency. Thus, on the scope of the entire national economy, establishing a production structure that is closely tied to exports is an objective requirement. This effort must be organized, regulated and coordinated by the state. Agricultural, forest and marine products making up more than 50 percent of our total exports will continue to be a matter of importance for some time to come. However, to increase the returns from exports, we must change the structure of exports and reduce the percentage of products that are unprocessed. Consequently, building production structures that tie agriculture, forestry and fishing to the processing industry and export activities is an objective demand. For some sectors in which export capabilities are limited, establishing economic ties among industry, agriculture and export activities is the approach that must be taken. Thus, in some sectors, the effort to achieve synchronization and increase production capacity cannot be restricted to the scope of the sector itself, but must

involve the establishment of economic ties among several sectors and establish rational economic structures on the scope of the national economy.

3. Some Matters Related to the Management Mechanism and Management Apparatus

The production organization system and the management organization system can be viewed as the components of a larger system--the management-production system. The impact of the management organization system upon the production system is to organize and adjust labor and combine labor with tools and the objects of labor in order to produce with increasingly high efficiency. Conversely, the development of the production system has the effects of refining and improving the entire management organization system. Compatibility and coordination between these two systems reflect the synchronization of the management-production system.

If the management system and organizational apparatus are too large or too cumbersome compared to the task of management and the structure of the production system, a situation will develop in which the lower levels and basic units are under too many management entities on the upper levels and can receive guidance or orders from the upper levels that are sometimes contradictory. This is also the situation we see occurring in our country today. On the other hand, if the management apparatus is too small, it is usually unable to deal with all the complex situations that arise in the production system. In both these cases, the management apparatus is ineffective and poses obstacles to the production process.

The building of a management apparatus that is synchronized with the production organization and meets the goals of management generally must be based on the goals, tasks and functions of management and the objective requirements of the production organization. Compatibility or synchronization between the management apparatus and the production organization are essential in meeting the goal of effective management.

For a long time, the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies simplified decision making, giving attention only to the impact from the upper levels without taking into consideration "reactions" by the lower levels or their ability to implement decisions. The realities of the management process always involve a reciprocal impact between the decisions of the upper levels and those of the lower levels. The development of production is not only the result of decisions of the upper levels, but also the result of decisions made by the lower levels and by the individual laborer. The lower levels and laborers either "comply with" or "deal with" and "take advantage of" the decisions of the upper levels depending upon their level of awareness and the extent to which these decisions are consistent with their interests. Therefore, the management agencies on the upper levels must be fully capable of performing analysis, making projections and issuing decisions that combine the interests of the state with the interests of the collective and individual laborer in a way that is well balanced and anticipate "adjustments" by the lower levels, by basic production units and by laborers.

To establish an effective management mechanism, it is also necessary to improve the system of feedback information (statistics, reports, investigations, surveys and so forth) and information on scientific-technical advances together with analysis and forecasts of trends, capabilities and so forth. Only on this basis is it possible to issue decisions that are consistent with practice and highly realistic. The simple way to manage the specific objects within the economic system is through administrative measures and regulations on the requirements of plans. However, the use of policies usually creates better conditions for tapping the initiative and creativity of the subjects of management, particularly when these policies are codified in the form of laws. To formulate policies that are synchronized and coordinated with development goals and planning measures, policy making must be closely tied to researching, preparing and conducting pilot projects in decisions concerning guidelines for the development of production and management problems.

In view of the difficult situation that now exists in many areas of the national economy, there is the opinion that we should immediately dismantle the existing economic management mechanism in order to shift entirely to the new management mechanism. This thinking does not fully take into consideration the complex nature of or the time demands involved in designing the new management system, particularly in determining which steps should be taken and successfully making the transition from the current system to the new system. It can be said that a transition is very complex in the case of every system, especially when changes in the organizational structure are involved. In this transition, we must combat that which is old and conservative. On the other hand, it is just as important to combat extreme tendencies to shift to the complete opposite of the old. "Radical" transitions of this kind always cause harm and give rise to many new, complex problems, which sometimes pose even greater dangers.

Recently, even in articles in the Western press, it has been stated that after setting the strategic goal for development or the goal in revamping a system for enterprises, the next step is not to change the organization of enterprises, but to analyze the existing system to determine the transitional steps that should be taken before making organizational changes in order to avoid adverse consequences caused by personnel and management apparatus problems. Determining the transitional steps that should be taken and creating the conditions needed to implement new designs are demands that are clearly objective in nature.

It can be said that establishing the synchronized, systems approach in advance of creating a new management system, one which combines the various economic interests in a way that is well balanced and stimulates the development of the

economy, is painstaking work which demands that thinking be revised and comprehensive, thorough research projects of a practical nature be conducted. This is also work that never stops, work that is closely tied to the process of development of the national economic system.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 252.

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REVAMPING THE PLANNING AND GUARANTEEING THE PRODUCTION AUTONOMY OF BASIC STATE-OPERATED ECONOMIC UNITS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 58-62

[Article by Huy Hung]

[Text] The planned development of the national economy is an objective demand that arises when the working class has seized political power and socialist public ownership of the means of production has been established. It is also an essential part of socialist economic management. In recent years, we have made many efforts to revamp planning. In this work, although we continue to commit more than a few mistakes, this is no reason to reject or give light attention to the role of planning--the central element in socialist economic management.

Dismantling the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and establishing the new management mechanism first of all demand that we revamp planning along lines which insure centralized, unified guidance by the central level while guaranteeing production and business autonomy for basic economic units. In keeping with the spirit of the Political Bureau resolution (draft) on guaranteeing the production and business autonomy of basic economic units, the purposes of revamping planning are to heighten the responsibility and guarantee the autonomy in planning of basic economic units and implement the formulation and integration of plans from the basic level upward in exact accordance with the guidelines and targets of the state plan.

The basic economic units that must revamp their planning consist of: basic state-operated economic units, basic collective economic units and the basic units in the household economy and the private segment of the economy. Most important among these are the state-operated basic economic units--the enterprises granted the right by the state to use some of the means of production of society to carry out production and business in accordance with a plan for the sake of the interests of the entire country, the collective and the individual laborer. On the basis of the principle of financial autonomy, upholding the management policies and principles of the state and insuring that all production costs are met and a profit is earned, the enterprise is accountable to itself and is independent in its production and business.

The comprehensive plan of the enterprise consists of:

The production and product marketing plan: this component plan occupies a very important position because it reflects the entire process of the enterprise's production and business, from start to finish, from production to the marketing of products. The production and product marketing plan is formulated on the basis of the guidelines, targets and tasks of the state plan, instructions received from the management agency on the upper level, economic-technical information, the results of market surveys, product orders and economic contracts signed between the enterprise and supply, product marketing, transportation and service organizations. Within the production and product marketing plan, special attention must be given to those products that are essential in production, everyday life, national defense and export activities. The production and marketing of these essential products depend upon the requirements of the economy and are undertaken by the state. A list of these essential products is published by the state (published once every 5 years and adjusted annually). In addition, ministries and localities may, depending upon their needs, add details or other necessary products to this list and then assign legally binding norms for their production to subordinate basic economic units. The state designates the marketing organizations for these products. Enterprises then have the task of signing contracts with these marketing organizations defining the specifications, types and specific variety of products. If marketing organizations (designated by the state) do not sign a contract or do not sign a contract for all the goods for which they have been assigned the task of marketing, the enterprise may suggest to the management agency on the upper level that it be permitted to sign a contract with another marketing organization. The enterprise must, under all circumstances, give every priority to the production of essential products (because producing essential products is the obligation and responsibility of the enterprise as recorded in the plan based on the resolution of the upper level). In addition, the enterprise has the authority to produce a number of other products but must register these products with the concerned sector and sell them to a state-operated supply or commerce organization or cooperative (the enterprise may only market these products on its own if a state-operated supply or commerce organization or cooperative is unable to market them). The activity involved in a joint business, economic ties and cooperation in production between the enterprise and other economic units must be reflected in the enterprise's plan and reported to the management agency on the upper level.

The technical materials plan: the central level must exclusively manage and distribute those technical materials that play a major role in the production and business of many sectors and localities and occupy an important position in the structure of the economy during each planning period. On the basis of the volume of products to be produced during the period covered by the plan, the state informs the enterprise of the quantities of primary materials it may procure under approved ceilings. At the same time, the state assigns legally binding norms on the various types of materials to supply businesses or supply production units, which have the responsibility of insuring the full, timely and convenient supply of materials to the enterprise and endeavoring to mobilize each capability that exists in order to gradually put into practice the "five correct steps" in economic contracts. Enterprises that have large

needs for supplies or raw materials may receive or buy them directly from the place at which they are mined or produced without having to go through an intermediary echelon. The supplying of materials must be based on economic contracts signed between the enterprise and supply organizations and material producers. Likewise, the use of technical materials must comply with the task set forth in the plan and the principles and regulations set by the state. The enterprise may not use materials for other purposes, such as trade, buying and selling in order to take advantage of differences in prices, etc.

The capital construction investment plan: a specific, strict and effective investment planning policy must be adopted to insure that the enterprise can take the initiative in maintaining and effectively utilizing the fixed assets assigned to it by the state; has the authority to liquidate unused fixed assets in accordance with Ministry of Finance regulations; has the authority to buy or upgrade fixed assets to meet the need to expand production...

The state does not allocate investment capital to enterprises once they have been put into production. The capital needed to maintain production capacity, expand production, change industrial standards and so forth is mainly capital acquired by the enterprise itself (either through a loan from the bank or a loan from a foreign country, if permitted by the state). The enterprise independently formulates its investment plan and list of self-acquired capital and borrowed capital investments. The management agency on the upper level examines the use and, depending upon its capabilities, can provide some primary materials and pieces of equipment to the enterprise. The rest must be obtained by the enterprise itself. Each source of investment capital must be combined in the enterprise's plan to insure that capital is used for the exclusive purposes of supporting production and business and supporting the standard of living of manual workers and civil servants.

The labor and wage plan: this plan is formulated on the basis of the volume of products to be produced, the volume of business to be done and the labor consumption ceilings and wage cost ceilings for each type product or type of work of the enterprise. The state does not assign to the enterprise legally binding norms on total labor and the total wage fund (in the immediate future, because some products are still being sold under ration standards to manual workers and civil servants, the upper level will continue to approve the norm on the total number of manual workers and civil servants of each enterprise). The wage fund plan must be based on a contract signed between the enterprise and the bank to insure that expenditures are made, wages are paid and wage fund accounts are balanced in exact accordance with the principles and regulations of the state. The payment of wages must be closely tied to the amount of work completed and the results of the production and business operations of the enterprise.

The scientific-technical plan: this component plan marks the first step by the enterprise in improving or upgrading its technical standards, rationalizing production, making full and economical use of raw materials (using domestic raw materials in place of imported raw materials) and establishing advanced economic and technical quotas to achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency in production and business. The scientific-technical plan of the enterprise is implemented on the basis of

scientific-technical research contracts signed with scientific-technical agencies. The enterprise has the authority to purchase innovations and inventions and independently formulate an investment plan for the application of scientific-technical advances in production.

In addition to the component plans described above, planning at basic state-operated units also includes a number of other basic elements, such as the following: the production costs plan of the enterprise, which is formulated on the basis of advanced economic-technical quotas. The purposes of this plan are to eliminate unreasonable costs and accurately reflect costs, most importantly material and energy costs, in production costs in accordance with the ceilings and unit prices set by the state. This plan must be inspected and controlled by the level above the enterprise and efforts must be made to reduce production costs in order to lay the basis for planning profits, prices and budget payment accounts. The financial plan of the enterprise reflects the independent formulation of the enterprise's financial revenues and expenditures plan on the basis of establishing, supplementing and making effective use of sources of fixed capital, depreciation capital, liquid capital, profits and so forth. The purpose of this plan is to insure the payment of profits, taxes, depreciation and so forth to the state budget. The standard of living and social plan of the enterprise, which reflects the organization of food services, housing, transportation, health care, the development of the subsidiary household economy and so forth, is an important component plan, the purpose of which is to constantly improve the material and spiritual lives of manual workers and civil servants.

The above are the main component plans in the comprehensive plan of the enterprise. The well coordinated, effective implementation of these component plans is of decisive importance in meeting the legally binding norms assigned to the enterprise.

The system of legally binding norms assigned to the enterprise consists of one to three norms depending upon the specific production and business situation of each enterprise. Here, state-operated industrial enterprises can be divided into three types:

Enterprises that receive materials and equipment from the state to produce essential products supporting production, everyday life, national defense and export activities are assigned three norms by the state:

--A norm on the realized value of product output (with specific figures on the value of exports, if any);

--A norm on the output of primary products, including their specifications and quality, to be marketed under the plan and contracts (including the amounts to be delivered for national defense and exportation, if any);

--A norm on budget payment accounts--which consist of profits and other revenue accounts (including foreign currency payments to the budget, if any).

Enterprises that are supplied some materials by the state and must obtain the rest on their own to produce products which are not on the list of essential products are assigned two norms by the state:

--A norm on the realized value of product output;

--A norm on budget payment accounts, which include profits and other revenue accounts (including foreign currency payments to the budget, if any).

Production, service, repair and other enterprises that use materials which they primarily obtain on their own are assigned only one norm by the upper level: a norm on budget payment accounts--which include profits and other revenue accounts (including foreign currency payments to the budget, if any).

Legally binding norms of the kinds mentioned above can also be applied to enterprises in other sectors. For example, the legally binding norms of state-operated commerce enterprises consist of a norm on the volume of procurements and sales (or the value of exports and imports); a norm on the volume of primary products procured and sold under the plan and contracts (or the volume of primary export and import goods); and a norm on budget payment accounts, which include profits and other revenue accounts (including foreign currency payments to the budget, if any). In the case of supply organizations, these norms are: a norm on the volume of procurements and sales (including the value of exports, if any); a norm on the volume of primary products procured and sold under the plan and contracts (including the volume of primary products exported or imported, if any); and a norm on budget payment accounts. For commercial banks, these norms are: a norm on total cash revenues and expenditures; a norm on total capital mobilized and loaned; and a norm on budget payment accounts, which include profits and other revenue accounts. For transport enterprises, these norms are: a norm on the volume of goods and passengers transported; a norm on the volume of primary goods transported under the plan and contracts; and a norm on budget payment accounts, which include profits and other revenue accounts (including foreign currency payments to the budget, if any). In the case of construction and assembly enterprises, these norms are: a norm on the volume of the construction and assembly work completed at the construction rate and for which payment has been made and the list of projects and project items to be completed and consigned; and a norm on budget payment accounts, which include profits and other revenue accounts.

The assignment of the above mentioned legally binding norms to state-operated enterprises is being applied on a pilot project basis at many enterprises in many different sectors. Many persons have expressed support for reducing the number of legally binding norms assigned to the enterprise, as has been done in Political Bureau Resolution Number 305 (draft). However, there are also persons who maintain that three norms are too few and that a number of other norms need also be assigned. In our opinion, it is necessary to base the number of norms contained within the system of legally binding norms on each specific type of enterprise to which they are being assigned, because, a rational system of norms will encourage the enterprise to develop and expand its production and business for the sake of the interests of the state, the collective and the individual laborer. However, whether the number of norms

is large or small is absolutely no indication of how well an enterprise completes its plan if this enterprise has not been supplied by the state with technical materials and the conditions necessary for the legally binding norms assigned to it. Therefore, revamping the methods of planning along the lines of formulating plans from the economic units upward through economic contracts and orders for goods, reducing the number of legally binding norms, assigning directed norms and so forth demands stronger use of economic leverage policies in such areas as taxes, profits, prices, wages, bonuses and so forth with the aim of bringing each activity of the enterprise within the sphere of the state plan.

When formulated, the plan of the enterprise, regardless of how accurate it might be, is still only a potential, consequently, its implementation must be managed in order for this plan to become reality. The yearly plan of the enterprise must be broken down in quarterly plans and monthly plans and specific production tasks for each production shop, section and unit. The enterprise must regularly analyze its economic activities, determine the percentage of plan norms that has been completed, suggest adjustments and amendments to the plan...and promptly report to the management agency on the upper level. The management agency on the upper level must conduct thorough inspections, provide close supervision and take timely measures to help the enterprise to complete its plan. Supply, transportation and other agencies must provide supplies and transportation in exact accordance with the plan and contracts that have been signed. Economic arbitration agencies must act promptly on matters brought before them and hand down fair awards and penalties in accordance with the economic contract signed between the parties. The evaluation and determination of the percentage of the yearly plan completed by the enterprise are undertaken by the agency that directly assigned the enterprise its plan. The enterprise director has the responsibility of reporting how much of the enterprise's yearly plan was completed to the agency on the upper level and such agencies as the planning agency, the finance agency, the bank, the supply, pricing, statistical and other agencies. At the same time, he is fully responsible for the accuracy of the matters presented in his report. The enterprise director's report on the results of the plan and the verification of these results by related agencies are the basis upon which the agency that assigned the plan evaluates and recognizes the results of the enterprise's plan.

Revamping planning and granting greater independence in formulating plans from the basic economic units upward in exact accordance with the principle of democratic centralism while making correct use of the relationships between goods and money and guaranteeing the autonomy of state-operated enterprises in their production and business are one of the important elements in opening prospects for improving the quality, increasing the effectiveness and strengthening the discipline of plans. Balances that are artificial, are not

based in science and are divorced from reality will be replaced by balances that are realistic, positive and sound, thereby contributing to the formation of the new management mechanism, stimulating the development of production and bringing about the gradual stabilization and steady advance of the economy.

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LITERATURE, LIFE AND TODAY'S READER

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 63-68

[Article by Phan Du Tai]

[Text] During the past several years, our literature has become much more colorful and there are signs that a new harvest season has begun. In 1985, each publishing house on the central level published an average of 10 literary titles consisting of novels, short stories and journals. The subjects addressed have also been broader. Some novels deal with the destiny of the country in the 30 years of war and some delve deeply into the issue of perfecting socialist ethics and the socialist character or the fate of the individual and the happiness of the individual in life. Some novels deal with historical topics and some boldly address the burning issues of socialism. Some have been written by ethnic minority writers. Some have been written for children. Some deal with social attitudes and some involve intelligence and counter-espionage operations, involve captivating, adventurous plots. Between 1981 and 1984, four works were awarded prizes for literature by the Writers Association: "At the End of the Year" by Nguyen Khai, "Facing the Sea" by Nguyen Manh Tuan (prize A), "Seed for Next Season" by Nguyen Thi Ngoc Tu and "Life on the Outside" by Vu Duy Anh (prize B).

The revolutionary war continues to be one of the central themes of Vietnamese socialist realism in literature. Most deserving of attention in recent years has been the appearance of novels in the nature of epics, such as "From the Same Native Village(1)" by Phan Tu, "The Country(1)" by Huu Mai, "The White Land (two volumes)" by Nguyen Trung Oanh, "The Eastern Region(1)" by Nam Ha... The passage of time and the maturation of talents have enabled writers to take a panoramic view of the two wars of resistance, present profound and unique summaries of the revolution and the people's war, deduce the laws governing the formation of the character of the Vietnamese in the revolutionary war and combine as one the experienced as well as the lasting values in the nation's tradition of resistance against foreign aggression.

Inspiration which stems from the people, from history is the inspiration of epics. Writers have sought to recreate vast and beautiful scenes. Quite clear is their desire to describe the whole of large scenes, scenes that are epic in scale and space. However, it is also clear that the panorama they paint comes alive when the novelist combines scenes of the future with scenes

of today, combines the description of the overall scene with delving deeply into the fates of a few central characters.

The epic realism in the novels mentioned above lies not only in the vastness of their scale, in the broad expanse of space and time within which they deal. But it can also be seen in a perspective that is elevated and general, in an outlook that combines philosophy, ethics and human life. By combining this elevated view and broad perspective, reality is described in a way that is better focused and more condensed, thus avoiding descriptions that extend over time and the length of events. Today's readers are aware of the burning issues of real life in the various stages of transition to socialism. Therefore, writers on the revolution and war of today not only have the task of recreating reality in a painstaking and meticulous fashion with many sociological and ethnological details, but must also grasp the issues that light the way and illuminate the destiny of man today.

Nguyen Khai continues to display a robust vitality. In the works written by him over the past several years, his intent has not been to recreate large numbers of characters who are part of our history or portray large and beautiful scenes of epic proportions. His "At the End of the Year" and "A Person's Time" have been hailed by the reading public because they combine a number of selected and real issues with the ability to generalize on a high plane while probing the depths of philosophy and psychology, combining stories that have gone down in history with reasoning and the comparison of practice to theory of a contemporary nature. Of course, we should not place sole emphasis upon reflecting reality through deductive reasoning and the comparison of practice to theory. Nor should this method be employed to shun reality and withdraw into self-experimentation, self-excessiveness and self-examination. We respect the personal style and strength of every writer when evaluating and reflecting reality. However, in the case of a literature that has only been in the process of development since the start of this century, a literature whose literary system still contains very few literary models and in whose works many glorious periods of history have yet to be reflected, the task of recognizing and representing reality (particularly the turbulent reality of today) through imagery, through the development of model virtues (particularly models of the new man and woman) ... it still be considered one of the foremost tasks of socialist realism in literature.

We are in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. This is a period of bitter struggle between the two paths. The socialist form that we desire to achieve has yet to become reality; we are still in the process of breaking ground in many areas. Many experiments have not yet been brought to a final conclusion, have yet to be translated into concrete reality. But it is this disorganized and confusing reality, in which there is somewhere between dignity and no dignity, between the perfect and the imperfect, between the light and the lingering dark shadows, as the Chinese proverb says, that is the fertile ground of literature. From this to the extent of the works that go directly to the heart of the basic issues related to life of productive labor, to the mode of economic management and to the economic, technological revolution, thereby contributing positive values to the efforts to solve the burning problems of socialism ("Facing the Sea," "The Future," "Seed for Next Season," "The Blank Paper"...). Such a method and a high sense of

responsibility are the strongpoints of the young writers who are squarely facing the "today" of socialism. Nguyen Manh Tuan, who has courageously attacked negative phenomena (individualism, opportunism, bureaucratic behavior, deception, flattery, ingratiating oneself with others...) with all the skill and spirit of a writer, zealously defends the new and the progressive forces of socialism. By means of political discussion, sharing confidences and engaging in dialogue with the reader, he boldly presents proposals and solutions that sometimes "overflow with romantic enthusiasm" but which, in many cases, are scientifically based and attract the attention of politicians, economists and sociologists. "Seed for Next Season" and "Tram Islet" do not follow the "fashion" of only probing negative phenomena, of giving long-winded and repetitive description of things that disturb and make everyone angry but are not related to the struggle between the two paths and have not become social, philosophical or psychological issues. "Tram Islet" is not a negative story about the Mekong Delta, rather, it depicts the struggle between the two paths, which is indeed a burning issue nationwide. The author has raised the political, economic and cultural problems that are common to every rural region of our country in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism.

We encourage writers to go to places that are progressive and write about progressive persons. But this does not mean that writers are not permitted to write about a weakness in the movement or criticize a host of negative phenomena of an area at a given point in time. We should not think that a writer who does such distorts the realities that exist in an area. The issue here is that the writer must handle this topic with a breadth of vision, must relate the particular to the general, relate narrow circumstances to broader circumstances. This broader background must shed light on and represent the forward trend of the overall movement. Positive characters might be isolated for a time and negative forces might temporarily gain the upper hand but the main theme must be the trend of development of the situation and optimistic confidence in the final victory of reason, good will and justice.

In writing "Tram Islet," Nguyen Manh Tuan thought that he was allowed to make very many "omissions" because "the countryside is not part of his life experience or one of his strengths." This work embraces too many issues, some of which are complex and lie beyond the ability of the author. For this reason, he fails to explain them thoroughly. This happened because he failed to research reality in a truly comprehensive manner and did not take the time to gain a deep understanding of the traditions, customs and life of the people of western Nam Bo. In particular, some matters and details related to Nam Tra prove that the author lacks experience in party work. The reader also sees some rather clear weaknesses in the language and art of expression employed by the author.

The struggle between the two paths is not only a bitter struggle on the economic and political fronts, but also creates deep divisions on the plane of ethics and personal character. While some authors harshly criticize cases of moral decay, the majority have given more attention to molding the perfect socialist character. This is the main theme of "Seed for Next Season," "Shooting Star," "Fall in the Orchard" and numerous short stories by Nguyen Minh Chau, Bui Hien, Vu Tu Nam, Nguyen Kien, Duong Thu Huong...

Nguyen Thi Ngoc Tu completed the draft of "Seed for Next Season" between 1979 and 1983, which was a period fraught with difficulties and complex problems in our political, economic and social life. Many pages of her novel reflect the lives of corrupt cadres, black marketeers and vagrants as well as girls who live a loose and immoral life. There are even opportunists, speculators and persons who live on the backs of their comrades in the field of science. The novel also expresses the concerns of a responsible person as well as suggestions and views concerning an attitude of living a life of faithfulness and ideals, an attitude of uncompromising struggle against that which is ugly and base, an attitude of full confidence in that which is good, in a bright future, in the qualities of the socialist man and woman.

The struggle between the two paths, as reflected in the struggle between the two ways of life, has had a strong impact upon every member of the family. This is the theme of Ma Van Khang's "Fall in the Orchard."

Chu Van's "Shooting Star" evokes love and respect for the young soldiers along the Truong Son Mountain Range, for beautiful, brave and noble persons who lived with affection and devotion to their homeland, their loyal friends and comrades, who dared to charge forth and attack difficulties, dared to sacrifice their lives for the great cause, for social justice. "Shooting Star" also expresses indignation over negative phenomena on the battlefields and in the rear area. The author loudly denounces those who made profits and became wealthy on the flesh and blood of the other members of their unit, on the sweat and tears of their fellow countrymen and comrades. Many pages of "Shooting Star" evoke and overflow with social humanism. Chu Van directs our attention to complex post-war problems. He ardently speaks out for those who have suffered losses and injustices in a life filled with unexpected developments. The losses they have suffered are caused by negative phenomena in society, by prejudices that have existed since ancient times.

"Shooting Star" raises one issue that is deserving of thought. In our country, charity is closely tied to patriotism and the fate of the individual is always closely bound to the fate of the community. If there is no independence for the fatherland, there can be no freedom or happiness for the individual. Under our country's circumstances, the issue of liberating the individual cannot be raised in the simple fashion that it was by bourgeois humanists in the West in the 16th century. It would truly be a mistake for us to think that in the 30 years of war, we only liberated the community, not the individual. We place the community above the individual. Therefore, since 1975, literature has had to focus on the task of liberating the individual. On the other hand, we also should not simply think that following 30 years of war in which we liberated the community, each individual has been totally liberated and the happiness of the individual is complete. Literature must help to solve major problems, the problems that are a matter of survival to the country, to socialism. But it must, at the same time, give attention to the fates of individuals struggling for social justice, for the goals of communist humanism. Because, in the view of Marxism-Leninism, "the liberation of the individual can only occur through the liberation of society" and "society cannot liberate itself without liberating each and every individual"(Engels).

We have carried out the most comprehensive and thorough revolution in the nation's history. This socialist revolution will combine, in a way that is well balanced, mastery by the community with the genuine freedom of the individual. And, on the basis of the essential demands of life, the community must guarantee the full development of personal character, must comprehensively develop the strengths and attitudes of the individual. Perfecting the socialist character has been the theme of some recent short stories. Writers have probed the psychology of characters in order to allow them to shed light on one another or to discover themselves through such things as hearing about or reflecting upon someone's or one's own past life, recalling the most memorable moments in the two wars, beautiful moments that always radiate and shine and become the spiritual basis for the long years that follow ("The Orange in the Palm of the Hand" by Nguyen Kien, "The White Plum" by Do Chu, "Ranking" by Nguyen Minh Chau). Characters quietly take a look at themselves in order to see their true values. They stand face to face with themselves in a self-analysis of their personal character with a view toward achieving a perfect socialist character. This is the case in the short stories "Imagination" by Bui Hien, "The Painting" and "Occupational Scars" by Nguyen Minh Chau, "The Sound of Birds in Spring" and "Living Two Lives" by Vu Tu Nam... These short stories mark a step forward in the development of the style of writers and generally focus on ethical issues. But the perfection of the socialist character is a matter that goes beyond ethics. It is closely related to molding the new, socialist man and woman in the socialist revolution.

Our literature is developing in breadth and depth. We encourage variety in topics and diversity of style and never want to make any one trend the absolute standard. However, it must be admitted that the body of literature on the theme of socialism is still small. We have not produced many works that go directly to the heart of the burning issues of socialism and reflect the bitter struggle between the two paths in the economic, political and other fields of social life. Speaking from the standpoint of creative forces, army writers who participated in the two wars of resistance have an advantage when writing on the revolutionary war. Writers who are older and have spent many years in their craft have an advantage when reasoning and comparing practice to theory from the perspective of 40 years of a life filled with historic changes. Young writers are highly capable of boldly placing themselves on the leading edge of today's turbulent life and contributing their voices to the efforts to solve the pressing problems of the period of transition to socialism.

During the resistance against the United States for national salvation, we heartily applauded works that made a timely appearance, such as "The Clod of Dirt," "The Mother Who Took Up Arms," "The Tracks of the Soldier," "Man and I," "Quang Soil" and "Air Space." Today, it is easy to understand why readers in every region of the country are encouraged and inspired by "Facing the Sea" and "Tram Islet." Literature does not wait for final conclusions. Literature must involve itself in the disorganized and confusing but very rich and interesting "today" of the new socialist life. Literature must not follow behind life. It must be on the frontline of the ideological and cultural front.

Our body of literature still contains very few models of the new socialist man and woman. This is a weakness that must be corrected. Because, developing positive characters and establishing models of the new man and woman are the central task of a strategic nature of socialist realism in literature. Many of our novels (including "Tram Islet") still become bogged down in excessively long dialogues much in the nature of press reports and political discussions and fail to delve deeply into the fates and character, into the psychology and the essence of characters. The new man and woman are still being obscured by a profusion of materials and events or sometimes are turned into spokespersons for the author. Characters, therefore, are onesided in nature and are colored by rationalism or existentialism.

Models of the new man and woman can only be molded from materials that are real in life. However, through the role of the creator, the writer, they become a new entity and assume a new quality compared to the original from which they started. Characters can reflect a local identity but the objective that the author must seek to achieve, molding the new Vietnamese man and woman in the new age, is not a person from Nghe Tinh, from the South, from Nam Bo... Local color can contribute to personalizing the behavior, language and psychology of characters, but it cannot obscure social characteristics that are shared in common, such as the class identity, the national identity and the identity with the current age of the new Vietnamese in the current stage of history. Many novelists have had to add notes to their works warning some readers against comparing the literary model to what exists in society and concluding, on the basis of a few factual details drawn from life, that the author is distorting the persons of their locality. On the other hand, to avoid regrettable misunderstandings, we also should not copy or make composites of persons as they actually exist, rather, we must develop the inventive and creative role played by the model and raise the plane of artistic generalization of the model.

It cannot be said, as some theorists might claim, that the character of man is expressed more genuinely and vividly in ordinary life, family relations and relations with friends than in labor, struggle and relationships in work. However, we also should not focus only on developing models of the new man and woman on the political and economic levels, on the levels of viewpoints and awareness, but must also attach more comprehensive importance to other aspects, such as nationality and religion, society and history, feelings and psychology, consciousness and subconsciousness, etc.

Our country's literature has taken a step forward and recorded enthusiastic achievements since the 3rd Congress of the Writers of Vietnam. The writers of Vietnam are making every effort to create and record achievements to greet the 6th Congress of the Party and commemorate, in practical ways, the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnam Writers Association (1957-1987). Readers are awaiting many works of value from writers, especially works that address the burning problems of socialism and paint clear portraits of the new Vietnamese man and woman in the age of Ho Chi Minh.

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FROM THE FIRST NATIONAL EXHIBIT OF SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 69-72

[Article by Chu Thai Thanh]

[Text] To hail the upcoming 6th Congress of the Party, the First National Exhibit of Scientific-Technical Achievements was recently held in Hanoi. Although only a portion of the results of scientific-technical activities in recent years was presented, this exhibit offered vivid proof of the creativity, practicality and manual skills of the scientific-technical cadres, manual workers and laboring farmers of our country in the cause of building and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

The exhibit presented typical results of key programs in scientific-technical advances on the state, ministerial and sector levels, some results achieved in the application of advanced technology in production within the provinces and municipalities and other typical results of scientific-technical activities: 1,427 projects and products, 972 of which are projects or products that have been developed under programs of ministries and sectors in scientific-technical advances, and 90 technical advances that have been applied in production on the local level. These are results of implementing our party's line on the socialist revolution, of correctly establishing the key position of the scientific-technological revolution and closely tying it to production, everyday life, security and national defense so that science and technology quickly become one of the most important factors strongly stimulating the development of the national economy.

Those who attended the exhibit saw that, in recent years, science and technology have focused and concentrated on meeting the socio-economic goals set by the 5th Party Congress and have gradually tied scientific-technical activities to production with encouraging results. The outstanding achievement recorded in supporting the goal of developing a diversified agriculture was the development and widespread introduction in production of high yield varieties of crops and breeds of livestock. New varieties of rice, corn and such industrial crops as soybeans, peanuts, tea, coffee, rubber and so forth that are resistant to pests and diseases and suited to the ecological conditions of each area have produced high yields. Many advanced techniques of intensive cultivation, the rational scheduling of seasons for each production area and the establishment and application of pest control and crop

production standards are rather widespread in many localities. Advanced livestock production techniques and the production of mixed feed, feed supplements, growth stimulants and so forth have increased the percentage of crossbred commercial hogs from 20 percent of the total hog herd in 1981 to 40 percent in 1985. Due to results achieved in the development of new breeds of fish and in fish breeding techniques, we have been able to provide a full supply of high quality fingerlings to develop pisciculture nationwide. The raising of fish in rafts and in cages, pisciculture in the highlands and the raising and artificially induced spawning of special product species such as shrimp and gold thread seaweed have produced encouraging results. The harvesting of shrimp by means of three-layer winnow nets, technologies in the storage and processing of shrimp and exported marine products and so forth have helped to increase the value of exported marine products.

On the basis of the pressing requirements of production, state-level projects and programs in scientific-technical advances focused on solving the problems of energy, raw materials, fuel and building materials and creating domestic sources. The contributions made by scientific-technical advances in this field have proven to be of very important significance and have made enormous contributions to resolving immediate difficulties and laying the scientific-technical bases for the development of production in future years. These scientific-technical advances are: the successful application of advanced methods in the mining of coal, the exploration, development and refining of oil and gas and the establishment of a steel alloy production line and production lines producing raw and other materials to support the development of agriculture and a number of industrial sectors, such as fertilizers, pesticides, growth stimulants and pure chemicals. Many technical solutions have been applied that have increased the output and improved the quality of primary building materials, such as white cement, well cement, various concrete additives, unbaked bricks and so forth to support the construction of large projects of the country, such as the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant, the Da River Hydroelectric Power Plant, the Thang Long Bridge, the Chuong Duong Bridge, the Hoang Thach Cement Plant...

Science-technology have begun to create new products, new industrial production lines, new equipment and advanced technologies. These are represented by the advances that have been made in researching and learning precision machine technology, injection technology, pressure treating technology and alloy bonding technology. Our country's science-technology have begun to combine traditional technologies with modern technologies, combine advanced technologies of the world with domestic research with the aim of raising the manufacturing standards of machinery and equipment. One clear success has been the establishment of eight lines that produce and recondition high pressure injectors at the rate of tens of thousands of sets per year, thereby promptly meeting the need for these parts in all types of vehicles within the communications-transportation sector.

Besides the results achieved in the manufacture of engines, electric motors, transformers, refrigeration equipment and so forth, more and more products of small industry and the handicraft trades have received the seal of quality for representing a technical advance. Scientific-technical research projects have resulted in the creation from domestic raw materials of many types of special

materials for light industry and the food products industry. Now in production are many products of high quality that meet domestic consumer needs and can be exported, such as paper produced from bagasse and large leaves, various types of plastics, lacquers, glues and perfumes, raw materials for the textile industry, the pottery and ceramic industry...

Scientific-technical programs on the state, department and institute levels have produced a number of achievements. We have begun to research and successfully produce a number of electronic materials, components and pieces of equipment and radio isotopes and begun to research and apply tissue culture technology in biology, thereby making important contributions to supporting production and everyday life, raising crop and livestock yields and protecting the environment and the health of the people. The groundwork has been laid for eventually applying modern technologies of the world.

Hundreds of projects in the research and application of science and technology have played very important roles in protecting the life and improving the health of the people. World and domestic achievements in public health have been widely and effectively applied in our country. These achievements are: microsurgery technology, cornea transplant technology; measures to prevent and control malaria and hemorrhagic fever; the use of acupuncture in medical treatment... Numerous pharmaceutical products made from domestic materials have replaced a large number of pharmaceutical products that once had to be imported. In addition, projects in the research and production of labor safety devices--protective goggles, protective headgear and earplugs--together with technical solutions to the problems of protecting against dust related diseases of the lung and toxic gases have significantly reduced the number of persons being injured or becoming ill. Various forms of organization of public food services and the VAC (truck farming, pisciculture and animal husbandry) ecosystem model have laid the basis for the development of the household economy and, left out supplying additional food products and resolving the food problem of the people.

The above mentioned achievements of science and technology have made significant contributions to resolving our country's economic difficulties in the recent past with the aims of stabilizing and stimulating the development of production, improving the labor productivity, quality and efficiency of production and meeting the party's socio-economic goals.

The First National Exhibit of Scientific-Technical Achievements reflected the constant growth of our country's corps of scientific-technical cadres, which currently consists of some 200 level II professors, 1,183 level I professors, 88 Ph.D.'s, 1,536 M.S.'s and M.A.'s, 117,793 cadres who have a college or academy education and tens of thousands of cadres who have a middle school education and technical workers. The scientific-technical achievements introduced at the exhibit prove that our country's corps of scientific-technical cadres has made noteworthy contributions to supporting production and everyday life, is capable of moving into a number of the newest fields of science and technology and can become the masters of advanced technologies of the world.

But there is a gap between our country's level of scientific-technological development and that of the world. Also, many fields of production and life can be pointed out in which the contributions made by our country's corps of scientific-technical cadres have not been timely and are still very limited. And, some of the blame for these situations lies within this corps itself. However, if we take into consideration the fact that scientific and technical working conditions are still very difficult, the achievements that have been recorded are truly deserving of praise. The fact is that our country's corps of scientific and technical cadres has had to overcome very many difficulties and shortages: investments in science and technology have been low, even compared to the developing countries; many scientific-technical agencies do not have official headquarters; electricity and water supplies have frequently been interrupted; chemicals, materials and equipment have been scarce; prices have changed; living conditions are difficult, benefit policies and systems are inappropriate and so forth. That our country's corps of scientific-technical cadres has continued to conduct research and creative activities with enthusiasm and has recorded scientific achievements and technical advances despite these conditions gives us even greater reason to have confidence in its qualities and capabilities.

From the First National Exhibit of Scientific-Technical Achievements, we also see that the introduction of scientific-technical advances in production, despite much progress in this area, continues to be very limited, is not widespread and has not yielded the desired economic returns. Of course, we cannot consider the scientific-technical achievements presented at the exhibit to be practical realities because some projects are still in the stage of experimental application, some require the continued refinement of technical standards for application on a broad scale, etc. However, it is regrettable that even many research projects that have been evaluated, tested and accepted have still not been applied. Many technical advances that have been successfully applied at a number of places have not been widely applied in production.

There are many reasons for this situation but the basic cause is that the old economic management mechanism has made no pressing demands for the application of scientific-technical advances. This is why, besides the thousands of innovations that have been applied to make technological improvements and rationalize production in recent years, some 3,095 innovations have either not been applied or only been applied on a narrow scope. Our scientific-technical management system is still weak and is unable to closely supervise and inspect the application of advances. The coordination between scientific management agencies and national economic planning agencies is not as close as it should be. Consequently, close ties have not been established between programs and plans. When applied, many programs and projects must be financially self-sufficient. Consequently, conditions that stimulate the application of research results in production are not created.

On the other hand, there have been many programs and projects that have not truly supported the urgent needs of production. As a result, many difficulties have been encountered in selecting the sites at which they should be applied and the scale of their application. Moreover, state funding of programs is usually small and slow to be provided, is marked by much waste, is

not provided on a priority basis and does not provide for the construction of test production units or the development phase of research projects. Meanwhile, our research-development network is still fragmented, lacks balance and coordination, is not distributed in a way that is rational and does not form a sufficiently strong system. This has considerably affected the effort to quickly and widely introduce research results in production.

Another reason is that we have not conducted good scientific-technical informational and propaganda activities. These activities have not been directed toward or competently supported the task of introducing the achievements of scientific-technical research in production. The management of information and propaganda is still decentralized and lacking in coordination. In particular, the dissemination of information on scientific-technical advances to localities and basic units has not been timely or widespread. As a result, we have not stimulated the mass movement to apply science-technology in production and bring about strong changes within the national economy.

We are confident that, on the basis of the achievements that have been recorded and by overcoming the difficulties and shortages being faced, our country's science-technology will become even more deeply involved in the practical aspects of production and everyday life in the years ahead and yield many more practical and larger returns, thereby making positive contributions in carrying out the socio-economic tasks set by the party.

At this exhibit of scientific-technical achievements, large numbers of scientists, production units and persons attending the exhibit enthusiastically responded to and participated in the signing of economic contracts and scientific seminars. This is also a new feature, one designed to provide a broader avenue for applying scientific-technical achievements in production and everyday life. We applaud the exhibit of scientific-technical advances as useful, as being a bridge between research and production, one that creates the conditions for stimulating the stronger development of our country's economy.

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CULTURE AND INFORMATION ACTIVITIES AT THE MARKETS IN THE BORDER HIGHLAND AREAS
OF HOANG LIEN SON PROVINCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 73-77

[Article by Tran Nam]

[Text] Hoang Lien Son Province has 12 outdoor markets in the highland areas along the border. These markets are located in practically all district seats and population centers. Each market session is attended by anywhere from 3,000 to 8,000 persons. Although they differ in size and are held at different times, the markets in the highland border areas of Hoang Lien Son share the following characteristics:

These markets are not only centers of economic trade, they are also centers where persons make contact with one another, exchange feelings and exchange news.

The ethnic minorities of the highland border areas in Hoang Lien Son live in very rugged terrain. For the most part, they reside on plateaus some 1,000 to 1,600 meters above sea level. These plateaus are divided by very many mountains and numerous streams. As a result, it is difficult to develop communications. The ethnic minorities live a rather isolated life. However, they do not choose to live alone. To the contrary, they have a constant desire to develop close ties and friendships with others, express their feelings and find persons who share their feelings. These feelings of theirs are deep and warm. They feel an obligation to always look after and assist one another in life. At the same time, the customs of the Hmong, Dao and Ha Nhi who live in the highland areas prohibit members of the same clan from marrying one another. But only a few clans live in each village. As a result, a rather large number of young men and women must make their way across passes and streams to find companions at places far away. A young woman's ties to her own family as well as in-law relations are very close and require frequent contacts and visits. But because communications are underdeveloped and residences are very widely scattered, these visits are very few in number. The highland villages virtually live in a closed environment. Although there are contacts between villages, these contacts are not regular. Thus, only the market provides an open environment--a very good environment for social intercourse. The market is a place where large numbers of persons

from practically every village in the area come together. The Bac Ha Market (Bac Ha District) is attended not only by persons from the nine villages around the district, but also by persons from Si Ma Cai and Muong Khuong as well as from Xin Man in Ha Tuyen Province. The market has truly become a place where information on the situation, family news and news of the village, locality and country are exchanged, where young men and women meet and spend time together, where elderly folks meet and visit with one another.

The highland market is also a center of cultural activity that meets the cultural and entertainment needs of the people.

Living by themselves in isolated villages and performing the same work season after season, the members of the ethnic minorities look forward to the sessions of their market as a time of fun and interesting entertainment. They go to the market to see cock fights, horse races, archery contests, trampoline acts and so forth. As Tet approaches, these games become increasingly numerous at market sessions. Not content to be a passive audience, viewers actively participate in these games and contests. They compete with everything they have to see who is best at playing the pan-flute or hurl themselves onto the trampoline and fly off into the air amidst spirited voices singing in harmony.

But market sessions not only involve rollicking play on trampolines and soft, melodic sounds of folk music. They also offer a profusion of colorful cultural products. Tay girls cordially invite you to buy attractive brocade purses with images drawn in glittering ornamental stitching. Nung women sell sophisticated pieces of jewelry depicting fish and birds. An entire corner of the market is suddenly filled with the stirring sounds of guitars, bamboo flutes, pan-flutes and oboes being played by talented Hmong boys to advertise their unique ethnic instruments. The market is the place where cultural products are exchanged. It moves members of the ethnic minorities to create new products that are more beautiful and durable.

From the needs of those who attend markets to socialize, learn things and enjoy themselves, various forms of traditional cultural activities have emerged that give the highland markets their special characteristic: the market is the cultural center. From market sessions, we can gain a clear understanding of the cultural needs of the ethnic minorities and their traditional forms of cultural activities.

The markets in the highland border areas of Hoang Lien Son are considered by the reactionaries within ruling circles in Beijing to be a place for them to infiltrate and engage in sabotage.

Hoang Lien Son shares a 240 kilometer border with China. Following their tragic defeat in February 1979, the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists launched a wide-ranging war of sabotage against our country. Besides encroaching upon our territory, inserting intelligence agents and commandoes and attempting to foment insurrections, they have also been waging an intense psychological war. Large numbers of reactionary leaflets and cultural products are continuously being sent into the border areas of Hoang Lien Son from Mengla, Kinbing and Hekou. Many 400 to 600 watt loudspeaker systems are

aimed at Bac Ha, Muong Khuong, Lao Cai, Bao Thang and Bat Xat. These loudspeakers are in operation day and night, broadcasting programs designed to provoke and foment insurrection and undermine the solidarity between the army and the people, undermine our national solidarity. Because they know the characteristics of the highland border markets well, the Chinese reactionaries have made these markets their main area of activity. Together with opening scores of markets of their own along the border, where they use goods to buy the allegiance of and win over fellow countrymen and soldiers of ours, they have also secretly infiltrated our markets to conduct whisper campaigns, spread provocative propaganda, slander our party and state, say bad things about our markets and praise the markets of China to draw fellow countrymen and soldiers of ours to their markets while forbidding their people to attend markets in Vietnam... And, it must be admitted that they did manage to achieve a number of results when they first started to employ these tactics.

In the face of the realities described above, the Hoang Lien Son culture and information sector, under the guidance of the provincial party committee, the provincial people's committee and the Ministry of Culture, decided to intensify culture and information activities at the highland border markets with the aims of meeting the rising cultural, emotional, recreational and entertainment needs of the members of the ethnic minorities who live in the highland areas along the border. In the process, it is necessary to teach them love of their birthplace and country, confidence in our party and state and pride in the fine traditions of their birthplace and ethnic group, build stronger solidarity among the ethnic groups and between the armed forces and the people and render the counter-propaganda of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists ineffective.

The necessity to introduce culture and information activities at the highland markets along the border is very clear and cannot be argued. However, in order for these activities to produce high results, painstaking and detailed research must be conducted to determine which themes and modes of activity are most appropriate.

The needs of the persons who attend markets have no limits and are constantly developing as their living conditions develop. These needs are usually interwoven and grow with each passing day. Therefore, culture and information activities at market are integrated activities but consist primarily of the following: motivational information; literature-art and games-entertainment; and cultural services.

Of these activities, motivational information activities are the most important because, in the highlands, very large numbers of persons attend markets. In addition, these persons come from practically every village in the area. After only one market session, information is spread rapidly throughout the area.

At present, the large markets in the highland border areas of Hoang Lien Son have a wired radio office, and exhibit room, a film projection room and clusters of motivational panels to support information and propaganda work. During market sessions, everyone hears concise, easily understood news reports on the world situation, the domestic situation, the local situation and even

the situation of their own villages over the wired radio network. Also over the loudspeaker system, they hear familiar songs and tunes of their ethnic group.

The films shown at the markets are usually documentary-current events films or feature films that relate to the life and combat of our soldiers and fellow countrymen among the highland ethnic groups. The films selected to be shown at markets are short, concise films that can be shown many times during one market session to many different audiences.

At the highland markets in past years, food stands (selling condensed soup, sour noodles, cricket eggs and so forth) became centers where news was passed on, mainly by "whispers and word of mouth." Today, this form of communication still plays a large role. The one special aspect of this spreading of news by "whispers" is that the person telling the news and the person listening must know each other. The Hoang Lien Son Culture and Information Service has instructed the culture-information offices of the highland districts in how to make full and good use of this way of spreading news. A network of propagandists that extends into all highland villages has been established. Collaborators are instructed in the themes and requirements of propaganda during each period. As a result, they are very effective in spreading news by "whisper" during market sessions.

In the past, literary and art activities at the markets in the highland border areas of Hoang Lien Son were limited to love songs sung by a man and a woman. Today, the persons who attend markets also want to conduct traditional literary-art activities that go beyond their geographical boundaries, beyond the boundaries of their organization. They want to present the distinctive cultural values of their ethnic group or village at places crowded with people, such as the markets. They want to "show off local talents" and also want to see the talents of other places through performances at the markets. To meet this need, there has also emerged at markets outdoor theaters--places where shows are performed by artists, literature-art units and even persons attending the market. They are both the audience and performers. This form of art not only meets a portion of the need to be the master of spiritual values, to discover and create new values, but also satisfies the art appreciation and entertainment needs of our fellow countrymen and soldiers.

There are now more games at the markets than previously. Today, persons attending markets see not only club throwing contests, horse races, archery contests and trampoline exhibitions, but also electronic games and magic tricks with explanations of how they are performed. Magic tricks with explanations and instructions are liked by the ethnic minorities very much and have a very good educational effect. What they see is not a sorcerer but only the talents of a performer. On seeing these magic tricks, many sorcerers have written letters to the administration saying that they are quitting their craft and the persons of the ethnic minorities have gained increasing confidence in science.

A system of cultural services has also been established within the highland markets. On market days, book stores sell appropriate books and brightly colored paintings and photographs suited to the tastes of the people of the

highlands. Troops coming down to markets can buy attractive envelopes to send letters to their relatives at home far away. Hmong boys can buy pan-flutes and flutes at reasonable prices at cultural products counters. The photography needs of troops and ethnic youths are also immediately met at photography studios located within or near markets or adjacent to places of scenic beauty in the highlands.

At markets, attention is also being given to promoting the activities of the new way of life. Markets have been scientifically planned and neatly arranged in individual areas: a field to tie up horses, a place to sell livestock, food stands and product stands. Disease prevention sanitation work has been rather intensely promoted. Additional public sanitation systems have been constructed around markets...

Introducing cultural and information activities at the markets in the highland areas along the border is a correct policy. Because the themes and forms of these activities are quite creative, they have produced good results.

They actively contribute to meeting the cultural and spiritual needs of our fellow countrymen in the highland areas along the border. The persons who attend markets are able to express their feelings, find persons who share their feelings and learn information on the country's situation, the locality's situation and their neighbors and relatives. They not only enjoy culture, but also have an opportunity to participate in cultural activities, to create cultural values and assert themselves. With this, the mass literature and art movement at basic units has also intensified, because this is what needs to happen in order to be fully capable of "showing off local talents."

As a result of conducting good cultural and information work at markets, the cultural intercourse among the fraternal ethnic minorities in the highlands has been expanded and the closeness and solidarity among ethnic groups as well as the solidarity between the armed forces and the people have been strengthened. More than a few young couples have married after spending time together at several market sessions. Today, it is not rare for a soldier from the lowlands to fall in love with a girl from the mountains, for a Hmong boy to show affection for a Tay girl or for a Nung girl to marry a Tu Di boy. And, what could be more moving than to see troops dressed in their neat green uniforms participate in the traditional dance of the Hmong beside Hmong girls in their colorful dress and even see forestry specialists from the far off land of the Soviet Union join hands with Pa Di girls and dance to the stirring sounds of "Pi Le" trumpets...

The cultural and information activities at markets have also made significant contributions to establishing the new way of life among the people. They have raised the level of knowledge of the persons who attend markets and, with this, have given them greater confidence in science. There has been a marked decline in superstitious practices in the mountain villages. Attention has also been given to promoting disease prevention sanitation work. Heavy drinking and drunkenness around the sour noodle stands have virtually disappeared. The once all-too-frequent scene in evenings following market sessions of a husband, his breath smelling of alcohol, drooping over his horse

as his wife carries a baby on her back and grasps the horse's tail as it climbs the slopes taking the husband back to their village is now a rarity. Conversely, scenes of a husband and wife sitting on the same horse, of a young man holding a parasol to protect his wife from the hot sun, of a young woman leaning against her husband's chest smiling contentedly, once the scenes of dreams, are now commonplace.

Of greater importance is the fact that through market sessions, the citizens of the highlands have acquired much more confidence in our party and system. In films, they have seen the Da River being dammed, seen the huge Thang Long Bridge being built across the Red River, seen the tank of our army that bravely broke through the iron gate of the presidential palace of the Saigon puppet regime... They understand that such remarkable things could not have been accomplished without the party. In films and through news that they receive, the people of the highlands have also learned about the very barbarous crimes committed by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. This has made them even more vigilant against the enemy's counter-propaganda allegations. The movement to not listen to Chinese radio, not look at Chinese picture magazines, not to read Chinese leaflets, not to attend Chinese markets, not to use Chinese psychological warfare goods and not to use Chinese medicine is widespread in practically every area along the border and has been responded to and voluntarily carried out by large numbers of the people.

The Hoang Lien Son culture-information sector has begun to gain some experience as it has intensified culture and information activities at the markets in the highland areas along the border.

Most deserving of attention is that the themes and forms of culture and information activities at markets must truly be compatible with the persons for whom they are intended and the special characteristics of the highland areas along the border. Our fellow countrymen there prefer to view short, easily understood films that are related to their lives and like to attend folk literature and art activities. Socio-psychological films and kinds of art that are scholarly in nature, such as opera and ballet, which require that the audience have a high level of education and high aesthetic standards are not suited to highland areas.

It is necessary to successfully establish a strong corps of culture-information activists at basic units to serve as the nuclei of culture and information activities at markets. To do this, these activities must be conducted under programs that are well developed and are wholesome and practical in content.

Efforts must be made to build at markets, particularly large markets, the minimum cultural facilities that are needed, such as an outdoor theater, a wired radio office, a film projection room, an exhibit room, a bookstore, a photography store and a cultural products store, because these are material bases that are necessary for culture and information activities. Without these bases, culture-information activities at markets will be very limited.

There must also be close coordination among the various sectors, particularly between the cultural sector and the education sector, the public health sector

and the armed forces. In order for a market to be considered a model of civilization, in addition to being the scene of rich and wholesome culture-information activities, it must be closely managed from the standpoint of the market and prices, sanitation and neatness and the maintenance of order and security. These cannot be provided by the culture-information sector alone.

At some point in the future, when communications have been strongly developed in the highland areas and every basic unit has all the cultural facilities it requires to fully meet the cultural needs of the people, culture-information activities at the markets in the highlands will disappear as they have done at many markets in the lowlands. However, under present conditions the culture-information activities being conducted at the markets in the highlands, markets which serve as the cultural center of an entire area, continue to be very necessary and must continue to be promoted.

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THE NGHE-TINH SOVIETS WILL LIVE FOREVER!

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 78-82

[Article by The Tap]

[Text] The period of the Nghe-Tinh Soviets was the first of the very brilliant and glorious periods of struggle of our party. The Nghe-Tinh Soviets were the first epic of the revolutionary movement in Indochina and Southeast Asia. Although they only lasted from September 1930 to June 1931, the Nghe-Tinh Soviets still live and will live forever in the great revolutionary cause of our party and people!

The 1930-1931 nationwide revolutionary movement varied in intensity among the country's three regions. But without this nationwide movement, the pinnacle that was the Nghe-Tinh Soviets could not have been reached. Therefore, the conditions that gave rise to the Nghe-Tinh movement were inseparably linked to those that gave rise to the nationwide revolutionary movement. However, the two provinces of Nghe An and Ha Tinh possessed certain special characteristics and unique conditions that caused this movement to reach a much higher level of development and be much stronger than at many other places.

Living under the very tyrannical yoke of exploitation and oppression of the imperialists and their lackeys, the feudalists and landowners, living under crowded conditions amidst many mountainous forests and depleted farmland and constantly facing the threat of drought, typhoons or flooding, the people of Nghe-Tinh were very poor. But, Nghe-Tinh was a place with a tradition of courageous struggle against foreign aggression. The people in the districts of Thanh Chuong, Anh Son, Nam Dan and so forth had once united as the "household" faction to struggle against the "bully" faction, that is, the village leaders. Nghe-Tinh had favorable conditions for establishing a direct alliance between manual workers and peasants because Vinh-Ben Thuy was the largest industrial center in northern Annam at that time. Nghe-Tinh, in general, and Vinh-Ben Thuy, in particular, were also given special attention and directly led by the Party Central Committee. The basic units of the party in Nghe-Tinh were quite strong. The Trade Union, the Peasants' Association, the Women's Union, the Youth Union and so forth had also been organized at an early date. These were the decisive and immediate conditions behind the revolutionary movement in Nghe-Tinh.

This revolutionary movement began on the 1 May 1930 anniversary of International Labor Day with the outbreak of two large struggles by workers and peasants. The first was a demonstration and march by some 1,200 workers at the factories in Vinh and Ben Thuy and peasants from the villages of Yen Dung, Loc Da, Duc Thinh and An Hau in the two districts of Hung Nguyen and Nghi Loc. Military inspectors and factory owners ruthlessly suppressed this struggle, shooting 7 persons to death and injuring 18 others in Ben Thuy. This was followed by the struggle of peasants in the two villages of Hanh Lam and Yen Lac in Thanh Chuong District, who marched on and sacked the plantation of the evil landowner Ky Vien. Later, enemy troops arrived and, in a campaign of terror, shot 18 persons to death and wounded 20 others...

Following 1 May 1930, the mass movement developed rapidly in Nghe An and spread to Ha Tinh: 23 strikes by workers in Vinh-Ben Thuy, 28 struggles by peasants in Nghe An and 7 struggles by peasants in Ha Tinh.

In late August 1930, the movement reached its pinnacle. Numerous noisy demonstrations by thousands and tens of thousands of persons, their spirits soaring and determined to wage bitter struggle, broke out one after the other. This pinnacle began with the two struggles by 3,000 peasants in Nam Dan District on 30 August and 20,000 peasants in Thanh Chuong District on 1 September. In the 10 districts of Nghe An and Ha Tinh Provinces, there were 34 district-wide demonstrations. Many demonstrations and marches were staged by the masses to declare that they did not recognize the enemy's administration. In Nam Dan, Thanh Chuong, Can Loc, Cam Xuyen, Ky Anh and other districts, they marched on the district seat and, using violent force, sacked the prison, released everyone being detained and burned prison files. In Thanh Chuong District, they even set fire to and destroyed the district office and the residence of the district chief and surrounded the post of the green loincloth troops. They destroyed the telegraph station at the Hung Nguyen Railroad Station, destroyed the liquor stores of the imperialists in the districts of Nam Dan, Thanh Chuong, Nghi Loc and so forth. Many demonstrations also marched on the cantons and villages to intimidate and punish the "Ly Nhan" Party, which consisted of powerful landowners and had been set up by the imperialists to oppose the communist party. In September 1930, of the 153 peasant demonstrations that occurred nationwide, 115 took place in Annam (94 of which occurred in Nghe-Tinh). In Nam Dan District, some 30,000 persons (80 percent of the district's population) participated in a general demonstration and show of strength. The peasant movement was strongest in Annam. In 1930, the Peasant Association has 15,000 members in Cochin China. In Annam, membership rose to 65,000 persons.

All the large-scale demonstrations mentioned above were rather thoroughly and closely organized and led by the various party committee echelons and protected by self-defense units armed with swords and sticks. The masses displayed a very high spirit of struggle and sacrifice and a very strict sense of organization and discipline. For example, when they sacked and set fire to the residence of the district chief and liquor shops, not one person took one plaster or drank one mouthful of liquor....

In the face of the surging mass movement, many district chiefs fled in panic or surrendered. Many village officials turned in their seal of office to the

Peasant Association and submitted their resignation. With the enemy's administration having been shattered in the countryside, the executive committees of the Red Peasant Association (then called the Village Peasant Organization and Hamlet Peasant Organization) took over the management of the countryside and served the function of a revolutionary administration of the people. Against this background, soviet administrations came into being in many villages in Nghe An and Ha Tinh. On 5 November 1930, Nguyen Ai Quoc promptly reported to the Peasant International: "In a number of Red villages, peasant soviets have been established."⁽¹⁾ In late September 1930, the Party Central Committee sent the following instructions to the Annam Regional Party Committee: "Those places that have already established soviets must conduct thorough political training so that wealthy, poor and middle peasants fully support the soviet and view it as their own administration."⁽²⁾ The enemy's press also had to acknowledge: "In the rural areas of northern Annam, the soviets have organized their own administrative power."⁽³⁾ At that time, it was the opinion of some that these scattered revolts in a few localities were premature, were spontaneous. This thinking was incorrect because all the large mass demonstrations had been led by the various party committee echelons and, in the course of the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement and the development of the Nghe-Tinh Soviets, the Annam Regional Party Committee did not advocate coordinated uprisings to seize political power. V.I. Lenin pointed out: "According to the scientific definition of the term, we can only use the word 'spontaneous' when a plan for coordinated uprisings is only the plan of a handful of conspirators or someone who has lost his mind and when this plan is not supported by the masses... If, in the great war of liberation fought by the proletariat for socialism, we had not known how to use every popular movement against the personal calamities caused by imperialism with the aim of exacerbating and widening the crisis, we would have been very poor revolutionaries..."

"...It is only through revolutionary movements that are untimely, solitary, scattered and, as a result, defeated that the masses gain experience, learn lessons, assemble forces, recognize who their genuine leaders are, that is, the socialist proletarians and, as a result, prepare for the general offensive, just as the separate strikes, the demonstrations in the cities or nationwide, the mutinies, the peasant uprisings and so forth were preparations for the 1905 general offensive."⁽⁴⁾ Thus, the Nghe-Tinh Soviets were the first of several preparatory steps that led to the brilliant victory of the August general uprising in 1945.

The Nghe-Tinh Soviets were the highpoint of the movement nationwide. They inspired and stimulated the development of the nationwide movement to a new level and caused the Communist International to attentively follow and guide the Nghe-Tinh Soviets movement. The International and a number of fraternal parties promptly wrote letters of encouragement and support, praising the achievements of our party and offering opinions to our party on how to lead, maintain and develop the revolutionary movement in Indochina. As a result of these outstanding achievements, our party was quickly recognized by the 11th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (April 1931) as a chapter of equal standing with the fraternal parties.

The Nghe-Tinh Soviets were known throughout the world. The working class and laboring people of many countries expressed their sympathy and support for these soviet administrations.

The Nghe-Tinh Soviets also exerted a profound influence among our people, enhanced and spread the prestige of our party and gave the masses increased confidence in the party's correct leadership.

These soviet administrations were born in the cradle of revolutionary struggle by the masses. Having been given democratic freedoms by their revolutionary administration, the masses waged a determined struggle to protect their administration, without concern for hardships, without fear of loss of life. In practically every demonstration, persons were killed, wounded and arrested and sentenced to 5 to 10 years in prison at hard labor. The French imperialists ruthlessly terrorized the movement, submerging it in a sea of blood. In Hung Nguyen District, French aircraft dropped bombs on one demonstration, killing 171 peasants. In Thanh Chuong District, 103 persons were shot to death at one time. In Nghe An Province alone, 393 persons were killed in seven demonstrations. Many villages were burned to the ground. Despite the bayonets, grenades and machine guns, demonstrations led by armed self-defense forces marched on district seats to struggle against the campaign of terror or surrounded enemy posts to protest the enemy's destruction of villages, protest the establishment of army posts... When the enemy opened fire killing hundreds of persons, the masses continued to charge forward. Later, they would return to their villages and hold a meeting to conduct funeral ceremonies for those who had died and prepare for the next struggle. When one village was terrorized, another rose in demonstration. The Red self-defense forces in villages where the movement was strong went to the assistance of the masses in villages where the movement was weak in order to punish the village bullies. The party committees mobilized the masses to struggle against the malicious schemes and tactics of the enemy, such as calling for surrender, issuing loyalty cards, organizing gold flag parades, etc. Under the direction of party members, the masses exposed the enemy's dual policy: bloody terror combined with enticements and trying to buy the people's allegiance...

The people of Nghe-Tinh were not alone in their struggle against the enemy to defend their revolutionary administrations. In response to the appeal made by the Party Central Committee, the masses at many places throughout the country launched struggles to support Red Nghe-Tinh. In Saigon, Cao Lanh, Sa Dec and other places, there were many large meetings and demonstrations involving a show of armed force, the most powerful struggles of which were the demonstration that resulted in Cho Lon's city hall being sacked and the files there being burned and the struggle to expose the members of the "constitutional" party, lackeys of the imperialists, who were demanding that the French government ruthlessly suppress the revolution. Many large struggles also took place in Hue. In Quang Ngai, peasants arose in struggle in three districts and the Duc Pho district seat was taken over for 2 hours. Hanoi, Haiphong, Nam Dinh, Hon Gai and Cam Pha seethed with meetings, demonstrations, strikes, class boycotts... Most violent of all was the demonstration by peasants in Tien Hai District in Thai Binh Province.

The fact that the soviet administrations remained in existence for many months was due to the unyielding spirit of the people of Nghe-Tinh, "particularly the communist militants leading the revolt, who displayed unequalled bravery in the face of the massacres carried out by the imperialists"(5), typical among whom was Nguyen Phong Sac, member of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee and secretary of the Branch Office of the Central Committee in Annam. An outstanding leader, he bravely sacrificed his life in May 1931 at the Song Loc army post in Cua Hoi. At the same time, this fact was also due to the intense struggle waged by the masses throughout the country to support Red Nghe-Tinh.

The people of Nghe-Tinh along with the people of the rest of the country will forever remember the enormous achievements recorded by the soviet administrations in the political, military, economic, cultural and social fields:

1. They established a worker-peasant dictatorship under the leadership of the party and stripped the landowners and village bullies of all political power. They established total equality between men and women. Women and youths elected their own representatives to participate in the administration. The soviets implemented democratic freedoms and held political classes to provide a universal political education and instruction in communist books and newspapers to the laboring people. They abolished forced labor, the market tax, the ferry tax and high interest loans. They forced landowners to reduce land rents, confiscated public lands and distributed them to poor peasants, liquidated public funds, took paddy from landowners to fight hunger...

2. They abolished the "civil guard" organization of the enemy administration and established Red self-defense units and armed suicide units. They established revolutionary people's courts to punish landowners and village bullies and try espionage agents, members of the "Ly Nhan party" and other counter-revolutionary elements.

3. They established rural communes in a number of localities, organized the people in production, in repairing roads, digging wells, building dikes, combating drought, etc.

4. They arranged for the people to learn the national language. They drafted agreements on mutual assistance and aid, weddings and funerals based on the new way of life. They established Red Relief Associations to assist the victims of terror, build new homes for families whose homes were burned and destroyed by the enemy and distribute money and goods to assist unemployed laborers. They forbade theft, the smoking of opium, gambling, prostitution, vagrancy, etc.

Although the soviet administrations did not remain in existence for very long and although 55 years have passed, the people of Nghe-Tinh still remember the precious, priceless rights brought to them by the soviet administrations, still hold deeply in their hearts the image of the sacred red flag and sickle fluttering in the air, still hear the stirring sounds of the drums of the soviets in their birthplace.

In 1960, when the Department of Research on Party History of the Party Central Committee (now the Party History Institute) solicited the opinions of President Ho Chi Minh concerning the research and compilation of materials on the Nghe-Tinh Soviets, he pointed out: "To research and compile materials on the Nghe-Tinh Soviets, you must study the correct views of Karl Marx concerning the Paris Commune." In an article entitled "The Thirty Years of Activity of the Party," President Ho Chi Minh expressed a high evaluation of the achievements and historic significance of the Nghe-Tinh Soviets: "From its very inception, our party organized and led a large and strong mass movement, one unprecedented in our country--the 1930 Nghe-Tinh Soviets movement. The mass of workers and peasants of the two provinces of Nghe An and Ha Tinh arose, threw off the rule of the imperialists and feudalists, established worker-peasant-soldier soviet administrations and declared democratic freedoms for the laboring people.

Although the French imperialists submerged this movement in a sea of blood, the Nghe-Tinh Soviets demonstrated the glorious spirit and the revolutionary capabilities of the laboring people of Vietnam. The movement, although defeated, forged forces for the subsequent victorious August Revolution."(6)

FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien Dang,"[Party Documents], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Party Central Committee, (Hanoi), 1978, Volume 1930-1935, p 173.
2. Ibid., p 59.
3. OPINION Newspaper, 12 December 1930.
4. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, 1981, Volume 30, pp 68-72.
5. Excerpt from "Du thao phong trao cong san o Dong duong" [Draft on the Communist Movement in Indochina] by Hong The Cong (document on file at the archives of the Office of the Party Central Committee).
6. TAP CHI HOC TAP, No 1, 1960, p 2.

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IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES: THE 'YES-MAN'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese, No 9, Sep 86 pp 83-85

[Article by Vu Dung]

[Text] At present, more than a few persons within our corps of cadres and party members are afflicted with the malady of being a "yes-man." This malady's most notable symptoms are the lack of a definite and clear attitude toward some thing or phenomenon; a way of speaking that is ambiguous, equivocal and dy members are afflicted with the malady of being a "yes-man." This malady's most notable symptoms are the lack of a definite and clear attitude toward some thing or phenomenon; a way of speaking that is ambiguous, equivocal and difficult to understand; failing to support that which is correct and oppose that which is wrong; and a "whatever you say is right" attitude.

However, "yes-men" are of many different types, many different shades and degrees and are even different in the ways that they are "yes-men." Some manifestations of the "yes-man" malady are ordinary and seen in everyday life; some are serious and reflected in work, in qualities and ethics, etc.

There are some persons who, in their everyday relations and dealings with others, sometimes just "go along" with the way things are done or "overlook little things" in order to maintain an atmosphere of harmony! For example, a person who does not believe in superstitions might still shake his head "yes" when his future father-in-law says "we must select an auspicious date for your wedding." In this case, were the future son-in-law to take a rigid "stard" and "declare war" on the father of the woman he is about to marry, he would certainly not be doing the "wise" thing and might even ruin the larger relationship.

But what needs to be addressed here is not these ordinary kinds of "yes-men," but those kinds that reflect individualism and opportunism in relations on the job, in internal relations and in the criticism and self-criticism struggle.

In their work, "yes-men" are generally irresponsible and inconsistent. They say one thing today but something else tomorrow. Regardless of what others say to them, their comment is always "yes." Their attitude is equivocal toward everything. They do not dare to display a resolute attitude, make a

decision, take action or assume responsibility. When evaluating their unit, one moment they say it is strong, the next that it is weak. When evaluating personnel, they tell one person that someone is good, but tell another person that he is not. When participating in a job, they both endorse and oppose what is being done...

Allow me to present a few examples:

At a certain agency, an organization cadre is attending a meeting to consider raises for agency cadres and personnel. He nods his head in agreement when he hears the Trade Union secretary say: "Your suggestion that T. be given a raise is quite reasonable because he is a hard worker and has been on the job for nearly 5 years." But, immediately thereafter, when the chief of the agency, who is presiding over the meeting, expresses his thoughts concerning T. and asks the organization cadre whether he would agree to postpone a raise for T., he replies without hesitating: "Sir, if you say we must, then I agree." Thus, never leaving the same spot and within the space of only a few moments, he easily changes his mind, as quickly as the flash of an eye!

A lower level cadre meeting with an upper level cadre completely supports every opinion expressed by him and praises at great length the "clearsighted guidance" being provided by the chief. But, when he returns to his unit and finds that certain persons there have a different opinion, he reverts to "style" and differs with the policy of the upper level.

In the struggle to build our organization internally, "yes-men" usually look for a way to stand in between two opposing points of view. They can support the side that is right as well as the side that is wrong and criticize both equally. They can also neither support or oppose either side or choose to flatter both sides with the aim of ingratiating themselves with each. There are also persons who, when meeting with one side and in order to gain their favor, speak poorly about the other side. Then, when they meet with the other side, they do the same thing again, thus causing internal instability, disharmony and mutual suspicions.

Thus, it is these incompetent "yes-men," no one else, and their "two-faced" actions who cause internal divisions and a serious lack of unity and do nothing at all to build the organization internally. This lack of internal unity results in leadership which lacks strength, reduces the confidence of the lower level and the masses and, in the end, prevents the unit's political task from being completed.

Cadres and party members who are afflicted by the "yes-man" malady have caused much harm. When leadership cadres and cadres in charge of units are afflicted with this malady, the scope and extent of the harm caused are even greater. Because, if a leadership cadre is not consistent in his evaluation of the unit, is not clearcut and decisive in the setting of policies, the lower level lacks the correct guidelines needed to go about its work with enthusiasm and confidence.

Of course, in the face of an objective reality that is exceedingly broad, complex and constantly changing, not everyone can immediately see what the

truth is in order to immediately adopt a clearcut attitude. Poor comprehension skills and poorly developed methods of thinking are frequently the cause of the "yes-man" attitude. Because they are unable to discern right from wrong and good from bad, these persons say "yes" to whatever anyone says to them. But the serious side of this problem is the "yes-man" phenomenon that stems from causes related to thinking and ethics, from individualism and opportunism.

V.I. Lenin analyzed the traits of opportunists as follows: "They are unclear, vague and cannot be understood. Due to their nature, opportunist factions always avoid clear and unequivocal issues, always take the middle course and twist like a snake to keep themselves in between two opposing points of view. They find a way to 'agree' with both this view and the other." (1) The 5th Congress of our party also pointed out: "From the standpoint of ideological views, opportunists have no principles; from the standpoint of theory, they are sophistic; and, in their actions, they are pragmatic." (2)

But the opportunist "yes-man" does not stop at an attitude that is vague, unclear and equivocal, but frequently doublecrosses others and does a 180 degree turnabout to further his selfish personal interests. He makes his way on the backs of persons of position and authority. He heartily praises and says "yes" to whatever the "chief" decides, be it right or wrong. He employs flattery, grovels, blows in the wind, always says what the "chief" wants to hear and does everything for the sole purpose of pleasing the "chief." Sometimes, he even bestows gifts and presents and "greases the palm" to please the "chief." Regrettably, there are some persons who like this flattery and thus give shelter to the opportunist.

But they better watch out! Opportunist elements have no loyalties. Once the situation changes and the "umbrella" that was protecting them is taken away, they are ready to abandon you without so much as a second thought. Then, they immediately change their tactics and scramble to find a way to attach themselves to the backs of the new persons in power while ready to "stab in the back" those persons whose praises they sung to the sky only yesterday!

Besides the "yes-man" attitude, something must also be said about the "do-nothing" attitude of more than a few cadres and party members. These persons are not interested in how turbulent life is. They ignore what others say and do. They either do not want to know or know but say nothing. They feel that saying something does no good, does not change the situation or only serves to bring them problems. When "you struggle, you must avoid the repercussions," they feel. Their guideline is "silence is the best policy."

This "do-nothing" attitude is not synonymous with the "yes-man" attitude because it does not involve the same duplicity or ingratiating behavior. However, it is the close ally of the "yes-man" attitude. It is similar to the "yes-man" attitude in that both are vague and equivocal about what is right and wrong and both stem from individualism.

Here, however, the distinction must be made between "yes-men" and cadres and party members who display a mature and cautious attitude in their thinking and work. In the face of new events and complex developments in the situation,

these persons avoid judgements that are hasty and shallow, avoid rash decisions and avoid speaking carelessly. Instead, they think things through and carefully weigh many different aspects before stating their view. This attitude is very much needed and should be encouraged. It is the complete opposite of the "yes-man" attitude criticized above.

In summary, being a "yes-man" is not a phenomenon that is rare in life. There are different kinds of "yes-men." The most reprehensible kind is the "yes-man" attitude that stems from individualism and opportunism. This syndrome has caused much harm in our work, in internal relations and also caused the qualities of some cadres and party members to erode.

The best ways to prevent and cure the malady of being a "yes-man" are to cultivate and improve the comprehension skills, method of thinking, knowledge and job skills of cadres and party members while waging a determined struggle against everything that reflects individualism and opportunism.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, 1979, Volume 8, p 476.
2. "Van kien Dai hoi V,"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 65.

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LETTER TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD, AFFECTION FOR THE PEOPLE--DEVOTION TO THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 86-88

[Letter from Thanh Tam, the municipality of Hue]

[Text] The Vietnamese revolution has given birth to a great sentiment, affection for the people-devotion to the party. Uncle Ho worked and our entire party and all our people have worked to make this sentiment increasingly deep, lasting and beautiful. The history of our country's revolution will forever record this strong sentiment.

Our party was born in the revolutionary movement of the masses. It has organized and led our people in fighting and winning victories. With the party, we have everything: independence, freedom, cropland, food and clothing, education and the freedom to pursue happiness. The party has fought for the people. During its period of clandestine activity, the party endured every hardship and sacrifice. But no matter how great these hardships and sacrifices were, the party always had confidence in the people and relied upon them to build forces. When they had to eat potatoes and cassava instead of rice, when hiding in caves behind enemy lines or when hiding in bushes to repair communication lines, the cadres of the party conducted every activity they undertook for the sake of the people, clung to the land and clung to the people in order to build the movement. When its forces were being hunted and surrounded by the enemy, the party still sought out the people and placed its survival in their hands. It is in this way that the party has trusted the people, has relied upon the people to survive and grow.

And, the people trust and love the party because they see in it their own outstanding sons and daughters, sons and daughters who are close to the people and have fought and died for the independence of the country and the people's happiness. They are truly sons and daughters from the same birthplace as the people, sons and daughters who are worthy of the people's trust and love. The people see their future happiness in the party's cause. This feeling of trust and love has moved the people to follow the party despite every act of terror carried out by the enemy. Under every conceivable circumstance, the people have constantly supported the party. Faced with starvation and the destruction of their villages, the people placed their faith in the party, arose and rebuilt their villages. "Even at the darkest of times, the people have been determined to go on living and never left the party's side. Even

when tortured by the enemy, they would rather die than foresake the party." The people have given the party support and assistance, shared their food with and protected the party in times of danger. Countless mothers turned their homes into places to care for and protect cadres. Countless citizens died protecting secret tunnels, protecting the life of the party!

The party has fought and members of the party have died for the people. The people trust and love the party and have followed it to liberate themselves. Affection for the people-devotion to the party is a sentiment built of the flesh and blood of many generations. As this relationship, this sentiment has grown stronger, the revolutionary movement has become increasingly solid and strong and our victories have grown, the pinnacle of which was the great victory won in the spring of 1975, which made the entire country independent and free and started the entire country on the advance to socialism.

Affection for the people-devotion to the party has become the source of strength enabling our nation to win victories, become the springboard to feats of arms by everyone. Mutual trust and love are the basis for achieving everything.

The country is now liberated, the nation is now free. A new cause, the aim of which is to secure happiness for the people, has begun--the cause of building socialism. This cause is very difficult, complex and long because it is a struggle to triumph over poverty and backwardness. Although winning victory over foreign aggressors was difficult, we faced a visible enemy. To win victory over poverty and backwardness, we must win victory over ourselves. Poverty and backwardness lie within each of us, lie in the thinking, sentiments, life, standards and capabilities of each person, each family, each agency and enterprise.

In this struggle, the invisible enemy is attacking us every hour of every day and impeding our cause. Therefore, now more than ever before, the entire party and all the people must protect and vigorously build upon this close relationship if we are to triumph over this dangerous enemy. It is now even more necessary for the party to display its talents and lead the people in fighting the enemy in this new stage: individualism. The people must show greater confidence in the party, must support and protect the party if victory over individualism is to be won. Because, this invisible enemy hides in me, in you, in each of us. And, it is attacking us continuously in a vain attempt to make us traitors to ourselves, to the party, to the fatherland and the people.

From the rubble of war, our nation has made a remarkable recovery. We have done many things and are gradually moving forward. But everything we have managed to achieve is only the beginning. And, there are two sides to everything. Together with the achievements we have recorded, mistakes, shortcomings and weaknesses in the face of our new tasks have also been clearly evident. Some shortcomings have been very difficult to avoid. These can be excused to some extent but will still take time to correct. Because, a sweet fruit always has a bitter taste before it is ripe. And, every victory comes at a price. The price paid for our independence and freedom was the flesh and blood of many generations. To achieve comfort, happiness and

prosperity, we also must pay a price, primarily as a result of our weaknesses and inexperience. However, some mistakes and shortcomings have been the result of not forging or cultivating our thinking and ethics, the result of irresponsibility on the job, even the result of arrogance and not listening to the opinions of the masses. These cannot be tolerated. To the contrary, they must be strongly denounced.

Clearly, the attack being waged by the new enemy, by individualism, on our revolutionary cause today is a very complex and terrifying attack. It quietly saps the strength of our corps. A corrupt way of life, a decline in qualities and ethics, conservatism and inertia in the thinking of cadres and party members and even impetuosity and the desire to "skip stages" have been and are impeding the development of the socialist revolution. Once revolutionaries, these persons have become "revolutionary officials," become arrogant bureaucrats who like to be flattered, value persons who are flatterers, hate persons who speak the truth, even hate persons who were ready to sacrifice their lives to defend the revolution during the period of clandestine activities. They have become embezzlers, takers of bribes and black marketeers and are making themselves rich on the sweat of the laboring people. They live in plenty and extravagance at a time when the country is still poor and the people are still suffering. They have harmed the relationship between the people and the party. There are also persons who, while they do not hold public positions, are seriously afflicted with individualism and rely upon the type of cadres described above to do as they please and show contempt for the law and public opinion. These two types of persons collaborate closely with one another. They take from the people in every way possible and conspire with private merchants to disrupt the market and undermine the stability in the lives of cadres and the people. They have become persons who have no conscience, who sell the good name of the party and the confidence of the people. Such persons are clearly not qualified to be party members and must be immediately expelled from the party. If not, they will destroy the party, destroy the party's cause.

This work will, of course, continue to be very difficult and complex and prove to be an even more bitter experience. It is truly not pleasant work. It is no easier than performing surgery on our own body. But we have no better alternative. Uncle Ho taught: "Only when the paddy is pounded until we are sore does the rice turn our shiny and white." Only in this way can we regain those things that we have lost, can we seal the cracks that have opened and make our party as pure as it once was, make our corps as healthy and strong as it once was. Affection for the people-devotion to the party is a sentiment that must once again be made as pure and bright as the full moon in August.

The revolution can have but one direction--forward. The party exists and grows in order to lead the revolution to success and can only be strong when it has the trust, love and support of the people. There is only one path that the people can take to prosperity and happiness--following the party to the end.

Regardless of the obstacles we face, affection for the people-devotion to the party is a sentiment that will never fade!

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THE CPSU: WORKING IN THE NEW WAY *

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 89-96

[Article by V. Kadulin]

[Text] Although several months have passed since the 27th Congress of the CPSU, we can confidently state today that this congress occupies a special position in the political history of the Leninist party, in the history of the first country in the world in which socialism won victory. The significance of the 27th Congress of the CPSU lies in the strategic nature of the resolutions adopted at it. The concept of accelerating the socio-economic development of the country, which was adopted at the April plenum (1985) of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and achieving, on this basis, a new state of qualitative development of Soviet society was creatively developed upon at the 27th Congress. This concept is expressed in the Program of the CPSU (new version), in the Statutes of the Party and in the basic guidelines for the economic and social development of the Soviet Union from 1986 to 1990 and during the period between now and the year 2000 that were adopted at the congress. This concept was explained in detail in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee presented by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The documents ratified by the congress reflect, in practical terms, close coordination in the political, theoretical-ideological, organizational and economic activities of the party.

Further growth by the Leninist party from the standpoint of theory was also brilliantly expressed by the congress, growth which not only permits us to gain a deeper understanding of the trends and contradictions of the modern world and the laws governing the formation of a new social form, but also to put together a practical strategy based in science for accelerating the socio-economic advance of the Soviet Union. This growth is also evident in the intensification of the process of self-examination by the party, a process that was accelerated during the stage following the April plenum (1985) of the CPSU Central Committee, when the party critically analyzed the experiences it has gained and the laws governing its internal development. "The strength of the party--as M.S. Gorbachev said at the congress--lies in the party always feeling the pulse and rhythm of life, always acting in the interests of the masses. And, whenever new tasks confront the country, the party must find the paths that must be taken to perform these tasks. must modify and change its methods of leadership and show that it has the ability to undertake historic

responsibilities for the sake of the fate of the country, for the sake of socialism and communism."

In the documents of the congress, Lenin's theory on the new style revolutionary party was made more profound in a way that takes our understanding of this theory away from the textbook and dogmatic approach. It can be said with full justification that the congress creatively enhanced the theory on party building.

In the Program of the CPSU (new version), the characteristic of the CPSU as a party of thorough revolutionary action, the class nature of the party and the historic mission of the party have been presented in richer detail from the standpoint of theory than in the old version. As a result of the successful construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and because each stratum of the laboring people has adopted the stand of the working class, because the socio-political and ideological unity of Soviet society has been strengthened, the communist party, while continuing to be the party of the working class from the standpoint of its class character and ideology, has become the party of all the people. This is confirmed by the revolutionary continuity and the class nature of the domestic and foreign policies and each activity of the CPSU.

The CPSU considers strengthening the alliance of the working class, farmers and intellectuals to be the guarantee that greater forces will be focused on quickly performing the economic and social tasks raised by life. However, making this unity stronger in no way means that the style and form of social life will be the same everywhere. To the contrary, the party of Lenin recognizes diversity of interests, needs and human capabilities, recognizes the broad autonomy of social organizations and views the expression of this diversity as the necessary prerequisite to the further development of the activism and creativity of Soviet citizens, to displaying initiative and emulating one another intellectually and in the application of skills, without which we cannot, generally speaking, make forward progress.

In the documents of the congress, the view that an ever increasing leadership role for the party is a logical development in view of the new circumstances of history is presented in deep and broad detail. First, the CPSU Program (new version) defines the basic factors that are heightening the role of the CPSU in society more broadly and accurately. They are the larger scale and more complex nature of the tasks of perfecting socialism and accelerating economic, social and spiritual progress. They also include the need to develop the political system and strengthen the system of democracy and system of socialist self-management of the people. In addition, they also include the needs to creatively develop Marxist-Leninist theory, thoroughly explain the practical aspects of communist construction, find timely and scientifically based answers to the questions raised by life and raise the consciousness of the laboring masses.

Secondly, the leadership role of the CPSU is becoming greater as a result of the impact of international factors. The interests of building stronger cooperation, strengthening the consensus among the socialist countries, strengthening the international communist and worker movement, strengthening

the solidarity with national liberation forces and struggling against bourgeois ideology, revisionism, dogmatism, reformism and factionalism demand this. Finally, this demand is also the result of the increasing complexity of overseas political conditions as imperialism has become increasingly bellicose and it has become necessary to be more vigilant, maintain the security of the country, free mankind from the threat of nuclear holocaust and strengthen peace on earth.

This logical process of strengthening the leadership role of the CPSU does not come about naturally. The party sees its responsibility as constantly proving its authority to be the vanguard political unit of the people. For this reason, the thinking of making fundamental reforms in all areas of party work runs throughout the documents of the congress. The 27th Congress convincingly argued the need for these reforms based on the solid foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory and bolshevik tradition.

The party Program (new version) and the changes in the Party Statutes have strengthened and developed the bolshevik principles on party building, the style and methods of party work and the ethical standards of the communist that were set by Lenin and have been tested in practice. Thus, the broad Program set forth in the documents of the congress, which is aimed at perfecting each aspect of the political, organizational and ideological activities of the CPSU and continuing to strengthen the coordination among these activities, is a scientifically based program designed to raise, in practical terms, the leadership role of the party in socialist society under the new conditions of history.

The dialectic of this process lies in the following: as the internal activities of the party become more diverse, become richer in content and as stricter observance of Lenin's principle of democratic centralism is achieved within the party, the party's influence upon social processes will become stronger and more effective. However, this principle can only be thoroughly implemented when the sense of organization and discipline have been made stronger within the party's ranks, the sense of responsibility of party members, party organizations and party committees has been strengthened and their activities are being constantly inspected in conjunction with tapping the initiative and spirit of autonomy of all party members, with the exception of none, in conjunction with broadening the practice of democracy within the party, with waging a bitter struggle against formalism and the deviations associated with bureaucracy in party work.

The dialectic of party building under current conditions also is: the leadership role of the CPSU can only be strengthened in practice provided that the activism of the organizations of laborers is raised by every means possible. In no way does the party's exercise of the role as leader equate to issuing administrative orders, taking over the functions of other agencies and organizations and sponsoring trivial efforts.

The more strongly the people support the party, the greater is the party's influence upon the course of social development. The party can only carry out its role as the political leader when it constantly sharpens the weapon that is its theory and ideology. Therefore, the 27th Congress of the CPSU

especially stressed the needs for determined efforts to overcome inertia and dogmatism as well as preoccupation with daily routine in theoretical and ideological work, strengthen the collective thinking of the party, teach cadres a fondness for theory and give them the ability to use the methodology of Lenin for analyzing social processes.

The very work of the congress and the resolutions and documents adopted by the congress have become examples that serve to train us in this methodology and examples of its creative application. F. Engels once reminded us: "The materialist method becomes its opposite when it is used not as a guideline in historical research, but as a pre-existing framework within which historical events are abridged and revised" (K. Marx and F. Engels: "Collected Works," Russian version, Volume 37, p 35). The political activities of the Soviet Union offer much highly convincing proof of the relentless and thorough struggle that has been waged by the CPSU and the party's Central Committee against fitting within a specific framework the dynamic and creative life of the masses or the forms and methods of its own activities, including theoretical activities.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU presented a lesson in truth addressed by M.S. Gorbachev in the Political Report, one which, I think, can also be called the lesson of re-evaluating, in the spirit of brave criticism, prior experiences of development and theoretical concepts and ideas that have been formed while analyzing without compromise our mistakes and shortcomings and the negative phenomena not only in society, in general, but also within each separate environment.

We all know that Marxism-Leninism considers criticism and self-criticism to be a method of transformation and revolutionary activity of the communist party and all the people under the conditions of socialism and to be one of the forces stimulating the development from the first to the second stage of the communist form. Criticism and self-criticism are not a matter of being a fine desire of communism, but an objective demand of practical activities, a demand born of real antagonisms of differences in interests among the different classes and different social groups, of the struggle between the new and the old, which encompasses all fields of social life, excluding none. The "weapon of criticism" under socialism serves the function of hastening the resolution of these antagonisms in social life and stimulating the economic, social and spiritual advance of society. Today, at this sharp turning point in the history of the country, the development of criticism and self-criticism, as stressed by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, is a more pressing need than ever before. M.S. Gorbachev pointed out in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee that the party can successfully perform its tasks if it continuously develops itself, if it does not think that it "never makes mistakes" and if it critically evaluates the results that have been achieved and sees what needs to be done.

Within the party, as stated at the congress, there is not and cannot be organizations that are not inspected, are not criticized, there is not and cannot be leadership cadres who are not responsible to the party. These objective demands have now been recorded in the Statutes of the CPSU. The attitude toward them is increasingly becoming one of the most important

expressions of the political standards and growth of party organizations, of leaders, of the ordinary members of the party. The congress stressed that criticism and self-criticism within the party must be positive and constructive in nature and create the conditions for working out optimum solutions to problems that arise. In the documents of the 27th Congress, we see the positive and creative combination of criticism and research. In social practice, the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism is today causing everyone to very quickly adopt new attitudes and helping them to learn to think and work in the new way.

While guiding and directing a job that is multi-dimensional, is very profound and exceedingly complex in content, is most important from the standpoint of its results and is related to reorganizing and improving the quality of every aspect of social life, the CPSU, as a political body that is constantly developing, is now changing in a fundamental way, is determined to perfect the forms and methods of its theoretical and practical activities. The essence of this reform is an active struggle by every organization of the party--from the republic level to the basic level--to implement the line of the April plenum and the resolutions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, live in an atmosphere of inquiry and creativity and revamp the forms and methods of its activities. In summary, under the new conditions of history, the party, all organizations and executive committees of the party, without exception, and all Soviet communists must uphold the tradition of Bolshevism and adopt a style of work that fully meets the demands of today, a style that we are fully justified in calling the Leninist style.

To the CPSU, loyalty to Lenin, to Bolshevism means living for the interests of the people, always consulting the people and always acting with the support of the masses in order to keep abreast of change and hear the rhythm of life. To the CPSU, loyalty to Lenin, to Bolshevism means, with unquestioned sincerity and to the fullest degree possible, drawing hard lessons from its shortcomings and mistakes, seeing immediate and long-range prospects and maintaining in its ranks, by every means possible, the spirit of creativity and relentless struggle against conservative, stagnant thinking.

Thoroughly practicing the Leninist workstyle under current conditions demands more consistent observance of the principle of collectivism in all elements of the party organization; demands that the role played by plenums and the meetings of standing committees as the collective leadership bodies of the party be heightened; demands that a determined struggle be waged against attempts to replace the collective drafting of resolutions with the issuance of orders by an individual; and demands the continuous development of openness in work. The 27th Congress of the CPSU stressed that administrative orders, arbitrariness, disregard for the opinions of others and disregard for manifestations of arrogance are totally foreign to the Leninist style of party work.

The CPSU maintains that the effort to increase the creative potential of its corps under current conditions must be closely tied to tapping the initiative and spirit of responsibility of cadres, to waging a tireless struggle for the purity and honesty of the party member. The April plenum (1985) of the CPSU Central Committee raised these issues in a new way. One important requirement

tantamount to a principle, namely, to heighten the spirit of responsibility and integrity of the communist, once a requirement only in the realm of an appeal, is now being steadfastly applied in the realm of practice.

It must be said that, in the stage which began with the April plenum, ethical qualities have been markedly improved in life, in the party and throughout society. High ethical requirements of all party members, of all party organizations, of all leaders on all party committee echelons were the salient theme of the Political Report at the congress as well as the speeches by the delegates attending the congress. The enormous significance of this matter cannot yet be fully appreciated. The realm of social behavior and spiritual relations is always a very sensitive barometer of the spiritual strength of society. The facts that the congress gave greater attention to this barometer, introduced changes in organizational and educational work and gave attention to the purity and honesty of each party member, to the political prestige and the prestige in the areas of work and ethics of each party organization, each party committee have, to a large extent, had the effect of raising the prestige of the party in the eyes of society and strengthened, in practical terms, the vanguard role of each party member and the entire party, in general.

The CPSU has closely linked markedly increasing this role in practice to continuing to make improvements in the work of accepting new members into the party. The congress denounced the harmful and quite widespread practice in some party organizations of only giving attention to numbers, not quality, when building party member ranks, thus lowering the requirements of persons joining the party. The CPSU is a party in power. Therefore, one task that is always of pressing importance to the party is to constantly concern itself with the purity of its ranks, prevent persons from joining the party whose motives are fame and commercial gain and take determined steps to expel alien elements, frauds, swindlers and other unethical elements.

Today, the CPSU is especially interested in heightening the will to fight of its basic organizations, the political nuclei of the labor collectives. Having been granted broad authority, including the authority to inspect the activities of the administration, and possessing very many ways to make a political-ideological and organizational impact upon the productive labor of collectives and their social life, the basic organizations of the party must be fully responsible for the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the congress and for perfecting every aspect of the life of Soviet society. Ordinarily, it is the basic organizations of the party that launch struggles to reorganize the structure of the national economy, equip with new production technology, basically modernize the economic apparatus, comprehensively strengthen the ties between science and production and not only accelerate and strengthen economic activities, but also improve the spiritual life of society.

At present, the influence of the party upon the entire process of the advancement of science and technology is being strengthened. The ranks of the party have been strengthened at those places that play a decisive role in the advancement of science and technology. The activities of party members have been intensified at scientific research agencies, design agencies, technical

service agencies and science-technology associations. Special attention has been given to increasing the role of the party committees at ministries. These party committees are the full representatives of the party within the staff ministries of the different sectors of the national economy. The party committees of the ministries must make every effort to display greater activism. They must heighten the sense of responsibility, order and discipline within collectives. Specifically, they must take the stand of the party, of the entire country and solve those basic problems that are of decisive significance in accelerating social production.

Today, every organization of the party must become a solid obstacle to those who are corrupt, to those who seek to further their own interests and to parasites. Every organization of the party must become the trustworthy defender of the interests of the entire country, of all the people and must markedly raise the requirements of all party members, especially those who are leadership cadres on all levels, so that they honestly and creatively fulfill their responsibilities, strictly uphold party statutes and strictly observe the standards of socialist collective life.

Regrettably, the revamping of the style of work that is now currently under way is not proceeding quickly and has yet to yield the results demanded by the CPSU Central Committee. The need for this revamping is still not fully recognized by everyone or every place. In many organizations, slow progress is being made toward overcoming inertia, formalism and the practice of doing things in a set way. The Central Committee of the Union Republics and the zone, provincial, municipal, precinct and district party committees must still do much more to completely eliminate stagnation and conservatism in each of their forms, completely eliminate the propensity to embellish facts and completely overcome the entrenched habits of setting up new organizations and holding excessive meetings as well as completely eliminate bureaucracy and red tape. In a related matter, the CPSU Central Committee maintains that developing the regular reporting by party members, including by leadership cadres to the organizations at which they are registered as party members, is of major importance. The development of this activity at each place in the country will make it possible to significantly heighten the responsibility of the party member toward the status of work in his party organization and the entire party, in general.

Everyone knows that Lenin considered "the key to all work" to be selecting personnel and inspecting the performance of work, "not issuing resolutions, not opening new offices, not carrying out reorganizations." The people and the party have a high assessment of the measures recently taken by the CPSU Central Committee in promoting new forces to important positions in the party and state and replacing cadres of the party who have been challenged with persons who have a better understanding of others, viewing them as steps that must be taken in view of current circumstances. The significant improvement of the core cadre segment of the party will take place in the course of the pre-congress elections held within the party.

The strategy of accelerated development demands that urgent efforts be made to continue to refine the cadre policy. The thinking concerning certain aspects of this policy must be revised on the basis of lessons learned from the past.

The bitter lessons for which the CPSU and all Soviet society have had to pay a high price are: placing the necessary amount of confidence in cadres, not total confidence, which essentially amounts to cadres performing their work without being inspected; not permitting, as was still occurring recently, the use of fine words about an attitude of protecting cadres to conceal what is actually indifference and an attitude of condoning everything. Concern for the stability of cadre ranks may not be allowed to lead to stagnation. Today, the CPSU is consistently applying the policy of combining in leadership activities experienced cadres with young cadres, more actively promoting female cadres to leadership positions and not tolerating any variation from Lenin's principles on the selection, assignment and education of cadres.

The current political line of the CPSU creates especially favorable possibilities for significantly increasing the effectiveness of the party's ideological activities. The resolutions of the 27th Congress demand that, in all elements of propaganda work and the teaching of ideology, empty stereotypes, the practice of doing things in a form for form's sake manner, dogmatism and an indifferent attitude toward manifestations of hostile thinking be eliminated and that the view that ideological activities are an important tool in molding the new man and woman be solidly established everywhere.

At present, specific steps are being taken to more closely tie ideological activities to the implementation of the CPSU's line on accelerating the country's socio-economic development. Every effort is being made to strengthen the oneness between honest speech and practical actions. The role of education in the process of highly organized labor and social activities is being strengthened and efforts are being made to insure that attention is given in the teaching of ideology to increases in the level of knowledge, the cultural standards and the informed level of each person, the special characteristics of specific audiences and even the active participation in this work by leadership cadres of the party.

The forms of regular contacts between party committees and the masses that have been tested in practice are being developed and refined. Leadership cadres are expressing their opinions to the laboring people more widely than before. As experience has shown, such speeches and meetings have helped to significantly increase the effectiveness of the teaching of ideology and become a reliable way to put a stop to all types of rumors and information that is incorrect. This is easily understood because everyone receives answers to their questions from the most trustworthy source. And, this helps to form public opinion correctly. At the same time, leaders gain a fuller and more accurate understanding of the attitudes of each person and their desires and demands. Frank dialogue helps to increase the effectiveness of party work.

The mass media and propaganda organs are playing an increasingly positive role in the implementation of the party's economic strategy and social policy and in the formation of socialist consciousness. Under present conditions, television, radio and the printed press are strong tools for propagandizing openness, putting inspection by society into practice, propagandizing advanced experiences and bringing laborers into contact with social work. These

organs, as demanded in the resolution of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, must become the forum for Marxist-Leninist collective thinking, for the social experiences of the masses and must conduct widespread exchanges of opinion concerning pressing matters of theory and practice in communist construction. The demands upon propaganda organs and the mass media concerning resourcefulness and the will to fight are the same as they are upon all other components of the party and Soviet society.

"Bravery," "honesty," "discipline" and "responsibility"--these words are always appearing in the Soviet press and constantly being heard on radio and television. They express the high requirements that the times have placed upon every party member, upon the entire party, in general. Finding the shortest paths and developing effective forms and means for implementing the Soviet Union's strategy of accelerated socio-economic development--all these things are part of the daily activities of the CPSU. All the thoughts of the party are toward changing the world of man, that is, changing man himself, so that man's life is richer and better.

FOOTNOTES

- * Article written for TAP CHI CONG SAN.

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PEACE PROPOSALS THAT RADIATE GOOD WILL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 97-100

[Article by Nguyen Trong Thu]

[Text] The Soviet Union's foreign policy of peace has once again been proven in a concrete way: on 28 July 1986, during the ceremony to award the Order of Lenin to the municipality of Vladivostok, a center of industry, culture and modern science of the Soviet Union, lying on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, devoted a major portion of his speech to international issues, especially the Asia-Pacific issue. On the basis of correct observations and by setting large tasks and advancing specific proposals, he clarified the Soviet Union's position of struggling to strengthen peace and security and develop cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region while combining this struggle with the overall process of establishing an international security system.

As we know, since World War II, Asia-Pacific, a vast region that makes up one-half the surface of the earth and accounts for two-thirds the world's population, has been undergoing increasing changes in keeping with the inevitable trend of development of history. Many nations in this region have won major victories in the struggle for national independence and social progress. Besides this, the extraordinary growth of the forces of peace and revolution, the bulwark of which is the Soviet Union, has profoundly changed the face of Asia-Pacific. The trend toward coexistence and peaceful cooperation has been responded to by increasingly large numbers of persons in the countries of the region. In particular, since the April 1975 victory of Vietnam, the invincible might of the ideas of freedom and socialism has been confirmed more with each passing day. Because of its important position, Asia-Pacific has increasingly attracted the interest of the countries of the world.

The United States has continuously and insanely thrust its destructive hands into this region. They committed aggression against South Korea, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, unleashing bloody wars. Following its tragic defeat in Vietnam, the United States still did not abandon its expansionist and aggressive designs. Instead, under their "neo-globalism," the U.S. imperialists have introduced the so called "Asia-Pacific doctrine," an extremely reactionary strategy designed to maintain the imperialist interests

of the United States and oppose and attack the revolutionary movement as well as the process of change occurring in this region. The United States eagerly opened a "second front" in Asia-Pacific with the aim of coordinating with the "first front" in Western Europe in the "crusade" against socialism. They have been making every effort to assemble forces and set up military-political alliance organizations in order to establish pincers ready to attack the Soviet Union and the socialist countries within the region. In the case of countries that have recently won their national independence, the United States has carried out economic retaliation and subversive plots, intervened in their internal affairs, supported disaffected elements, armed counter-revolutionaries and terrorists and made plans to employ the strategy of a limited war fought by U.S. expeditionary forces again to oppose and attack national liberation and independence movements. The United States has tried to start conflicts within the region by taking advantage of the difficulties and remnants of the past it left behind in many countries. The U.S. policies of intervening and exerting pressure and its arms race policy have made the situation in Asia-Pacific very tense and caused the threat of war in this region to steadily mount.

In complete contrast to the reactionary line of the United States described above and ever consistent in their own policy line, the Soviet Union and socialist community have been waging a steadfast struggle to turn Asia-Pacific into a region of peace, security and cooperation. The concrete expressions and practical results of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union over the past four decades confirm this.

Gorbachev's speech on 28 July 1986 in Vladivostok once again showed the world the good will of the Soviet Union concerning the Asia-Pacific issue. After presenting a general review of the Asia-Pacific situation, Gorbachev observed: "The process of militarization, which is increasing the threat of war in this region of the world, is beginning to move at a dangerous pace. The Pacific is being turned into an arena of military-political confrontation. This is a matter of increasing concern to the nations living here."

On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Gorbachev presented the Soviet Union's position with regard to joining the countries of the region in establishing new and fair relations in Asia-Pacific and outlined the process for establishing international security and coordinating actions for the sake of peace in this region. He stated that the Soviet Union will make every effort to strengthen its friendship and promote multilateral relations based on the principles of equality and solidarity with the Mongolian People's Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, considering this to be an element of the common Asia-Pacific security system. The Soviet Union will try to improve its relations with all other countries in the region, excluding none. Recognizing that the United States is a country of major importance in the Pacific and that the United States has important and legitimate economic and political interests in this region, the Soviet Union maintains that U.S. participation is needed to satisfactorily resolve issues of security and cooperation in the Pacific as they relate to all countries in the region.

As regards the rumors about the Soviet Union increasing its military strength in its eastern region, Gorbachev declared that the Soviet Union has not taken and will not take one step beyond meeting the minimum needs of national defense, of protecting friends and allies of the Soviet Union. In particular, he stated that consideration must be given to the military activities being conducted by the United States within the region not far from the Soviet border.

Gorbachev proposed that a Pacific conference similar to the Helsinki conference be held with the participation of all countries that lie on the rim of the Pacific Ocean. He also presented specific initiatives and proposals aimed at solving the problems within the region, stopping the deployment of nuclear weapons and holding negotiations to reduce the activities of fleets in the Pacific and drastically reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Asia to reasonable levels. Also in this speech, on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Gorbachev declared that the Soviet Union will withdraw a contingent of its army on duty in Afghanistan by the end of 1986. This is an important decision, is an action filled with good will that reflects the policy of peace and the sincere desire of the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to reduce tensions in the region and eventually achieve a political solution to the Afghanistan problem.

The new proposals made by Gorbachev concerning the Asia-Pacific issue represent "a great platform of practical and concrete initiatives concerning all major issues in Asia-Pacific."

In keeping as they are with the global views and foreign policies of the Soviet Union concerning eliminating nuclear arms and all other types of weapons of mass murder, significantly reducing conventional weapons and armed forces, substituting dialogue for confrontation and so forth, the proposals concerning Asia-Pacific announced by Gorbachev in this speech are an integral part of the general line being followed by the CPSU in its international activities and are consistent with this line. They reflect the stand, a stand tantamount to a principle, concerning peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems that was confirmed by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. They prove the splendid good will of the Soviet Union in the cause of struggling for peace, reducing the threat of nuclear war and achieving disarmament for the sake of the survival and happiness of mankind. The specific measures advanced by Gorbachev, which are aimed at resolving all issues within the region through dialogue and negotiation, including his proposal to convene a Helsinki-style Pacific conference, are practical and reasonable measures. When coexistence and peaceful cooperation have become the trend of development in Asia-Pacific, there will be no reason for the nations of the region to not sit down in discussions and substitute dialogue for confrontation. Dialogue conducted in an atmosphere of good will with mutual trust and understanding will provide a practical framework for achieving good solutions to regional problems. They will also provide a practical framework for stopping the proliferation and buildup of nuclear weapons, reducing the activities of fleets, drastically reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Asia to reasonable levels and developing dependable, non-military measures to be taken within the region. Therefore, every person of conscience who has ardent desires for peace, fairness and

social progress considers Gorbachev's concrete proposals to be very necessary measures aimed at insuring that Asia-Pacific emerges from the current very tense situation and moves toward a more beautiful future. Because of its noble theme of peace and humanism, Gorbachev's 28 July 1986 statement has quickly won the enthusiastic support of progressive opinion in the world. Even the governments of some countries that are allies of the United States have expressed an attitude of support.

We Vietnamese greet this statement with a sense of profound inspiration. It has our fully enthusiastic support because peace, friendship and cooperation in Asia-Pacific and throughout the world are one of the fundamental goals of the foreign policy of our party and state.

Gorbachev's thoughts concerning Southeast Asia, Cambodia, the relations between our country, Laos and Cambodia and the other countries of the region and so forth express our desires and good will. Having endured enormous sacrifices in the wars of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialist aggressors, we know the value of peace very well. Our fervent aspiration is to live in peace, friendship and cooperation with all countries and nations, most importantly the countries and nations of Southeast Asia and Asia-Pacific.

Together with the fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia, we have frequently expressed our good will and made highly constructive proposals designed to reduce tensions, stimulate dialogue among the countries of the region, correctly resolve the Cambodian issue and establish acceptable relations between the countries of Indochina and the ASEAN countries. Recently, the communique of the 13th Conference of Foreign Ministers of the three countries of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, which was held in Hanoi, once again proved the attitude of good will and the correct stand of the three countries of Indochina with regard to resolving regional issues. Because we cherish the traditional friendship between the peoples of the two countries of Vietnam and China, we have been making determined efforts to restore normal relations between the two countries. We are not at all to blame for the deterioration of the relations between Vietnam and China and the continuing state of tension along the border between Vietnam and China. If China truly desires peace and improved relations with neighboring countries, it will immediately cease its hostile policy toward Vietnam and sit down with Vietnam to discuss and resolve the problems that exist in the relations between the two sides. The people of China and the people of Vietnam once stood united against imperialism. Peace, independence, cooperation and economic development are interests of both China and Vietnam. There is no reason for China and Vietnam to not negotiate with each other. Because, disagreements can only be resolved through negotiations. In this spirit, our government has declared its readiness to negotiate with China on any level and at any place.

Fully supporting Gorbachev's 28 July 1986 statement, we are determined to act in coordination with the Soviet Union in order to make the noble goals set forth in this statement a reality at an early date.

FOOTNOTES

- Reply by Council of Ministers Chairman Pham Van Dong in interview with TASS correspondent in Hanoi (NHAN DAN Newspaper, 5 August 1986).

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THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT--A LARGE ANTI-IMPERIALIST COMMUNITY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 86 pp 101-106, 82

[Article by Tam Nhan commemorating the 25th anniversary of the birth of the Non-aligned Movement (September 1961-September 1986)]

[Text] The Non-aligned Movement has held eight conferences and experienced 25 years of development since its first conference (September, 1961), in which 25 countries participated. Today, it has become a vast movement whose official membership consists of 98 countries and 2 national liberation movements representing 40 percent of the world's population and two-thirds of the members of the United Nations. The Non-aligned Movement has assumed an increasingly large position and role in international political life and has increasingly made positive contributions in resolving the burning issues facing mankind. In its 25 years of struggle to assert itself, struggles waged against the background of a very tense and complex international situation and at a time when the three revolutionary currents have constantly been on the offensive, the Non-aligned Movement has clearly displayed its diversity and proven its progressive character in a tenacious struggle against imperialism for peace, national independence and social progress.

In the 1950's, along with the formation of the world socialist system, the national liberation movement arose like a storm and a number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America won national independence. The victory of Dien Bien Phu and the victory of the war of resistance of the Vietnamese against the French colonialists marked the collapse of old-style colonialism. The victory of the Cuban revolution against the dictatorial lackey regime of the United States in 1959 dealt the first blow to neo-colonialism. The scheme of the United States to unleash a war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was thwarted. The United States lost its monopoly of nuclear weapons. The increasing change in the balance of power to the disadvantage of the imperialist, colonialist and reactionary powers forced the United States to shift from the strategy of "massive retaliation" to the strategy of "flexible response" and enter into detente with the Soviet Union. However, it continued to make every effort to oppose and attack the struggle movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In the face of this situation, the newly independent countries wanted to unite in struggle against imperialism, colonialism and reactionary powers, against

the threat of aggression and aggression and against military alliances and aggressor military bases with the aims of protecting their newly won independence and acquire peaceful conditions for developing their countries. Because of the convergence of these noble goals, these countries joined together. However, this was a union of separate and different nations with different geo-political positions, different interests, different processes of historical development, different levels of economic and cultural development and different, even opposing, political systems. More than a few conflicts broke out within the Non-aligned Movement. More than a few disputes among the member countries, disputes either historical in nature or intentionally caused by imperialist and reactionary powers, dragged on, seemingly without solution. While the socialist revolution was carried out in some countries immediately after the national democratic revolution, and a number of other countries were moving in the direction of socialism, in the majority of the newly independent countries, political power was in the hands of the national bourgeoisie. Very large differences even existed among these countries: while some were trying to build independent economies and pursuing a foreign policy of peace and positive neutrality, in many other countries, the economy was totally dependent upon foreign capitalists and foreign policy was negative, in one case, even to the point of sowing the seeds of a return to the reactionary views of imperialism within the Non-aligned Movement.

This inherent diversity of the Non-aligned Movement was made even more complicated by the attempts of imperialist and reactionary powers to block the advance of the movement by means of every conceivable political, economic and military trick. They conducted campaigns to encircle, embargo and provoke, conducted acts of sabotage, subversive activities and acts of armed aggression against those non-aligned nations that were actively opposing imperialism. They used money under the label of "aid" to buy political consensus. They intentionally created disagreements among the non-aligned countries and then blew these disagreements out of proportion in order to divide the movement. They made every effort to distort the history of the movement and constantly promoted reactionary views with the aim of steering the movement away from its goal of opposing imperialism and colonialism. The acts of sabotage of the imperialists and reactionaries caused the non-aligned movement to experience a number of difficulties and, in some cases, limited the strength of the movement, making it less able to struggle.

During the past 25 years, overcoming the problems caused by its own diversity and each act of sabotage conducted by imperialist and reactionary forces, the Non-aligned Movement, always closely tied to the national liberation movement, has continuously grown in both size and quality. It is this factor that has determined the trend of our times.

The age in which we are living is the age of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale, an age which began with the great October Revolution. Besides the dozens of countries that have possessed the necessary conditions and carried out socialist revolutions, the fact that nearly 100 countries have escaped the enslavement of imperialism and colonialism and are determined to develop themselves into independent and sovereign nations opposed to oppression and exploitation and to the actions taken by the imperialists and colonialists to start wars is an objective necessary, one

consistent with the process of evolution of history. Peace, independence and development are the goals of the Non-aligned Movement. At the same time, they are the noble goals of our times.

The most significant achievements of the Non-aligned Movement over the past 25 years were reconfirmed at the 8th High Level Conference of the Non-aligned Countries held in Harare in early September 1986 as:

1. Consistent Pursuit of the Goal of Opposing Imperialism, Colonialism and Reactionary Powers for Peace, National Independence and Development

A sharp struggle has been taking place within the Non-aligned Movement throughout the past 25 years and will surely continue in the years ahead concerning the establishment of the movement's goals. A number of opportunist elements of all shades within the movement have constantly and loudly pressed their demand that the movement "truly be non-aligned," that is, that it "stand in between the two blocs" (imperialism and socialism) and "oppose both superpowers" (the United States and the Soviet Union). They maintain that the Non-aligned Movement was born because independent nations "did not want to be drawn into conflicts between the superpowers." Consequently, they demand that the movement "return to its original goal" and "not take the side of one superpower against the other" on any issue. It is not hard to see that these reactionary views are aimed at supporting the U.S. imperialists, the main enemy of the people of the world. It is also not hard to see the similarity between these views and the reactionary "three worlds" theory of Maoism.

Opposed to these reactionary views is the view that, as the realities of history have proven, imperialism, colonialism and the other reactionary powers, headed by the U.S. imperialists, are the underlying source and immediate cause of every threat to the independence of the newly liberated countries, consequently, opposing imperialism is the lofty goal, is the *raison d'être* of the movement. To say that the movement should "stand between the two blocs" and "oppose the two superpowers" is to treat as equals aggressors and those who support the Non-aligned Movement against aggression, is to take from the members of the Non-aligned Movement their right to receive political, moral and material support from the socialist forces while giving the green light to the imperialists to attack the members of the movement.

Weak during the early years, anti-imperialist spirit became a strong trend following the 3rd High Level Conference in Lusaka in 1970 and became the dominant trend following the 6th High Level Conference in Havana. Statements of the movement observed: "The underlying cause of the tense world situation that is threatening international peace and security is mainly the use of pressure, threats or armed force by powers of imperialism, colonialism, both old and new, zionism, apartheid and other forms of rule by foreign countries to block the political and economic liberation of nations and maintain the unjust and unequal relations that now exist in international relations." (1) The 6th and 7th High Level Conferences strongly denounced the U.S. imperialists for maintaining the arms race, suppressing national liberation movements and intentionally maintaining an unjust international economic order for the purpose of exploitation. The resolutions of these conferences stated that the United States is the "strategic ally" of Israel, is the country

keeping the racist regime in power in South Africa, is intervening in the internal affairs of the countries of Central America... In particular, in April 1986, the New Delhi conference of the foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries applauded the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and denounced the U.S. policy of nuclear intimidation. This marked an important setback for the theory of "opposing the two superpowers" and "standing between the two blocs."

2. The Non-aligned Movement Has Always Been Closely Tied to the National Liberation Movement and Considers Supporting the National Liberation Movement To Be Its Highest Task

Born of the struggle for national liberation, the Non-aligned Movement has also developed as a result of the development of the national liberation movement. On the other hand, as the Non-aligned Movement has developed, its support of the national liberation movement has become larger and stronger.

An example of this can be seen in our people's struggle against the United States for national salvation: in 1965, when the United States sent massive expeditionary forces to directly invade our country and because of the crisis within the Non-aligned Movement over which line the movement should follow, 17 non-aligned countries, instead of denouncing the U.S. imperialists, issued an appeal for unconditional negotiations between the United States and Vietnam, thus placing the aggressors on an equal footing with the victims of their aggression. By 1970, with our people's fight developing toward victory, with the defeat of the U.S. imperialists being clear and the United States being forced to begin the process of withdrawing from South Vietnam, the Non-aligned Movement, although it had overcome its paralysis and divisions, still did not unanimously support the national liberation movement. The high level Lusaka conference (1970) invited the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam to attend the conference as an observer and, in its final statement, confirmed its "total support for the heroic struggle of the peoples of the countries of Indochina for independence and freedom." Following our people's great victory in the spring of 1975, the SRV delegation attended the 5th High Level Conference in Colombo (1976) with the status of an official member and the conference "heartily congratulated the Vietnamese for their historic victory, a victory that has made an enormous contribution to the common struggle of the peoples of the non-aligned countries and other progressive nations in the world against the common enemies of imperialism, colonialism, both old and new, and racism for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress."(2)

It was also the strong impact of the international trend that the indecisive stand of the Non-aligned Movement during the early 1960's concerning the struggle of the Palestinians and a number of other issues was gradually changed. Since 1970, the Non-aligned Movement has always given its strong and timely support to the nations at the hot spots in the struggle against imperialism and reactionary powers. The movement united in courageous and correct action when expelling the Khmer reactionaries and deciding to leave Cambodia's seat at the United Nations empty despite the U.N.'s recognition of this clique; when it quickly expressed indignation and a determination to oppose the U.S. imperialists, as it did in the cases of supporting Nicaragua

and Libya; and when taking many practical measures to accelerate the process of the dismantling of apartheid in Pretoria.

Whereas, in its early years, some countries within the movement understood "non-aligned" to mean "non-violent" and a number of other countries, deeply fearful of the United States, were worried that a spark could set off a world war, today, the Non-aligned Movement considers armed struggle to be a necessary and effective measure by which countries can liberate themselves. This has led to increasingly close ties between the Non-aligned Movement and armed struggles by the peoples of various countries against imperialism, colonialism and the other reactionary powers.

3. Making Positive Contributions to the Struggle of the People of the World for Peace and Disarmament, as Part of Movement Toward a Comprehensive Security System, and Against Nuclear War

Safeguarding peace is one of the important goals set by the Non-aligned Movement when it was first established. However, during its first 10 years, due to the complex international situation that prevailed back then, the Non-aligned Movement was unable to make any inroads against the indifferent, passive and negative thinking that East-West relations were an issue that only involved the Soviet Union and the United States, that international security could be achieved simply by the Soviet Union and the United States stopping the arms race, that disarmament could only be achieved through the United Nations... Generally speaking, the majority of the members of the Non-aligned Movement at that time did not see the relationship between the revolutionary struggles of nations and the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence in the world. It was not until later, when the world entered the "post-Vietnam" period, that the Non-aligned Movement unanimously confirmed the existence of this relationship: "The search for world peace and peaceful coexistence among nations is truly closely tied to our struggle against imperialism, colonialism, both old and new..."(3) And, "...the acceleration of the struggle to liberate nations from imperialism, from colonialism, both old and new...is a contribution to the effort to strengthen peace and international security."(4)

In particular, ever since the U.S. imperialists stepped up the nuclear arms race with the aim of disrupting the balance of strategic weapons, a balance that is in the interest of peace, and with the threat of nuclear war still facing every person in the world, the Non-aligned Movement has continuously advanced many initiatives, the direction of which is the same as the proposals made by the Soviet Union with regard to preventing nuclear war and a nuclear race in space. The Colombo high level conference (1976) called for the convening of a special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament. This request was supported by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. The 7th High Level Conference, which was held in New Delhi in 1982, criticized the "limited nuclear war and nuclear deterrent" theory, which everyone knows is the theory of the U.S. President.

The ministerial level conference of the Coordinating Commission of the Non-aligned Countries held in New Delhi (April 1982) marked an important step forward in the struggle of the Non-aligned Movement for peace and

international security. For the first time in the movement's history, the document issued by the conference strongly supported the peace initiative of the Soviet Union presented by Gorbachev on 15 January 1986 aimed at the elimination of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass murder between now and the year 2000 and considered this initiative consistent with the goals of the Non-aligned Movement.

Through the realities of struggle, the non-aligned countries have found that their interests are identical to those of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with regard to the issues of peace and disarmament. This is a new assemblage of forces, one that has significantly developed the offensive power of peace activities, of the forces of socialism, with the aim of blocking attempts by imperialism to unleash wars. However, due to the movement's diverse nature, a rather large number of its members still avoid attacking the United States by name and avoid clearly stating support for the Soviet Union. They even avoid addressing issues which they consider to be related only to the two blocs, such as the issue of medium-range missiles in Europe.

4. From Political Independence to a Struggle for Economic Independence, to Demands for the Dismantling of the Unjust International Economic Order Established by Imperialism

Demanding economic independence is a necessity in the case of the member countries of the Non-aligned Movement because "economic liberation is an indispensable factor in the struggle to eventually abolish political domination."(5)

Generally speaking, the economies of the non-aligned countries have increasingly been encountering acute difficulties, primarily as a result of the policy of exploitation of the developed capitalist countries and the measures they have taken to place the heavy burden of the economic crisis upon the developing countries. Increasing economic antagonisms have broken out between the Non-aligned Movement and the imperialist countries. The 4th High Level Conference, which was held in Algiers in 1973 and issued the famous declaration on "the establishment of a new international economic order," marked a turning point for the Non-aligned Movement in the struggle against imperialism on the economic front. In 1974, at the request of the non-aligned countries, the "Declaration of a Program of Action" aimed at the establishment of a new international economic order was adopted at a special session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Since the adoption of this common program, the struggle of the developing countries to abolish the economic order imposed by the imperialists has steadily developed. Since the early 1970's, it has been a special characteristic of the national liberation movement. At the 40th session of the U.N. General Assembly (1985), the non-aligned and other developing countries took a strong, common stand concerning the issue of foreign debt, an international issue that goes far beyond financial and monetary matters and has become a socio-political issue. The defenders of capitalist exploitation were completely isolated in this struggle. Once again, the thrust of the struggle by the Non-aligned Movement was aimed directly at the imperialists.

Although extraordinary advances have been made and the developed capitalist countries have been forced to make some concessions, the struggle for a new international economic order has actually only begun. The non-aligned countries still have a long way to go, still must resolve many difficult problems, such as finding an optimum position within the international division of labor at a time when their economies are still underdeveloped, making South-South cooperation truly effective, overcoming the illusions concerning North-South negotiations...

Looking back on the history of the Non-aligned Movement over the past 25 years, we can state: the trends of our times have been the factors deciding the development of the Non-aligned Movement along the path of struggling against imperialism, a struggle that has focused on the three most important issues of peace, national independence and development.

The trends of our times have helped the Non-aligned Movement to steadfastly adhere to its anti-imperialist stand and caused the movement to increasingly join with the forces of socialism on many issues. Due to its diversity, the movement might falter at times but the fact that the movement's trend of development is down the path of progress has already been confirmed. To see only the Non-aligned Movement's diversity and complexity but not the decisive significance of the trends of our times is to underestimate the movement. Conversely, if this diversity is not recognized, demands which go far beyond that which is practical will be placed upon the movement.

Vietnam joined the Non-aligned Movement some 16 years ago at the 3rd High Level Conference in Lusaka (1970). During this period and together with Cuba, India, Algeria, Laos and the other fraternal and friendly countries, we have made positive contributions to the development of the movement through the revolutionary struggles of our people against the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists as well as through tireless activities in the various non-aligned forms. We attach importance to and continuously struggle to protect the solidarity of the movement on the basis of its common anti-imperialist stand. As a member of the socialist community and a member of the Non-aligned Movement, we see in the movement the perfect combination of the goals of the nation and our times of peace, national independence and social progress.

FOOTNOTES

1. The document of the 1976 Colombo High Level Conference (1976).
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. The document of the Havana High Level Conference (1979).
5. The document of the Cairo High Level Conference (1964).

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