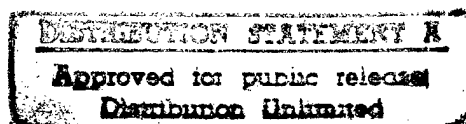


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20 January 1983

SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

No. 1242

TAP CHI CONG SAN, No. 10, October 1982

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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LIVE AND WORK ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTION AND LAW

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 82 pp 1-5

[Editorial]

[Passages between slantlines denote boldface as published]

[Text] Any state which wants to exist as a state and perform its functions in building and preserving the dictatorship of the leading class of society must necessarily promulgate and base itself on its own laws to govern society. Our socialist state's laws reflect the will of the working class and are formulated in the interests of the socialist fatherland and the people's happiness. They are compatible with all the working people's aspirations.

The Constitution of Vietnam is the basic law which institutionalizes the people's collective mastery and which defines the most important regulations of our country's political, economic, cultural, social and national defense systems, on the citizen's basic rights and obligations, and on the organization and operation of major organs of the state apparatus. On the basis of the new constitution and to implement it, the National Assembly, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers have adopted and promulgated various laws, codes, rules and regulations one after another to continue institutionalizing and concretizing the people's collective mastery in the political, economic, cultural and social fields. Aside from the laws promulgated following the adoption of the Constitution in 1980, many of the laws promulgated previously still remain in force and are uniformly applied throughout the country. All these laws are drawn up on the basis of the party's line and policy and aimed at concretizing and ensuring the implementation of this line and policy. Regarding the immediate path ahead, the maintenance of the old laws and the promulgation of new ones are aimed at ensuring the implementation of the two strategic tasks set forth by our Fifth Party Congress:

First, to successfully build socialism;

Second, to stand ready to fight to firmly defend the Vietnamese socialist fatherland.

/The struggle for the strict and uniform observance of our laws throughout the country and their firm defense is closely linked to that of implementing these

two strategic tasks. It is an urgent requirement which affects all our party members, all state agencies, enterprises, social organizations and all our armed forces and people./

To successfully build socialism, our state must guide the building and development of the socialist economy throughout the country. This is a unified economic system comprising many sectors, many fields and many links which operate harmoniously according to a single state plan. Fulfillment of plan norms is not merely the result of labor and perseverance. It requires that everyone concerned, from people in leading positions at the center, in the localities and at the grassroots level to ordinary workers in various sectors of the national economy, scrupulously observe all the regulations and procedures on national economic planning; on building and implementing the system of economic and technical norms; on the economic contract system; on the supply of materials, technology and energy; on labor management; on product standardization and quality control; on financial management, and so forth. It also requires those concerned and even other citizens to seriously implement the laws on the preservation of natural resources, on the protection of socialist property, and on market and monetary management, and other laws.

Our socialist economy has been managed in line with the principle of democratic centralism. On the one hand, economic management is based on the system of legal standards to ensure that the state can use and determine in a centralized manner all the sources of labor, natural resources, goods and money. On the other, the state implements various incentive policies to develop vigorously the initiative and creativity of localities and primary installations. To orient all these dynamic and creative activities toward achieving the general objectives set by the party, the state demands that localities and primary installations comply scrupulously with some definite legal clauses so as to firmly maintain the general discipline of the state which governs the systems of product and income delivery, economic contracts, foreign exchange management and state monopoly of external trade. We understand ever more thoroughly great Lenin's famous words in the early stage of the Soviet administration: "The legal system must be unified and the greatest hazard in our life as well as in the current poor status of our culture lies in the fact that we have condoned the millenary viewpoints of Russia and the semibarbarous habits of maintaining differences in the legal systems of Kaluga and Kazan."¹

The failure to fulfill plans, and the imbalances between production and technical materials, production and labor, receipts and expenses, goods funds of society and monetary funds of the population, imports and exports, and production and consumption demand are partly due to the fact that economic management has not been firmly based on law and that some localities have not implemented scrupulously the legal economic, labor and administrative standards specified in the related state publications.

Social management and the assurance of social order and security--a very important mission of our state at a time when our country although at peace is faced with a multifaceted war of enemy sabotage and must be prepared to cope with a possible major war--must also be based firmly on law. Such negative phenomena as theft of socialist assets, corruption, speculation, contraband,

forgery and other illicit businesses have all originated from "minor" violations. As they are not detected and dealt with promptly and severely in accordance with law, they have spread out quickly and have become serious to the point of disturbing socialist order and law in several socioeconomic areas and in everyday life.

Our enemy--the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists--is waging a multifaceted war of sabotage against our people. It is ready to take advantage of all loopholes in the order and law of our society--especially infringements on economic management law, disrespect for law, regulations and rules by some people--in order to spread false rumor, conduct psychological warfare operations, incite people to flee abroad, launch armed provocations along our border and infiltrate spies and commandos into our territory so as to implement their insidious long-range plots. Our urgent tasks in building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland are to immediately cover these loopholes and consolidate socialist order and law in the economic, social and national defense fields. This is also an essential condition in the immediate future for stabilizing and improving our people's livelihood a step further.

To consolidate socialist order and law is not only a task of the state but also of each and every person. /Only when living and working according to the Constitution and law have become the lifestyle and work style of each individual and each unit in society, can we say that socialist order and law have really been consolidated./

To live and work according to the Constitution and law, each individual and each unit must consistently respect and seriously observe the laws, regulations and discipline in all of their activities and actions. They must not arbitrarily disregard or implement in an arbitrary manner the general regulations issued by the state and their superiors by running after their own or their region's local and temporary interests. We must be fully aware of our own and our units' rights, interests and obligations as well as those of other people and units. We must respect the principles of community, economic and social life set forth by the state. We absolutely must not encroach on the interests of the state, the community, other people and other units. We must seriously observe the systems of responsibility, of discipline, of defending public property and of serving the people. We must remind and convince other individuals and units to also seriously observe the laws, regulations and discipline. If we cannot remind and convince them, we must discover and denounce the violations to competent agencies for settlement, and so forth. All this reflects a lifestyle and workstyle according to the Constitution and law.

This lifestyle and workstyle must be manifested at all stages of activity, everywhere and at all times in the life or action of individuals or collectives, among families, on the streets, in public places, schools, hospitals, shops, cooperatives, enterprises, party and government agencies and mass organizations.

When observance of the Constitution and law has become the way of life, the workstyle, the habit and part of the consciousness--something like "a second

"nature"--or large numbers of people in society, this will be /an indication that our people's level of culture, ideology and legal consciousness and our society's level of civilization have been basically raised./

To attain such a level, we must persistently apply many measures.

/First, the state must strengthen its management of society according to the law./

To administer social management, the state must resort to a combination of various administrative, economic, educational and organizational measures. /All such measures, however, must be based on and ensured by the law./ We can achieve concrete results in developing and raising the sense of responsibility of workers and civil servants only if legal regulations concerning their duties, rights and responsibilities are issued and implemented. The use of material incentives will result in higher economic efficiency in production and business only if the legal regulations on workers' obligation to maintain product quality standards, to correctly observe economic-technical norms, and so forth, and on enterprises' obligation to deliver products and to make financial contributions to the state, are seriously implemented.

All managerial activities of the state in the economic, cultural and social fields must be based on the law. The Party Central Committee political report to the Fifth Party Congress has clearly pointed out: "To strengthen social management according to the law, our state must urgently concretize the new Constitution through a system of laws. It must pay great attention to gradually establishing a system of economic laws and public security laws."² It is necessary to abolish, change or amend those regulations which have become outmoded or which are no longer in tune with reality, and to formulate new laws so as to gradually improve the current legal system and to enable it to meet the basic requirements of the state's management work.

Scrupulously implementing law is a major problem. "Our state must fully exercise both its political and economic powers to preserve social discipline, wage an effective struggle against law infringements and social evils and do away with the abnormal situation in which many laws and legal orders are not correctly implemented, or even not implemented at all. The state agencies at the central and local levels must take a firm attitude and strong measures to prevent and eliminate violations of the people's right to collective mastery; mercilessly suppress the counterrevolutionaries; punish those exploiters who refuse to reform, hoodlums, ruffians, speculators, traffickers and embezzlers; and take stern measures against those cadres and employees who abuse their functions and power to contravene the laws."³ Paying great attention to leadership and to perfecting qualitatively /agencies in charge of ensuring state law,/ such as the organs of control, tribunals, juridical agencies, economic arbitration agencies and so forth, are very important organizational measures to ensure the strengthening of social management according to law.

/Second, we must actively implement all measures aimed at heightening the people's legal knowledge and awareness./

On the one hand, educational and propaganda forces and means must be coordinated in disseminating and explaining law widely among the people of all strata. It is necessary to use different appropriate forms of dissemination, including the prompt promulgation and posting of currently topical legal regulations at public places and government establishments such as agencies, enterprises, populated areas, streets, bus terminals, shops and market places.

On the other hand, the masses of people or their representatives and representatives of mass organizations must be encouraged to participate in establishing and controlling the implementation of work systems and in managerial work in establishments. They must also be encouraged to contribute their views on the drafting of legal documents, draft laws and legal orders which have been sent down to establishments and organs by the higher echelons for consultation. We must actively create conditions for setting up in localities appropriate organizations for the people to settle cases of violations of law and other conflicts.

All this is instrumental in having the masses participate directly in formulating principles for a collective life and ensuring the implementation of laws and regulations in localities. On this basis, we will be able to gradually heighten the people's legal knowledge and awareness.

/Third, party committee echelons and party cadres and members must be exemplary in implementing the Constitution and law. They must take the lead in the struggle to strengthen socialist law./ Uncle Ho has taught: "Party members must set examples, and the people will follow suit." Party committee echelons and party cadres and members must always act upon the Constitution and law, avoid violating laws and actively support persons who strictly abide by laws. They must also defend honest people, denounce lawbreaking activities and condemn law violators. Fulfillment of these tasks will greatly help to encourage everyone to live and work according to the Constitution and law.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin: Discussion on the System of Duplication and Legal System" Complete Work, Progress Publishing House; Moscow, 1978, book 45, p 232.
2. The Party Central Committee Political Report to the Fifth Party Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, Issue No 4, 1982, p 63.
3. The Party Central Committee Political Report to the Fifth Party Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, Issue No 4, 1982, p 63.

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SATISFACTORILY CARRY OUT SECOND PHASE PARTY ORGANIZATION CONGRESSES AT ALL LEVELS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 82 pp 6-11

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Along with carrying out the political drive to study the resolutions of the Fifth National Party Congress, all localities and grassroots units are now intensively preparing for the convening of second phase party organization congresses at various levels.

Such congresses are of special importance to the implementation of the resolutions of the Fifth National Party Congress. In addition to deciding on policies and measures to implement the National Party Congress resolutions, these congresses will elect new executive committees for all party organizations. Unless they know how to prepare reports and understand the tasks related to organization and cadres in a most satisfactory manner, party committee echelons in various localities cannot ensure that their congresses obtain the results they expect.

These congresses will be held from the grassroots level up and will focus on the following requirements:

--Promote democracy and successfully rally the intellect of cadres, party members and the masses from the grassroots level up in order to be able to issue a correct, practical and concrete resolution--a resolution which is characterized by revolutionary positiveness and a factual and firm basis and which manifests correctly the spirit of the various resolutions of the Fifth National Party Congress.

--It is necessary to base on the principle of democratic centralism to elect a fully qualified executive committee for every party organization. This executive committee must devoutly follow the party's lines on internal and external affairs and must be endowed with a fighting will, high quality, and the ability to successfully lead and organize the implementation of its party organization's resolutions, as well as to take over or continue the task of developing the party's leadership organs.

--On that basis, efforts must be made to strengthen unity within the party organization; overcome bureaucratism, conservatism and other negative manifestations; vigorously consolidate the grassroots level; and create a revolutionary impetus in the mass movement at the grassroots level in order to resolutely and successfully implement the resolutions of the National Party Congress and the Party Organization Congress.

Experience has shown that the most important thing in preparing for the convening of Party Organization Congresses at various levels is the preparation of reports by party committee echelons to be presented at these congresses.

At present, the preparation of these reports is based on a clear understanding of the resolutions of the Fifth National Party Congress and those resolutions adopted by the Party Central Committee and the Party Central Committee Political Bureau following the convening of the National Party Congress. It is necessary for all party committee echelons and party organizations to make a study in order to be able to implement these resolutions satisfactorily and concentrate efforts on practically and specifically solving all the urgent tasks in the immediate future.

On the other hand, it is also necessary for party committees at all levels to review carefully the implementation of the resolutions of the Fourth National Party Congress and the resolutions adopted by various party organizations at previous congresses. Only by enhancing the sense of criticism and self-criticism, satisfactorily reviewing all work, and correctly assessing the actual situation of various localities and units in all aspects in order to find out the strong points and weaknesses in the leadership work and operational guidance of all party committee echelons, can we establish the basis for implementing the National Party Congress resolutions most correctly and achieve a high degree of identity of views on various policies and operational measures at these congresses, as well as in all party organizations.

At present, in our party and society, beside the positive aspects and new factors, there are sluggishness and prolonged manifestations of negativism which adversely affect many aspects of work and the relations between the party and the masses. We must profoundly analyze these manifestations and, without hesitation, find their causes, first of all from among party committee echelons and key party cadres, in order to resolutely correct them. It is necessary to avoid preparing reports in a simple or general way which makes them look almost like a copy of certain parts of the documents released by the National Party Congress. We cannot review our work accurately or draw any useful lesson for the improvement of the quality of our leadership and operational guidance with such reports.

With regard to the implementation of various major tasks, we must, on the one hand, point out the spirit of the Fifth Party Congress resolutions--in terms of targets, duties, policies and measures--for each specific task while, on the other hand, make clear to all party organizations what to do and how to implement the resolutions of the National Party Congress and determine the responsibilities and time limits for the completion of each task.

In general, it is necessary for party organization congresses at all levels to carefully discuss the orientations and tasks for the period until the end of 1985 while paying attention to concretizing a number of targets, orientations and tasks for 1983 in various major fields. In so doing, after the convening of these party organization congresses, we will be able to implement their resolutions quickly in order to develop the advantages and potentials of all localities and units.

In formulating policies, objectives and measures of struggle, we must consider the pros and cons to ensure that resolutions of party organization congresses will yield concrete results, thereby meeting the most urgent requirements in production, daily life, national defense, in the maintenance of security, in the mass revolutionary movement and in party-building. This is necessary to fulfill most satisfactorily the two strategic tasks and the four socioeconomic objectives set forth by the Party National Congress. Particular efforts must be concentrated on accelerating agricultural production, especially the production of grain and foodstuffs, in order to make important changes in 1982 and in subsequent years. At the same time, the production of consumer goods and export goods must be accelerated.

On the basis of formulating our policies, objectives and measures of struggle, we must determine the operational orientations of the economic, cultural, scientific and technical sectors and accelerate the three revolutions in order to attain these objectives.

At present, the cause of socialist construction and national defense requires our party and people to carry out many difficult and urgent tasks. Besides basic advantages, we are faced with acute economic difficulties. All-level party organization congresses must display a spirit of self-reliance, a spirit of daring to think and act, the highest sense of responsibility and creativity, and a determination to overcome all difficulties in order to surge forward. On the one hand, these congresses must develop at all cost the intellect of the collectives, conduct frank and democratic discussions and achieve a high identity of views in the assessment of the situation in order to find the strengths and weak points of localities and units. They must seek ways to develop all potentials in labor, land, occupations and material and technical bases of localities and units. On the other hand, they must satisfactorily carry out such dictums as "the central level, localities and grassroots units work together" and "the state and the people work together" in order to develop successfully all potentials of localities, grassroots levels and people and to help implement the resolutions of the Party National Congress in all fields of activity.

Experience shows that in setting economic targets, we must avoid the tendency to formulate unrealistic norms that can hardly be fulfilled and the tendency, when faced with difficulties, to formulate norms which are too low compared with real capabilities. Attention must also be paid to overcoming such erroneous thoughts as passiveness, reliance on higher levels, indiscipline, individualism, departmentalism and localism.

At provincial and city party organization congresses, besides general reports, there will also be reports on the party-building task by relevant party committee echelons. These reports must be focused on a number of key tasks which involve, among other things, adopting measures for organizing the implementation of the resolution of the Party National Congress on the party-building task--especially on the thinking and quality of party cadres and members--the training and assignment of cadres according to plan, the development of the contingent of party members and so forth.

At party organization congresses at provincial, district and grassroots levels, besides general reports, there will also be reports on self-criticism by relevant party committee echelons. These reports must also be carefully prepared and must reflect the truth in order to evaluate correctly the activities of party committee echelons as well as their implementation of principles on party organization and activity such as democratic centralism, collective leadership, individual responsibility, self-criticism and criticism and relationship with the masses. Meanwhile, views on self-criticism and criticism of strengths and weak points, qualities, ethics and work behavior of party committee members must also be highlighted.

Strengthening party committee echelons is an important requirement that must be carefully prepared and satisfactorily fulfilled at all-level party organization congresses. In particular, as our present cause of socialist construction and national defense requires that our party further improve the leadership capabilities and effectiveness of all party committee echelons, the strengthening of party committees is all the more important and urgent. The requirements for the strengthening of executive committees at all levels have been clearly specified in the political report and the report on the party-building task at the Fifth Party National Congress.

First of all, we must truly change our views on the appointment of members of all-level executive committees, as well as on the composition of party committee echelons, and overcome our shopworn, conservative and biased views in the evaluation of cadres and the setting up of the organizational structure of party committee echelons. We must make everyone understand that being admitted to or discontinuing the membership of party committee echelons is normal in party activity and is in keeping with the requirements of revolutionary duties. "We must not regard party committee echelons as places where one can be promoted, enjoy satisfactory treatment and ally with one another to form something like an association."¹ Persons elected to party committee echelons must have the following qualifications:

--Be unanimous with the party's domestic and foreign lines.

--Be loyal, honest, just and impartial; place the interests of the community, the state and the entire party above those of individuals, sections and localities; and resolutely struggle against negativism within the party and in society.

--Be thoroughly conversant with the work for which one is responsible, and acquire necessary knowledge and practical experiences so as to be able to

organize the satisfactory implementation of party committee echelons' resolutions, as required by one's duties.

--Be able to achieve unity among party cadres and members under one's leadership and be truly capable of contributing to the executive committees' collective leadership.

As leading nuclei of party organizations, party committee echelons play a very important role in organizing the implementation of all party lines and policies and caring for the local people's livelihood. Therefore, we cannot bring into party committee echelons persons who are not unanimous with the party's domestic and foreign lines and the resolutions of the Party National Congress, who are opportunistic, dishonest, who have neither implemented nor persuaded their families to implement the party and state's policies, who are individualistic, irresponsible and authoritarian, who indulge in unorganized and indisciplined habits and who advocate dissension and sectarianism.

Comrades who have reached retirement age or who are going to retire but who are not healthy enough to go through their terms of office or are no longer able to perform their tasks should be allowed to retire or to take a convalescent rest, or to continue their work but not with party committee echelons. Comrades who are sick and need prolonged sick leave, and comrades who have spent more than half of their terms of office in going to school should be allowed to continue their treatment or their studies.

All-level party organization congresses must decide to expel from the party committee echelons not only comrades who have many qualitative shortcomings or are truly unqualified for their work, but also comrades who, though not guilty of major shortcomings, have not performed their duties well during their recent terms of office. They must also replace these comrades with more qualified ones.

On the basis of the new concept on the qualities and ability of cadres and of the leadership requirements of party committee echelons, we must select and admit to party committee echelons qualified cadres discovered from the lower-level revolutionary movement. We must overcome the erroneous concept of not considering the results of work and the failure to comply with the party's lines, viewpoints and requirements as the final yardstick to determine the quality and abilities of cadres. "We must actively bring into party committee echelons young comrades, female cadres and those comrades who possess a good knowledge of economic and technical management, who have good organization and implementation ability, who are renovation-minded, who know how to ascertain and scrupulously comply with the party's policies and lines and who have demonstrated their absolute loyalty to the party and the revolutionary cause."²

As for their structure, party committee echelons must have a reasonable number of members and reasonable compositions to ensure their leadership over all fields of activity. The composition of party committee echelons must reflect a combination of politically experienced cadres with cadres with adequate economic, scientific and technical knowledge and organizational and managerial abilities. However, party committee members at all levels must meet the

criteria concerning qualities and ability, and the average of these members must be lowered. Great attention must be paid to increasing the percentage of workers brought into party committee echelons, especially in cities and towns, and plans must be worked out to train and improve cadres to be admitted to party committee echelons for next tenures.

While preparing cadres for party committee echelons for the coming tenure, plans must be drafted to prepare cadres for subsequent tenures.

To effect a real change in formulating new tasks, objectives, policies and measures, to turn them into concrete acts and to strengthen party committee echelons according to the quality demanded, the preparations for and organization of all-level party organization congresses must be democratic and closely supervised and must reflect a combination of democratic practices at lower levels with guidance from higher levels. Party members and the masses at the grassroots must be motivated to participate in drafting the state plan, thus showing that mass participation from the lower levels will provide provincial and district plans to be presented at the congresses with a firm basis. This task must be coordinated with discussions of the draft reports which the higher party committee echelons send down to lower party committee echelons so they can contribute views to the higher party committee echelons. Through this and through the mass revolutionary movement, we will discover good cadres with necessary qualities and abilities and consider their admittance to party committee echelons.

Provincial and district party committees must direct commissions and sectors in extensively reviewing tasks over the past 5 years, propose ideas on tasks within their jurisdiction, help draft party committee echelons' reports to be delivered at the congresses, and contribute ideas to lower party committee echelons and subordinate grassroots units. They must send their summarized draft reports and proposals to the lower and grassroots levels and point out to them important problems that need general discussions so that party members and representatives of lower party committee echelons can contribute their ideas conveniently. They must base themselves on the views expressed at the lower and grassroots-level party organization congresses to complement or amend their draft reports prior to the holding of their own congresses.

To strengthen the relationship between the party and the masses and to develop the people's right to collective mastery, all-level party organization congresses must point out key and realistic problems so the masses can contribute their ideas. In localities and production establishments, workers, cooperative members, cadres and representatives of the people's councils, who are not party members, are encouraged to contribute ideas to the tasks of the congresses, criticize the leadership of party committees and party chapter committees, and to strengthening party committee echelons. At provincial, city, district and precinct levels, depending on the local situation, arrangements must be made so that executive committees of mass organizations and the VFF, notables and intellectuals can contribute their views on the tasks of the congresses.

Experience shows that preparations of cadres for all-level party organization congresses should always have very careful attention. It is necessary to organize the collection of ideas of core cadres of party committee echelons concerned and of the lower echelons on how to strengthen party committee echelons. In this matter, we must consider the pros and cons and avoid subjectivism and one-sidedness. On the one hand, party committee echelons must satisfactorily prepare cadres for the election of their executive committees; on the other, they must supervise party committees of lower echelons in their preparations of cadres, especially in difficult cases where cadres are to be admitted to or expelled from party committee echelons in accordance with the party's requirements. Each party committee echelon, on the basis of combining ideas on self-criticism and criticism of the entire party committee echelon by the masses, must conduct self-criticism and criticism of party committees' members and prepare cadres for new executive committees. Party organization congresses of the grassroots, district and precinct levels must reconsider the qualifications of delegates who were elected to attend the past higher-level party organization congresses. Whenever necessary, an echelon, under the practical guidance of provincial and city party committees, can reelect the delegates or organize by-elections to appoint more delegates to attend the higher-level party organization congresses.

Provincial and district party committees must closely supervise grassroots-level party organization congresses to ensure that such congresses will be held successfully in all localities and production establishments. They must pay particular attention to strengthening grassroots-level party committees, seeing to it that they are composed of honest members who dare to work and know how to work, who can achieve internal unity, who deal democratically with the masses, who dare to conduct self-criticism and criticism, who oppose negativism and who are determined to organize the implementation of all party and state guidelines and policies successfully. We must make every effort so that grassroots-level party organization congresses, in coordination with the political drive to study and act upon the resolutions of the Fifth Party National Congress and with the review of the issuance of party membership cards at the grassroots levels, will help to consolidate our party from the grassroots-level up even more firmly.

The satisfactory preparations for and holding of all-level party organization congresses must be reflected in the following results: Create a seething revolutionary impetus among party cadres and members and the masses and to initiate a mass revolutionary movement; strengthen unity and unanimity within party organizations; and make party committees, the administrative apparatus and mass organizations firm and strong so that they will resolutely and successfully implement the resolutions of the Fifth Party National Congress and of the all-level party organization congresses.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Report to the Fifth Party Congress on Party Building," TAP CHI CONG SAN, Issue No 4, 1982, p 43.
2. "Report on the Party-Building Task at the Fifth Party Congress," TAP CHI CONG SAN, Issue No 4, 1982, p 42.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL VIEWS ON RENOVATING ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 82 pp 12-21

[Article by Le Thanh Nghi]

[Passages within single slantlines denote italics and within double slantlines denote boldface as published]

[Text] The issue of renovating economic management was defined by the Fifth Party Congress as a /major policy and a major viewpoint/ designed to achieve the socioeconomic targets of the 1980's. A /key task/ for the 5 years 1981-85 and a /decisive factor/ for changing the economic situation of our country.

Why is it necessary to renovate economic management and how are we to do it? In an attempt to answer this question, this article deals with a number of fundamental views on the renovation of economic management in the spirit of the spirit of the resolutions of the Fifth Party Congress.

//Renovating Economic Management Is an Objective Pressing Requirement//

In the northern part of our country, the system of management for the national economy through the use of socialist methods was gradually developed in conjunction with the process of socialist transformation and construction. This system of economic management positively contributed to the restoration, transformation and development of the economy, successfully met the requirements for shifting economic orientations during the warring years, and developed the strength of the economy to contribute to the victory of the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation.

Following the total liberation of the country, this system of economic management was expanded nationwide, thus contributing to the unification of the country on the state plane.

In spite of its positive effects at certain periods of time and in certain fields, our country's system of economic management has displayed many serious and lasting shortcomings and weaknesses. While the revolution has entered a new stage on a countrywide basis and triggered major socioeconomic changes, management has failed to keep up with the changing situation as it is still based in the main on the old system. The inherent shortcomings and the

nationwide application of obsolete policies and methods of management have only served to make the economic management system even more ineffective and sluggish.

The biggest and most widespread shortcoming of the economic management system is that the /mechanism for management/ is heavily characterized by bureaucratism and subsidization in the type of administrative deskwork; and it neither attaches importance to economic law, economic measures nor economic efficiency, and does not link economic responsibility, authority and interests with the results of production and business. This mechanism is clearly reflected in centralized and bureaucratic methods of planning based on subsidization and in the failure to thoroughly understand the principles of economic accounting and socialist business. Some economic policies that violate set regulations and fail to correctly combine the three interests have hindered production and dampened the laboring people's zeal and creativity.

Coupled with this system of bureaucratic management based on subsidization is a /system for organizing production/ which is too rigidly centralized to meet actual conditions, and, at the same time, is so fragmented that it causes many troubles and bottlenecks in the process of reproduction between sectors and localities as well as between sectors, localities and basic units.

Such a mechanism for management and system for organizing production lead to the existence of a very cumbersome, complicated and ineffective /managerial apparatus/ staffed with a contingent of managerial cadres who are not conversant with economic accounting and many of whom are used to the arbitrary and irresponsible behavior inherent of the bureaucratic management methods based on subsidization.

Shortcomings and mistakes in economic management constitute a subjective factor that have either given rise to or further aggravated the serious difficulties now plaguing the economy and life, and they have had many negative effects on society.

Why have these shortcomings and mistakes been made?

First, it is necessary to note that economic management is a very complicated issue, especially considering our country's present situation. We do not possess sufficient theories, knowledge or experience concerning economic management, nor do we have a model with characteristics similar to those of our country for study and application. Through reality, we have come to understand all the more clearly the teaching expounded by Lenin in many of his works: That management of the national economy is many times more complex and difficult than the seizure of administrative power.

On the other hand, however the war did lead to neglect of some newly established management practices, resulted in disregard for the already poor calculation of economic results and forced us, in particular, to adopt a wartime supply policy which did not strictly conform to economic laws. Since the end of the war, the managerial mechanism still employs a number of policies and systems which are only suitable for wartime.

The mechanism of bureaucratic and subsidy-based management exists in an economy where production cannot meet consumption because we have, for many years, had to rely on immense sources of external aid. This aid has been handed down from the top and used as a basis for centralized and bureaucratic planning and management and for the implementation of a subsidization policy that overtaxes the national economy's capacity. This situation has given rise to dependence and passiveness from top to bottom.

From a subjective point of view, we are primarily responsible for having maintained for too long the mechanism of bureaucratic and subsidy-based management although this shortcoming was discovered and criticized at the 19th Plenum (in 1971) of the Third Party Central Committee.

Though long aware of them, we have neither clearly defined the manifestations nor deeply analyzed the harmful consequences and causes of the mechanism of bureaucratic and subsidy-based management. We have also failed to devise a new, correct and dynamic mechanism of management, to clearly assert our viewpoints concerning socialist business and to devise concrete forms, measures and steps for applying the laws and principles of socialist economic management in accordance with the specific conditions of our country. In short, we have not deeply analyzed what we must struggle against, and only have a vague idea of what we must build. As a result of this, it is difficult to bring about change, even though the problem was identified a decade ago.

Furthermore, the managerial apparatus and its contingent of cadres has been operating in accordance with the mechanism of bureaucratic and subsidy-based management for many years now. The old-fashioned styles of thinking and working have become a habit heavily characterized by conservatism and stagnation, unresponsive to the new, slow to support the correct and disinclined to correct the wrong.

In recent years, and especially since the issuance of the resolution of the Fourth Central Party Committee's Sixth Plenum (in September 1979), some improvements have been introduced into the managerial mechanism along the line of combining the three economic interests, increasing the laboring people's enthusiasm in production and promoting the initiative of basic units and localities in production and business.

These improvements have brought about some positive changes, especially in agricultural production and the collection and purchase of agricultural products, in artisan and handicraft production and, to a lesser extent, in state-run industry. In a number of localities and sectors, there have emerged units with outstanding production and business achievements.

However, beside this, some negative phenomena have either emerged or further developed, notably the tendency to run after private interests (of the individual, units or localities) while disregarding the interests of the state, and some acts that violate the general policies and systems for management and impair or impede the central government's centralized and unified management.

The actual situation points to the following:

--Positive changes in the economy and the emergence of new factors in the past have been possible thanks to the renovation of economic management. Therefore, to bring the economy out of difficulties toward stabilization and development with efficiency and quality, it is imperative that we renovate economic management.

--At present the mechanism of bureaucratic and subsidy-based management, although condemned, has only been marginally revised in certain respects. The old has not yet been eliminated completely and the new has not yet been formed uniformly. Disagreement still exists over certain fundamental concepts and some specific issues, resulting in discrepancies in action; and dishonest businessmen have taken advantage of this situation to seek profits and cause additional disturbances. The actual situation dictates that we must /clarify the fundamental views on renovating economic management/ and, on this basis, determine steps and measures for resolving pressing problems with the aim of doing away with the mechanism of bureaucratic and subsidy-based management and building a new and uniform mechanism for management in order to meet the situation in which the economy is seriously out of balance and its managerial apparatus is upset.

//Main Orientation For and Fundamental Views On Renovating Economic Management//

Along with determining the orientation for socio-economic strategy for the 1980's; and the orientation, tasks and main purposes for socio-economic development for the 5-year period 1981-85, our Fifth Party Congress set the main orientation and purposes for renovating the entire system of economic management. This involves the building of a new mechanism of management, the reorganization of production, the readjustment of the management apparatus, and the improvement of party and state economic leadership and management.

In order to ascertain and satisfactorily implement the resolution of the party congress on renovating the economy, it is necessary for us to clarify the following questions regarding orientation and views:

//1. Ascertain the main points of and the urgent problems regarding economic management//

The system of economic management is closely linked with economic strategy, with the arrangement of the economic structure and especially with the rearrangement of the economy.

As the system of economic management covers many activities which are closely interrelated and interactive, we must renovate economic management in accordance with a systematic and uniform concept. This, however, does not mean that all activities in the system of management are equally important. In a grassroots-level unit, a locality or a sector, the main activities may differ in certain periods. However, an overall look at the current national economic situation reveals that /the renovation of the economic structure is of prime importance./ This will play a decisive role in effecting a change in the entire

system of management, thus making it possible to bring the economy out of recession and to contribute to overcoming all negative phenomena in economic and social affairs.

Briefly speaking, the managerial mechanism is a system of planning and of management policies and regulations necessary for regulating the economic apparatus and directing all economic activities toward implementing various prescribed politico-economic objectives and tasks.

In the initial stage of the transition to socialism, the mechanism of economic management must be built up in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. In economic management, we must use the state plan as the backbone, combine the implementation of the state plan with the practice of economic accountancy and socialist trade, and satisfactorily exploit economic advantages and market relations.

The Fifth Party Congress pointed out: "The new managerial mechanism which we have to apply must broaden the independence of establishments, localities and sectors while simultaneously ensuring control by the central echelon of those things that need to be managed by it. The new managerial mechanism considers the state plan as the center, constantly heightens the state plan's role, attaches great importance to the various economic levers, applies the relations of markets, especially the organized market, and resolutely opposes the tendency to run after the free market. The new managerial mechanism encourages innovation and talent, requires a high sense of discipline and responsibility, overcomes negativism and establishes a social order." (Vol II, pp 72-73)¹

When underlining the decisive significance of the renovation of the mechanism of management, we do not mean that this work can be carried out separately from other activities. For instances, if we want to renovate the mechanism of management for state-run enterprises and cooperatives, we should not fail to reorganize production in such a way as to suit production orientation, production conditions and the new mechanism of management.

On the basis of this concept, the Fifth Congress set the following urgent tasks regarding economic management to be successfully carried out in the period ahead:

"Revising planning methods, which should be reflected in the preparation of the 5-year 1981-85 plan and the 1983 plan; resolving problems of delineating managerial responsibility between the central and local levels; perfecting the contract system with groups of laborers and individual laborers in agriculture and the policy of broadening the right to take initiatives in production and trade by various state-owned economic establishments; introducing and implementing a number of new incentive policies aimed at promoting agricultural development and increased production of consumer and export goods; further rearranging various production establishments and capital construction projects; stepping up market transformation and management, further resolving the problem of prices and wages, and correcting irrational profit-making activities; and renovating the state administrative machinery, revising working procedures and initiating socialist emulation movements." (Volume II, pp 82-83).

Resolving these urgent problems regarding management must be linked with efforts to rearrange economic activities and implement the present economic tasks, thereby making every step of managerial renovation a step to improve the economy and welfare.

//II. Some fundamental views on renovating economic management.//

The management of an economy--which is in the initial stage of the transition to socialism, which is "composed of many elements, many technical levels, many operational scales and many production and trade forms and which is experiencing many serious imbalances" (Volume II, page 72)--requires the application of various rules and principles of socialist economic management and of various operational forms and steps in accordance with the specific features of the actual situation. We must therefore renovate economic management in accordance with the following fundamental views:

1. View on //unifying political and economic leadership://

This concept advanced by Lenin requires that we always firmly grasp the ultimate goals of economic management, namely successfully implementing party lines and the various socioeconomic strategic objectives and political tasks already laid down for each revolutionary stage in order to successfully build socialism.

According to this concept, the renovation of economic management in our country must conform to and satisfactorily serve the requirements for socialist industrialization which, in the immediate future, consist mainly of the following: advancing agriculture to large-scale socialist production; combining agriculture, consumer goods industry and heavy industry in a rational industrial-agricultural structure; and at the same time, ensuring success for socialism in the struggle between the two roads by establishing socialist order with the aim of guaranteeing efficiency and quality, pushing the economy forward and making a positive contribution to national defense.

All policies for renovating economic management must be based on the stand of the working class and aimed at ensuring success for socialism and overcoming the tendency of seeking only limited and immediate interests for purely economic reasons, which deviates from the socialist road.

2. View on the //mechanism of leadership by the party, collective mastery by the laboring people and management by the state.//

Leadership by the party, mastery by the people and management by the state is a fundamental principle that is institutionalized in our country's Constitution. It is the mechanism for ensuring unified political and economic leadership and the implementation of socialist economic management principles. In renovating economic management, an important requirement is to concretize this mechanism in the field of economic management.

The Fifth Party Congress clearly pointed out: "The party's leadership must be comprehensively strengthened, but /special importance must be attached to

"economic leadership. The entire party must go deep into the economic front, improve the style of leadership over the economy, and enhance its capacity and efficiency in leading the economy."/2

The system of the working people's collective mastery is both an aim and a motive force of economic leadership and management. To build and strengthen the system of collective mastery in the economy, we must closely associate responsibilities with the rights and interests which mastery entails and must ceaselessly enhance the working people's sense of and capacity for mastery. All this must be reflected in the new mechanism of management and quickly institutionalized so that the masses may clearly see that they really are masters.

"The working people exercise their right to collective mastery mainly through the state under the leadership of the party.... The crucial problem now is to readjust the organization of economic management bodies of the state and improve their activities in close connection with the building of a new economic structure and a new management system."3 The party statutes have more clearly defined the duties of party organizations in production and business units and in the various ministries and services so as to fully develop the system of the unit chief's responsibility, thereby contributing to overcoming the state in which a number of party organizations take over the managerial work of state agencies.

3. View on //economic efficiency//

In all economic activities, minor and major alike, economic efficiency must be used as a standard for calculating, affirming, examining and evaluating results. Although we must consider the direct results of all economic activities in many respects, we must focus on two main requirements: the meeting of society's needs and profitability (that is, the ability to spend the least and to make the most profit). To satisfy these demands, we must attach importance to both use-value and value and must closely link planning with economic accounting and socialist business practices. All socialist economic units must operate according to the direction and requirements of the state plans, and must turn out products in such quantities and categories and of such quality as to satisfy the demands of society most satisfactorily. At the same time, they must actively practice thrift, increase labor productivity, reduce production costs and attain an income level which permit them not only to fully cover all production and business expenditures but also to achieve accumulation for themselves and for society, thereby contributing to improving the working people's living conditions. Sector and regional managerial organs must also calculate and compare their investment and expenditure with the results obtained.

The mechanism of management based on subsidization has given rise in production work to a practice which prompts the producer to disregard all calculations and shirk all responsibility for the results of his economic activities. This is a practice which we must now do our best to overcome. On the other hand, we must also criticize and check the tendency to run after profits only, and even

to seek to increase profits by unscrupulous means, because it is contrary to our correct concept of economic efficiency.

4. Views on //democratic centralism//

Correctly settling the problem of the relationship between centralism and democracy is an important question in renovating economic management. Through its review of realities, the Fifth Party Congress has pointed out that the most correct way to resolve this problem is to ensure that all management bodies /at the central, local and grassroots levels bring into play their mastery/ in the mechanism of economic management, especially in planning. In the field of economic management, /the central level/ should control and satisfactorily carry out the following main tasks:

--To determine economic strategies; formulate programs and plans for socio-economic development and for the building of a national industrial-agricultural economic structure; guide and lead the elaboration of plans from the lower to the upper level and combine and balance all plans to formulate a general plan for the entire national economy. In this general plan, the central level must directly control and decide on the principal balances aimed at meeting the demands of the entire country or of many sectors and localities.

--Decide on the policies and systems of management to be applied to the whole national economy or to each sector and each field of activity of the entire country.

--Assume direct management of joint production organizations that operate on a national scale or in a large region, and major state-run enterprises equipped with modern technology that turn out on a large scale products to meet national demand and major export products, and that generate large sources of revenues for the state budget.

To ensure the central government's centralized and unified leadership and management, attention should be attached to developing the various /economic-technical branches/ and enhancing the responsibility and authority of the ministries and organs in charge of sectoral management on a national scale, especially with regard to strategies, plans and programs for developing sectors and intersectors, devising policies and systems for management within the sectors, improving the scientific-technological capabilities of the sectors and training cadres and workers.

The /basic/ economic units (enterprises, joint enterprises, cooperatives and so forth) must truly have financial autonomy and take the initiative in formulating their own plans for production and business in conformity with the requirements laid down in state plan. The new mechanism of management must open the way for the basic economic units to shake themselves free of the limits imposed by the amount of supplies provided by the state, and seek by all means to make full use of their production capacity and increase production volume while improving labor productivity, lowering production costs and ensuring product quality.

The /local/ echelons (provinces, district and corresponding units) must have their responsibility and authority clearly defined so they can satisfactorily carry out the function of state management in the economic and social fields in areas under their jurisdiction, and the function of direct management over the local economy. The mechanism for local planning and management must continue to be renovated along the line of encouraging the localities to bring into play all their potentials for developing the economy in conformity with the state plan, to carry out the motto "The central government and the localities work together, the state and the people work together," to correctly develop economic and scientific-technological relations with the central organs concerned and with other localities, and to expand export and import activities in accordance with state policies. On the basis of central planning and programming, the /province/ serves as the theater for comprehensive economic development and it must bring into play all its strong points to meet the people's demands in the territory under its jurisdiction.

The /district/ is the key theater for achieving the main objectives of the movement to advance agriculture to large-scale socialist production and its responsibility is to exploit its own potentials and strong points to positively meet local demand. The new mechanism for district planning and management must meet the need to promote the development of the district economic structure in a combined agroindustrial form (or a combined forestry-agricultural-industrial or fishery-agricultural-industrial form, depending on the specific conditions of the different types of districts), and to carry out the motto "The state, the cooperatives and the people work together" in developing the economy, organizing the people's material and cultural life and building a new countryside at the district level.

Those provinces and districts which do this successfully will be able to increase the local budget revenues and the reserves of goods, and will have better conditions for developing the local economy and caring for the livelihood of the local people, workers and civil servants.

In short, the principle of democratic centralism in management requires that centralization be carried out properly while boldly effecting decentralization in a rational manner. If we stress only one aspect or pit centralization against democracy, it will be difficult to avoid mistakes and deviations in management.

5. View on //planning, economic accounting, socialist business and the use of market relations.//

We affirm that planning is the central task of the management system, even at a time when the economic system is still composed of numerous elements, when the nonsocialist economic element still plays a major role, and when the economic situation remains unbalanced and unstable. This is because basic conditions now exist for us to manage the economy according to plan. In the present situation, when we face serious difficulties, we must strive even harder to bring into play the superiority of the planned economy so as to make the best use of the aggregate strength of the economic system.

To do so, we must renovate planning work to meet the following principal requirements:

--"We must ensure that all management bodies at the central, local and grass-roots levels really exercise mastery in planning, that is, they must really formulate, balance, defend and implement their plans"⁴ according to the guideline laid down in the portion dealing with the view on democratic centralism. At the same time, we must strengthen the scientific bases in planning so as to ensure the quality and the positive and stable balance of plans.

--Plans must fully reflect the principles of economic accounting and socialist business and must be linked with the correct use of market relations.

With regard to production and business units, planning work must be carried out according to the economic accounting system and combined with socialist business activities. As for sector and regional management organs, though not obliged to fully carry out economic accounting as basic units do, they must thoroughly understand the concept of socialist business and correctly use market relations. "We must expand the domestic market, develop economic relations between the basic units and localities according to plan and through contracts, and prevent administrative and bureaucratic relations from hindering and restraining economic activities. Export and import operations must be conducted quickly and sensibly. In particular, we must know how to flexibly switch production and markets so as to export anything we can and import anything we need"⁵ This is, as Lenin put it, "business acumen" which we should understand correctly. It is totally different from the "trade" practice which involves only buying and reselling at different prices to make a profit and which neither stimulates production nor supports the people's livelihood.

We use the direct planning method and organized market relations to resolve the problem of principal balances of the national economy and to regulate the activities of the state-run economy and some key operations of the collective economy. At the same time, we must know how to use various economic policies through market relations (including both the organized and free markets) to resolve problems concerning a number of essential economic relations and to guide those economic activities which, under present conditions, cannot or should not be directly planned. We should, however, apply measures to manage and guide the free market. We should also guard against the tendency of favoring the market mechanism and slackening our control of the free market.

//6. View on correctly associating the three economic interests.//

Economic interest is a very important motive force in all economic activities. Correctly resolving the problem of relations between different economic interests is the crux of economic policies and the fulcrum of economic levers. For socialist economic elements, all three interests--that of the entire society of which the state is the representative, that of the collective and that of the individual worker--are the common interests of the working people acting as collective masters. As such, these interests are closely related and united with one another. The interest of the entire society plays the leading role because it aims to advance the national economy to large-scale

socialist production. Therefore, this interest is the basis for a constant advancement of the interest of the collective and that of the individual. On the other hand, a correct resolution of the problem of the collective's and the individual worker's interests will have an instantaneous impact on efforts to increase labor productivity and develop production, thereby ensuring that the common interests of the entire society are served. If one of the three interests is impaired, the other two will inevitably be adversely affected.

A certain number of recently published guidelines and policies which are aimed at better serving individual and collective interests have brought about quick and positive changes, especially in the labor zeal of the masses. However, their implementation has generated a tendency to belittle and even impair the common interests. We should continue to improve the economic policies, especially the leverage policies on prices, wages, taxes, collection and purchase, credits and distribution of income in order to ensure a correct combination of the three interests and overcome shortcomings in some specific policies and in guiding their implementation. In this regard, besides the socialist economic elements, we must resolve the problem of economic interests related to other economic elements along the line of promoting production and business activities beneficial to the economy and the people's livelihood, ensuring the producers' legitimate interests, adjusting irrational incomes and severely punishing speculators, smugglers, forgers and illicit businessmen.

//7. View on combining the three economic, administrative and educational measures.//

The state of proletarian dictatorship uses all the three measures--mainly economic measures--to perform its economic management.

The economic measures create favorable and stimulative conditions for all economic organizations and workers to struggle for the best economic results along the guidelines of the state plan. Economic activities must be dynamic and creative to be able to bring about good results. Consequently, those economic measures the main function of which is to stimulate dynamism and creativity, must be considered fundamental measures to manage economic activities.

The administrative measures which are based on the state law and authority are designed to supervise and control all economic activities, assign duties and prevent and deal with harmful operations. Although we criticize administrative red tape, we do not deny the importance of administrative measures which must be strengthened and instituted into a system and law.

The political-educational measures cannot be separated from economic and administrative measures. The nature of correct economic and administrative measures is also educational. When we pay attention to economic interests and material incentives, we must be all the more concerned with correctly performing political, educational and ideological tasks in order to obtain realistic results.

In fact, these three types of measures are not used properly, emphasis has been placed on this or that measure and they have not been combined together satisfactorily. Consequently, it is important that we overcome this shortcoming so as to change anew the management system.

//8. View on the use of economic elements.//

The Fifth VCP Congress publication stipulated: "For a definite period of time, there will be three economic elements (state-owned, collective and individual) in the north and five economic elements (state-owned, collective, joint private-state owned, individual and privately run capitalist) in the south.

"The state must constantly consolidate and strengthen the state-run economy, and do its best to support, promote and reinforce the collective economy. By using various policies and appropriate forms of production organization, the state will tighten its relationship with the individual and collective economic organizations and pay attention to linking all economic elements together under the leadership of the state-run economy." With regard to the family-based economy of workers of the state and collective organizations in cities and rural areas, the state must create favorable and encouraging conditions for it to develop in the right direction to become a component of the socialist economy. This is also a positive measure to contribute to resolving the current problems in production and life.

Recognizing the existence of individual and private capitalist economic elements for a definite period of time does not mean to suspend or delay their socialist transformation by using appropriate forms, always combining the transformation has not been completed, individual and private capitalist economies will remain evident in some production sectors. The individual economy will survive for a long time to come in some of the handicraft and artisan industry sectors and in the service sector. We must therefore formulate correct policies to develop the productive abilities of these economic elements and encourage them to use their capital and technical assets in serving national welfare and the people's livelihood. At the same time, we must prevent and limit the negative aspects of these elements and restrict class division along the line of spontaneous capitalism. In trade, capitalist businesses must be eliminated. With respect to small merchants, we will employ some of them in our socialist trade network by arranging jobs for them in some essential business sectors and we will transfer those excess personnel in the circulation sector to production and service operations.

According to the above mentioned fundamental policy, we must apply the planning tool and specific managerial policies and measures to cope with the nature and characteristics of each element in each economic sector so as to develop production, improve the people's livelihood and secure a victory for socialism in the struggle between the two paths.

It is a major and complicated task to change economic management anew. Although we have performed some positive changes in our initial step, we have committed some mistakes and blunders. The Fifth Party Congress resolution

clearly stipulated the main guideline and scope for changing economic management anew. This is a basis on which to unify knowledge within the entire party from the higher to lower levels, especially of the above fundamental views. By firmly grasping and generally applying these viewpoints closely together, we will correctly resolve all the specific and urgent economic problems, gradually turning the party congress resolution into vivid reality in the economic management system and economic and social life.

FOOTNOTES

1. Passages within quotation marks followed by volume and page notations are excerpted from documents of the Fifth National Congress of VCP delegates; Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982.
2. Op Cit, p 160.
3. Op Cit, pp 111-112.
4. Op Cit, p 79.
5. Address by Comrade General Secretary Le Duan at the 10th Plenum of the Fourth Party Central Committee held in October, 1981.

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THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO WAYS OF LIFE IN THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 82 pp 22-27, 57

[Article by Nguyen Anh Bac]

[Text] In the period of transition to socialism, especially in the initial period, when society consists of "elements, components and pieces of capitalism and socialism"(1), the class struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie continues to unfold. It is expressed in the form of the struggle to resolve the question of "who defeats whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism.

In order for this class struggle to win victory, the vanguard unit of the working class must correctly analyze and evaluate the structure of the socio-economic system in the different stages of the period of transition.

Ever since the entire country began advancing to socialism, socialist transformation and socialist construction have been accelerated and policies of the state designed to make use of suitable economic forms in order to develop every potential within each basic unit and each locality have been implemented, the struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist way of life and the capitalist way of life has become increasingly arduous and complex. In some fields, especially on the fronts of distribution, circulation, ideology and culture, the battle position of socialism has gradually been encroached upon at some times and places and negative phenomena have continued to develop.

The resolution of the 4th Congress of the Party pointed out: the socialist revolution in our country is a process of comprehensive, continuous, profound and thorough revolutionary change. It is the process of abolishing the backward, developing upon the progressive, transforming the old and building the new. It is the process of arduous, complex and long struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist way of life and the capitalist way of life.

The situation that is unfolding in the economic and social life of our country at this time is a concrete expression of this class struggle in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism.

One of the special characteristics of our country as the entire country enters the period of transition to socialism is that the economy of the country is still one in which small-scale production predominates but the structure of the social economy in the two zones of the country is very different.

In the North, the socialist production relations, the two forms of which are the state-operated economy and the collective economy, have been established throughout the national economy but have not been strengthened or perfected because material-technical bases are still weak and backward. In past years, due to the circumstances of the war, the socialist economic management mechanism that was beginning to be formed had to be replaced by a management mechanism characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization. Toward the final years of the war, the decentralization in production and circulation increased. Bureaucracy and negative phenomena began to appear. The struggle between the two ways of life raised pressing demands in both areas: strengthening and perfecting the socialist production relations and the socialist economic management mechanism and building the material-technical bases of socialism.

Prior to liberation day, a neo-colonialist economy that was heavily dependent upon foreign countries and which directly supported the neo-colonialist war of the United States existed in the South.

By means of commercialized aid, neo-colonialism enveloped the economy of the South in a style of commodity relations under the control of the compradore bourgeoisie. The capitalist economy began to develop. However, this development was the development of the commerce sector, the service sector and a large army of small merchants. A number of new industrial sectors were born but they were only processing and assembly sectors that were based on foreign raw materials and equipment and provided local support to the war machine of the United States. The persons who controlled the economy of the South were bureaucratic, militaristic, compradore bourgeoisie, Vietnamese compradore bourgeoisie of Chinese ancestry. These persons monopolized the marketing of aid goods through a dense network of export-import and banking installations and a network for marketing imported goods and plundering agricultural products. They had close ties with international capitalists, especially the overseas Chinese capitalists in the countries of Southeast Asia.

Following the liberation of the South, the transformation of the capitalist economy was carried out in a rapid and system manner for compradore bourgeoisie and the majority of the bourgeoisie in commerce and industry. However, facts have proven that abolishing the capitalist economy and the bourgeoisie is not a simple matter; during the first years of the socialist revolution, the best that we have been able to do is abolish the most obvious component of the capitalist economy. Another important potential of the bourgeoisie continues to exist. This potential consists of money, some instruments of production, ties to small-scale producers, to foreign capitalists, the art of business management, the ability to quickly adapt to a new political-economic situation and so forth. Here, distinguishing between socialization in form and socialization in reality is an important methodology.

overpowered the interests of society, all of which are signs that the struggle between the two ways of life is not progressing a manner favorable to socialism at these places. This is a matter that must be examined and handled with all the necessary seriousness in order to insure the victory of socialism in the struggle to resolve the question "who defeats whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism.

Once the capitalist economy and capitalist spontaneity find an opportunity to raise their heads, the old lifestyle and the remnants of the colonialist culture find a similar opportunity. The psychology of chasing the dollar, of using money to resolve everything is encouraged by the bourgeoisie and capitalist spontaneity. If, in the present situation, we only are aware of the economic front and give light attention to the ideological and cultural fronts, if, when dealing with economic matters, we do not give attention to the socio-economic consequences of economic measures, it will be difficult to tap the revolutionary zeal of the laboring people and stop and repulse the counter-attack by hostile forces.

At present, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary power, are waging a multi-faceted war of sabotage against our people every hour of every day. Economically, they are using many forces and many tricks to undermine us. They are pursuing a policy of embargo with a view toward encircling our economy and are using dishonest international merchants in collaboration with bourgeois forces at home to send goods into our country, plunder our gold, silver and goods, sabotage our production, sabotage important materials and equipment, destroy our warehouses and create chaos on the market together with sowing the seeds of the decadent lifestyle and waging a psychological war. The struggle between the two ways of life in our country is closely linked to the struggle to protect the fatherland. In each of our activities, we "must constantly be vigilant against the schemes and acts of war of the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles and the bellicose imperialist powers." (3) This is a matter of survival. It is especially necessary to be vigilant against the schemes and acts of economic sabotage of the enemy. Against this background, we must be determined to thwart every action that is taken to diminish our exclusivity in foreign trade and violate the economic laws of our state.

Examined from every perspective, our socialism has achieved the dominant position. However, in order to develop upon this strong position, it is necessary to have an effective economic management mechanism and the ability to effectively organize management. This is a brand new matter to us, one in which it is difficult to avoid problems and mistakes. Bourgeois forces and non-socialist forces have taken advantage of our weaknesses in order to counter-attack socialism. The struggle between the two ways of life has become even sharper. Some goods and some money have been taken from the hands of the state, thereby causing national income to be distributed in an unfair manner. There are signs that the bourgeoisie in the South is restoring itself. In the North, a number of new bourgeois elements have appeared. The farmers in the South are divided. The army of persons engaged in the services, especially services for persons who

The persons who constitute the small-scale commodity economy account for the majority of the population, with the largest segment of them being private farmers. They became accustomed to producing for the market and have close ties with capitalist commerce. Another large force, one which is concentrated in the towns and cities, is the force of small merchants, handicraftsmen and persons engaged in the services. In addition, we must also mention a stratum of persons (in both the North and the South) who, as a result of the war, have a certain amount of money. When the opportunity arises, they are ready to jump into the market and earn profits through buying and selling. Lenin called the economy of this stratum of petty bourgeoisie a "type of economic segment that symbolizes the base of speculation and of private capitalism." (2)

By means of its forces and its strong position throughout the country, the socialist economy occupied the key positions within the national economy. However, its supply of commodities is still very thin and is not large enough to replace the volume of U.S. aid goods in order to maintain the economic structure supported by means of this aid, establish normal economic relations with farmers or create a new economic mechanism.

With the remaining forces they have at their disposal and by means of speculation and bribing state personnel, which reached the level of an art during the U.S.-puppet period, the bourgeoisie in the South (and, along with them, the petty bourgeoisie who had money at their disposal) rapidly made the market their main battle position. By means of every method at their disposal, such as extracting goods from the farmer economy, from the state-operated economy through every sort of conspiracy, theft and the corruption of state personnel, they have broadened the scope of their profiteering and used prices to monopolize the market and undermine the economic policies of the socialist state.

Being laborers, private farmers tend to follow the leadership of the party. However, as private owners who are accustomed to the capitalist market, they readily pursue capitalist spontaneity and violate the economic policies and laws of our state for the sake of their narrow interests.

When the country was reunified, a unified, nationwide market was also established. In the North, at a time when the system of management characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization has not been abolished and the negative phenomena within the economy and society have not been overcome, the bourgeois style of working and capitalist spontaneity have had an opportunity to spread rapidly. The market and the field of distribution and circulation have become a decisive front in the struggle between the two classes, between manual workers and the bourgeoisie, and between the two ways of life, socialism and capitalism. Commodities, the monetary system and prices are the forces and the main tools in this struggle. Facts have clearly shown that when one side controls these forces and tools, the other side will not only be reduced in scope, but will also be eroded from within. At some places, the socialist production relations have been weakened, some manual workers and civil servants have fallen by the wayside and guild interests have

have much money, is growing rapidly and negative phenomena have not been stopped. This situation shows that, in the present stage, we absolutely must wage a serious class struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist way of life and the capitalist way of life in order to implement the line of the party well and achieve the general socio-economic goals that have been established.

The situation facing us demands that our party, our people accelerate the struggle to stop, repulse and eliminate the negative phenomena in economic life, cultural life and social life. We must promptly expose and resolutely suppress acts by the enemy to sabotage our economy, sow the poisons of the decadent culture and wage psychological warfare. Profiteers and smugglers must be punished in a truly harsh manner. The illegal actions of a number of new exploiters must be exposed and dealt with in a truly proper manner; the illegitimate methods of earning a living of small-scale producers and small-merchants, even of some state personnel must be criticized and these persons must be educated (at some point, these persons must be prosecuted under the law). The above mentioned determined steps to maintain the economic order and social discipline are very necessary. Only in this way is it possible to develop upon positive factors, generate enthusiasm and confidence on the part of the laboring people, cause them to eagerly engage in productive labor and actively participate in the struggle against negative phenomena.

In the struggle between the two ways of life, the dominant role played by the socialist economy is extremely important. The state-operated economy, which is under the ownership of all the people, serves the interests of all of society. Economic policies, economic law and the economic management mechanism must insure that it is truly an example of labor productivity, product quality, the implementation of policies and compliance with the law. The products of the state-operated economy must support all of society and must make a positive contribution to the struggle against the capitalist way of life and capitalist spontaneity. The collective economy must clearly display its superiority over the private economy. Every activity that involves the use of the economic capabilities and results of state-operated and collective units in a haphazard manner for the sake of partial interests and every economic alliance lacking in principle designed to achieve an advantage for one's unit or only create an opportunity for acts of speculation, for bourgeois forces to act at will cause very bad socio-psychological consequences for socialism.

The non-socialist segments of the economy exist and operate because they still have a certain impact upon production and everyday life and pure administrative measures cannot be used to abolish them. Only through a system of economic organizational and management work of the dictatorship of the proletariat state and effective economic, administrative and educational measures is it possible to limit the negative aspects of the non-socialist segments of the economy and bring them within the orb of socialism. Of fundamental importance in implementing this guideline is to "organize inventory and control of the production and distribution of products, inventory and control that must be carried out in an extremely thorough manner."(4) Lenin considered this to be "a central issue in

the struggle against the bourgeoisie," the starting point for defining economic and financial policies based on the viewpoint of the proletariat.

The main tool for achieving state control of the production and distribution of products throughout society is the planning mechanism.

The socio-economic development plan of the state must reflect the objective requirements of socio-economic development based on the economic conditions and capabilities of each unit and locality and of the entire country. On the basis of these objective foundations, the plan sets forth measures and policies for developing the various segments of the economy, economic organizations and economic units in accordance with the guidelines of the plan and insuring that they implement the norms (legal or directed) of the plan. The scientific, revolutionary, positive and effective nature of the plan lies in the fact that it sets forth operational guidelines for all economic organizations which cause them to operate in accordance with objective economic reasons and develop in the same direction for the purpose of supporting socialism.

In order to develop upon the positive role of the different segments of the economy in exact accordance with the plan of the state, we must, of course, have economic forms that are truly well suited to the level of development of production forces together with correct forms of economic alliance. Lenin considered the transitional economic forms, the rungs in the middle of the ladder, to occupy an especially important position in countries that are advancing to socialism from an economy in which small-scale production predominates. Our party has defined many transitional economic forms and many forms of economic alliance with each province, district and economic-technical sector. This is a very complicated job, one that cannot be performed in a haphazard, simplistic manner. To perform this job well, we must take into consideration many economic and technical factors, the level of management, socio-economic returns and the relationships among the different economic interests.

In an economy in which many different economic segments are still struggling with one another, the market, that is, commodity-money relations, has a very important impact upon production and circulation. The art of economic management by the state lies in using the plan as the primary tool of management while also making good use of the various economic levers, the various categories of the commodity economy and market relations in order to have a positive impact upon the various segments of the economy. The management ability and effectiveness of the various sectors and levels within the economic management apparatus, in general, and the distribution-circulation sectors, in particular, lie in insuring that the state controls an increasingly large volume of goods in order to support the production and daily life of the people. According to Lenin, these goods are economic power that supplement political power and make a very important contribution to strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat state.

Under the leadership of the party and with the voluntary participation of the working class and laboring people, the socialist state is the organizer of the struggle to win victory for socialism. The economic policies and laws of the

state are tools that play a very decisive role in the struggle within the economic field. Facts over the past several years have shown that the impact of economic policies and laws upon economic life is very rapid and very strong. Some policies have clearly had a positive effect in only a short amount of time. But, as a result of being incorrectly implemented, some policies, in addition to a positive effect, are having a negative effect. This proves that formulating and organizing the implementation of economic policies involves an entire system of extremely delicate and complex organizational work. These policies can only be effective when they are applied in a well coordinated manner, create a system, reflect the objective requirements of the process of socialist reproduction, utilize the various economic forms, economic levers and economic motives, awaken positive sources, limit and eventually eradicate every negative phenomena and, at the same time, establish realistic, specific conditions for implementation.

In the initial stage of the period of transition, one very important factor is the need to know how to utilize the various economic forms and economic organizations that still have a positive impact in order to develop production, create new production forces and strongly stimulate socialist transformation and socialist construction. On the basis of firmly adhering to the law concerning the suitability between production forces and production relations, we must attach full importance to developing new production forces, creating the conditions for strengthening and perfecting the socialist production relations that have been and are being established and eventually reducing the scope of and replacing the non-socialist segments of the economy with a system of unified socialist production relations. To accomplish this, we must always firmly adhere to the basic economic tasks of the period of transition and the general socio-economic goals of the immediate stage and know how to make skillful use of all economic, administrative and educational measures.

As pointed out in the proceedings of the 5th Congress of the Party, in order to meet the requirements mentioned above, "each of us must arm ourselves with the important thinking in the general line and the line on building the socialist economy set forth by the 4th Congress and applied and concretized in the comprehensive positions and policies set forth at the 5th Congress"(5) in order to increase our practical knowledge and our knowledge of economic management for the purpose of bringing about a strong change in our ability to organize practical activities. This is an objective demand of "a general struggle whose importance and complex nature we must fully realize"(6) in order to win major, decisive victories for our people's present revolutionary undertaking.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 43, p 248.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 43, p 250.

3. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress of the Party, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, pp 32 and 33.
4. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Part I, p 405.
5. "The Guidelines, Tasks and Main Objectives Concerning the Economy and Society During the 5 Years from 1981 to 1985 and for the 1980's," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 127.
6. Ibid.

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ON THE STRUGGLE IN THE CURRENT MARKET

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 82 pp 28-34

[Article by Le Tong]

[Passages within slantlines denote italics as published]

[Text] In such developed socialist countries as the Soviet Union and some other fraternal countries, the market is regulated /according to plans./ The socialist market is by nature a general combination of economic relations that have taken shape on a voluntary basis. This is the organized and planned circulation of goods which corresponds with production capacity.

Our country's economy is still predominantly comprised of small production. Emerging recently from a long war, it is now faced with acts of sabotage and annexation plots by the Beijing expansionists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists. As a result, it is rife with serious imbalances and is still composed of several different economic elements which have considerably restricted national economic planning and the planned implementation of economic development law. /The organized and planned market is therefore limited, while the free market is operating on a relatively large scale./

In recent years, many weaknesses have been noted within the organized market. Poorly organized businesses duplicate and overlap one another. Competitive selling and purchasing transactions predominate, driving market prices very high, many state organizations have engaged in trade without being charged with such a function, thus confusing the market even more. Meanwhile, the free market has developed excessively, overriding the organized market. The number of traders--mostly unlicensed and tax-evading--has increased.

In the free market, apart from those usual goods that may be circulated freely, there are goods placed under unified state management control such as machinery, equipment, important raw and other materials of the state and those foreign-made goods "smuggled" into the country or imported as "gifts." Cases of speculation, contraband, forgery and illicit trade have developed. Speculators, smugglers, tax evaders and thieves, together with degenerate and deviant cadres and state personnel, are cooperating with one another to disrupt the market and seriously encroach on state law. In the south, the free market has developed too liberally with groups of speculators, smugglers and hoarders,

including smugglers across the border and on the seas and long distance traders and capitalist dodging socialist reform who compete with the state in purchasing agricultural and food products. The illicit activities of too large a number of tax-dodging traders have disrupted the market, thwarted the party and state policies and upset the relations among incomes of all strata of the laboring people. By speculating in prices and evading taxes, these people have earned an income much higher than that of other strata of the laboring people. In the current market, apart from the old capitalist traders who are resuming their trade, a number of new capitalist traders have emerged. What Lenin once said about Russia remains true with respect to the present situation in our country: "Speculators, smugglers and saboteurs of the state monopoly system are our 'inside' enemies and the opponents of the Soviet administration's economic measures. We know that millions of tentacles of that bourgeois octopus have here and there encircled some types of workers and that speculation has replaced the state business monopoly and has infiltrated deep into every nook and cranny of our socioeconomic system."¹

It is mainly due to speculation that the prices of many commodities have soared very high, upsetting the market prices. Speculation can rule because we have in the past /relaxed dictatorship of the proletariat and the state function of market management./ Many local authorities have floated the market for traders and let them deal in imports and exports. Violations of state law have not been dealt with promptly and severely. Meanwhile, delays in materializing and institutionalizing the state economic guidelines and policies have led to laxity and disorganization in their implementation. At the same time, state management has not been organized effectively since there is no agency responsible for the unified management of the business operations in the market and there are no effective measures to punish speculators and smugglers.

The above shortcomings prove that many of us have not fully realized /the true nature/ of the struggle to resolve the question of "who will defeat whom" in the period of transition to socialism. "This is the fundamental scope of the fierce and complicated class struggle to resolve the question of 'who will defeat whom' between the proletarian and capitalist classes and between the socialist and capitalist paths."² We know that some positive results have been achieved in the socialist transformation of capitalist trade and industry in the south. However, we can assert that the southern capitalist class has not been completely defeated. It still has some force, money and goods, and its social relations at home and abroad still exist. As a result, it still has ground on which to operate. Moreover, at a time when reactionaries among the Beijing ruling circles in collusion with the U.S. imperialists are waging a multifaceted war of sabotage--especially economic sabotage--against our country, it is impossible not to consider further the struggle between the two paths as our struggle against the enemy.

At present, the market is the center where the class struggle or the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths in the immediate stage of the period of transition to socialism is taking place. We should therefore /firmly grasp dictatorship of the proletariat, promote the laboring people's collective mastery and carry on the struggle for market management,/ considering it one

of the important objectives in improving distribution and circulation and one of the /urgent measures in establishing a new socialist order on the battle-front of distribution and circulation which contributes to stabilizing the people's livelihood, accelerating production and improving the socioeconomic situation in our country. Intensifying market management is mainly to establish /mastery of the state of proletarian dictatorship/ over the market, expand the socialist market, manageria/ly control the free market closely, /place the entire social market under state supervision and control,/ enforce compliance with the state law by all market operations and secure leadership over and the transformation of the free market through /economic, administrative and educational--mainly economic--measures./

Although economic measures are considered a basis for market management, if they are not combined with administrative and educational measures, market management is still impossible, especially at the present time when our market is being floated and ruled by speculation, contraband and illicit businesses. If strong administrative measures are not applied to deal severely with law violations, our state will not be able to manage the market.

To serve as a basis for this struggle, the council of state has just promulgated /the regulations on punishment of speculators, smugglers, forgers and illicit businessmen./ The regulations stipulate: all acts of speculation, smuggling, forgery and illicit business must be dealt with promptly and severely, and depending on their gravity, jail sentences from 6 months to 5, 10, 15, 20 years or life will be meted out. Vis-a-vis serious cases, the death sentence may be imposed. Along with jail sentences, monetary punishment and confiscation of property may be applied. Administrative measures may be further used to deal with minor violations that have not reached a level that merits prosecution.

Implementing these regulations, we should organize well the /registration of businesses and the collection of industrial and trade taxes/ and use taxes as a sharp weapon in the hands of the state of proletarian dictatorship to guide the development of industrial and trade production (individual, collective and privately operated) in the right direction and to check negativism in the market.

We should resolutely and urgently implement measures to collect taxes, register businesses, forbid traders to deal in those goods placed under unified state management control and promote the effectiveness of such state instruments as trade, taxation, market management, public security, tribunals and so forth in order to correct rightist shortcomings and overcome confusion in market.

If a victory on the economic front is to be won, we must be coolheaded and clear-sighted. We will neither lean to the right and relax market control nor wage a widespread battle which leads to "forbidding marketing and traffic," eliminating the free market mechanically, impeding circulation, dividing the market and negatively affecting production and life.

The most important and /decisive/ point to secure a victory in this struggle is that we must /consolidate and strengthen the state-run and collective trade sectors,/ making them wholesome and healthy. We must also know how to run our businesses in order to enhance the superiority of socialist trade over privately owned trade and promote the market management role of the state of proletarian dictatorship. All viewpoints which restrict the development of socialist trade--alleging poor business--and which try to let privately run trade "bloom" without restraints--alleging its ability to prosper--are wrong and harmful to the socialist cause. In fact, this is to overemphasize the market system, claim "free trade" and reduce state management in the market. Lenin once said: "Free trade is capitalism. Capitalism means speculation. To close one's eyes on this is really absurd."³

To strengthen socialist trade the state must constantly /step up the socialist transformation of agriculture and private capitalist trade./ In the field of trade, the state's policy is to eliminate private trade by not allowing the bourgeoisie to engage in the export and import business or in trading activities on the domestic market. Concerning the existing bourgeois businessmen, the state shall guide them to gradually shift to production and those with professional capabilities may be hired to work for the state-run trade sector. Concerning the small merchants, a positive measure is that the state shall seek ways to gradually shift those not needed for the circulation of goods to production and services.

By satisfactorily carrying out the socialist transformation of agriculture and private capitalist industry and trade as well as of the small merchants, we will create favorable conditions for the vigorous development of state-run trade and collectivized trade in the fields of /collection and purchase, wholesale and retail/ and for the expansion of businesses in two forms--/businesses conducted as planned and in accordance with state-directed prices and businesses conducted outside the plan and in accordance with agreed-upon prices/--and on both markets--/the organized market and the free market./

Socialist trade must strive to /firmly control all the sources of important goods,/ especially grain, food, raw material, agricultural products and consumer goods, including the goods imported through various ways by private individuals; /protect goods/ from excessive damage, theft and enemy sabotage; /firmly control wholesale transactions; and influence retail activities and services./ By controlling the sources of goods, the state will be able to control the market, curb the speculation and hoarding of goods and stabilize prices. This is a function of /prime importance/ of the socialist trade sector.

We must promulgate at an early date /a policy to control the circulation of goods under the sole dealing right of the state,/ goods that fall under the state's /uniform management/ on a nationwide basis, and exported and imported goods.

To control a large part of agricultural products that are subjected to collection and purchase by the state, the state enforces a system of collecting taxes in kind, carrying out collection and purchase under two-way contracts and purchasing the remaining products at agreed-upon prices.

Concerning industrial consumer goods, the state-run trade sector must closely follow the status of production and control the sources of goods to purchase /all/ the marketable goods produced by the state-run enterprises. According to "a decision by the political bureau on the amendment, supplementation and continued implementation of decision No 25/CP" (adopted at a conference held by the political bureau on 17 and 18 February 1982). "The products turned out by state-run enterprises, no matter where the sources of raw material may come from, belong to the state's goods reserve and they cannot be exchanged or used at will by the enterprises."

Recently our state established a number of principles on the state's /monopoly in foreign trade and the central government's uniform management of foreign trade activities./ In the decision promulgated by the Council of Ministers on 10 July 1982 on a number of measures for developing exported goods and strengthening the management of exported goods, it is clearly stated as follows: "State organs at the central and local levels must scrupulously implement state regulations on market management and prices in the collection and purchase of goods for export. Private traders are strictly prohibited to compete with state-run organizations in buying goods destined for export. State-run organizations are strictly prohibited to raise collection and purchase prices or use other measures to compete with one another in buying goods destined for export. Business organizations of a province or municipality are forbidden to organize the purchase of goods destined for export in another province or municipality, except when they are permitted to do so by the people's committee of the province or municipality concerned";... [elipses as published] "All forms of unlawful trading with foreign countries are prohibited. It is forbidden to set up joint public-private corporations for engaging directly in an export-import business. Corporations that have been set up partly with private capital for an export-import business must now shift to production or processing. Private individuals are prohibited to engage directly in an export-import business."

On the basis of firmly grasping the various set policies and the principle of the state's uniform control of the sources of goods and the state's uniform management of the circulation and distribution of goods on the market, the state-run and collectivized trade sectors must promptly revise their business practices, boldly use new business methods and /improve the management of their own business satisfactorily./

First, it is necessary to restore order in the organized market by /rationally readjusting the division of labor in trade business/ among the various sectors to avoid competition for and a dispute over the sources of goods. It is also necessary to restore order in the organized market by /rationally readjusting the decentralization of trade management from the central to the local levels and from the provinces, municipalities and special zone to the districts and precincts/ in order to do away with the practice of breaking up the goods circulation process according to administrative levels, which makes the goods move through many intermediate stages unnecessarily and increase circulation costs, and to avoid the fragmentation of the market, which blocks the circulation of goods and makes prices instable.

On the other hand, the socialist trade sector must step up its business activities in accordance with the /new mechanism/ to cover such fields as trade, public catering and other services and deal in all types of goods needed by society that can be produced domestically; satisfactorily organize the distribution of goods to increase sales and ensure the implementation of distribution policies and systems; expand the exchange of goods between the state and the peasants through two-way economic contracts; improve business practices; expand services; and through all this, satisfactorily meet the public's demands for consumption and control the retail and service market.

The various /marketing and consumer cooperatives must readjust their business methods along the right direction;/ actively exploit the local sources of goods; act as purchasing or selling agents for the state-run trade sector and deal in those items of goods not offered or offered only on a limited basis by the state-run trade sector to meet the needs of the people in villages and city wards; and join the state-run trade sector in the struggle to control the market. The tendency of dealing in items of goods that have a large profit margin rather than in those that offer a small profit margin but are essential to the people's life, and the tendency of conducting businesses involving long-distance travel--which fails to consider the villages and city wards as the main theater of operation and which is not designed to serve primarily the local people--are both erroneous and at variance with the concept of socialist business.

Along with improving business management within the socialist trade sector, it is necessary to /strengthen efforts to control prices in accordance with the principle of centralization and uniformity./

A fairly serious problem at present is that /the system of state-directed retail prices is not strictly observed./ The tendency of running after prices on the free market is prevalent. Many production or trading units have arbitrarily changed the prices set by the state or set their own commercial prices without consulting their mother organizations or approval by the competent authorities.

It is therefore necessary to restore quickly the unified state management of prices. Otherwise, it is impossible to establish a new socialist order in the fields of distribution and circulation. Factual experience has indicated that if there is not /a stable system--although relative--of rational prices/ the state will have no conditions to manage the market and national economy in a planned manner. Evidently, in the present economic conditions of our country, the state prices system should be guided /flexibly according to many categories of prices/ in a well-planned and unified manner, and it must be inspected and controlled by responsible state agencies.

It is urgent now to ensure /the stability of the state directed prices system/ in order to better serve /economic stabilization and reorganization, improve management, intensify economic accountability/ and manage and transform the market along the socialist orbit. At a time when the market is disrupted, a large amount of cash is in the hands of private traders beyond state control and the relationship between goods supply and demand is strained. It is

correct /that the state has adopted a flexible system of two prices./

/In the immediate future,/ we should continue to apply directed prices to each type of goods and each consuming objective and /combine the use of prices closely with the measures of distribution in kind and other financial control measures/ to ensure the livelihood of workers, civil servants, armed forces and students. With respect to workers and civil servants, we should stabilize the retail sale prices of staple goods essential to their living. At the same time, we should expand the supply of goods at rational prices according to distribution plans in order to ensure that workers and civil servants can afford them practically with their wages. Along with stabilizing the prices of staple consumer goods for cadres, workers and civil servants, we should continue to /apply the trade business prices in an effective manner so as to manage market, regulate incomes and increase revenues for the state budget,/ avoiding the habit of running after free market prices and withdrawing goods--reserved for cadres, workers, civil servants, peasants and craftsmen--and selling them at high prices.

Trade business prices can be applied successfully only /if the state-run and collective trade sectors really expand their business networks in the right direction/ in order to manage the market and prices well.

The struggle to occupy the market is now taking place fiercely, calling for the socialist trade sector to struggle actually against private traders. As we already have the strength of proletarian dictatorship and material forces--in terms of goods and finances--if we know how to run our business, the state-run trade sector will be able to control the flow of goods, eliminate private traders from those areas we need to control and master the market. Shifting from the old method of "working with subsidies" to the new business method, trade cadres should be aware of all the difficulties and advantages. They should know how to run businesses, have some managerial ability and professional knowledge and be alert in the market and flexible in their work while always being able to maintain the principled characteristics of policies. Lenin once said: Communists "must learn how to do trade business."

Finally, /the people and cadres should be educated to understand fully the true nature of the class struggle or the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths in the current market/ so they can cooperate with the state in the struggle to manage the market, oppose speculation and contraband, establish a new socialist order on the front of distribution and circulation and recover what the state, the working class and the laboring people have lost to speculators and exploiters, bringing about justice in distribution and life.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1959, Book II, Part II, p 489.

2. Political Report of the VCP Central Committee at the Fourth VCP National Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1977, p 68.
3. V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Part II, p 516.

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RESOLUTELY READJUST LAND IN THE NAM BO COUNTRYSIDE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 82 pp 35-37

[Unattributed article]

[Passages within slantlines denote italics as published]

[Text] Since the complete liberation of the south, we have readjusted and allocated some 300,000 hectares of land to the local peasants. However, differences in the appropriation of land and other production materials among the peasant households still exist on a relatively large-scale in the Nam Bo countryside. As a result, the exploitation of hired agricultural laborers is still prevalent in various forms.

The differences in land, work tools and machinery among the people of various strata in the Nam Bo countryside prove that there /has been a distinct and profound class division./

The documents of a survey conducted (in November 1981) by the party central committee agriculture department on 80 hamlets in 40 districts of 13 Nam Bo provinces and cities show that: although poor peasants--composed of those belonging to Category I households (those who not engage or engage a little in agricultural production but earn their living mainly from doing odd jobs in the countryside), Category II households (poor peasants) and Category III households (lower-middle peasants)--represent 85 percent of the total number of peasant households and more than 81 percent of the labor force in the countryside, they possess only 70 percent of the cultivated land. Nearly 97 percent of the annual number of hired (agricultural) man-days come from these peasant households. However, due to their lack of farm machinery, they have to rent this machinery from those rich peasant households at high prices. And as a result, /these peasant households (especially those belonging to Category II which is known to have encountered the biggest difficulties in production and life) have to depend on the rich peasant class and allow themselves to be exploited by this class/.

Peasant households belonging to Category IV represent 12 percent of the total number of peasant households and 23 percent of the cultivated acreage, with an average per-capita land appropriation of 3,623 square meters, that is 4 times more than that of Category II (poor peasants) and twice as much as that

of Category III (lower-middle peasants). They also own 38.5 percent of the farm tractors, 28.1 percent of other farm machines, 37.9 percent of the rice milling machines, 50.5 percent of the threshers, and 38 percent of the sugarcane crushers. Having more land than they can till by themselves, they have to hire about 25 percent of the work force needed to put all their land under crops. Occasionally they also work as hired hands for other peasants, putting in a number of man-days equivalent to approximately 3.6 percent of the total number of man-days performed by hired hands annually. They enjoy an average per capita income which is six times as much as that of the poor peasant households and more than twice as much as that of the lower-middle peasant households. Generally speaking, these upper-middle peasant households both work their land themselves and use hired hands and exploit other peasants in many ways, including renting out farmland and farm machines, buying and selling commodities, and lending money at exorbitant interest rates.

Peasant households belonging to Category V (rich peasants and the rural bourgeoisie), only account for 2.43 percent of the total number of peasant households and 11 percent of the work force, but enjoy an average per capita land ownership of 5,688 square meters, almost nine times as much as that of the poor peasant households and more than 2.8 times as much as that of the lower-middle peasant households. They own 58.3 percent of the large tractors, 50.2 percent of the rice mills, 52 percent of the sugar mills, and 27 percent of the road transportation vehicles in the rural areas.... Due to the large amounts of land and mechanized equipment in their possession, the Category V peasant households themselves can only put up 37.5 percent of the man-days needed annually to cultivate their land and to operate their farm machines, and have to rely on hired hands to provide the remaining 62.5 percent of the man-days. Theirs is the highest per capita income in the countryside.¹ Eight times as much as that of the poor peasants and six times as much as that of the lower middle peasants. These rich peasant households derive 40 percent of their income from land rental, 29.5 percent from machine rental, and 21.7 percent from farm produce processing. They enrich themselves through the use of many tricks to exploit laborers who work for them as hired hands in their land and machine renting business, through loansharking, through the practice of buying at lower prices and selling at higher ones, and through speculation in farm produce. Running seeking profits, they concentrate on any business which seems very profitable. Their present business tendency is to shift from rice cultivation to the planting of sugarcane, fruit trees and industrial crops of high economic value, and to expand the operations of rice mills, sugar mills and land and river transportation service.

/This situation constitutes a tremendous obstacle to the promotion of agricultural cooperativization in the Nam Bo countryside./ It also is one of the major causes of the very slow development of the agricultural cooperativization movement in the region. To date, only about 9 percent of the local peasant households with 7 percent of the farmland have been organized into production collectives for joint production work.

Surveys conducted in some localities have shown that although only 10 percent of the farmland in the Nam Bo countryside still needs hired hands for cultivation, nearly 25 percent of the total number of peasant households who earn

their living exclusively by farming still have little or no land for production work. Unequal land distribution in the Nam Bo countryside does not exist only in a limited number of localities; there are substantial differences in land allotments among peasant households everywhere--between provinces, between various districts in a province, between various villages in a district, and between various hamlets in a village. Moreover, in some places, a number of landlords still make a living by renting out farmland.

Under conditions with such sharp differences in land distribution among the various strata of peasants in the countryside, any effort to group the peasantry in primary socialist organizations, such as work rotation and work exchange teams, will certainly lead to consequences which are contrary to the principle of mutual benefit and to the inevitable disintegration of these organizations. This is because of the fact that, while labor in work rotation and work exchange teams has already taken on a socialist character (though still at a low level), the products of these collective efforts belongs solely to the landowners. Compensation for labor in work rotation and work exchange teams is paid at fixed man-day rates, which are usually lower than the unofficial rates. This results in heavy losses for those peasants who have little or no land of their own. Those who possess much land stand to reap huge profits from the fruits of the labor of other members in their work rotation and work exchange teams.

The production collective, although the land and production tools of its members are collectivized, still has only a half-socialist character because, after making allowances for production costs, part of the fruit of its production work--that is, the products of its collective labor--is allocated to the landowners and another part is distributed according to labor. Thus, those production collective members who own a great deal of land will receive a hefty share (on account of their land ownership and their work). Those who have little or no land will naturally receive little or nothing under the land-based products distribution plan, and thus derive their income mainly from the number of man-days performed, which represents only part of the collective's total income.

The acute contradictions in interests between the members of work rotation teams, work exchange teams and production collectives who possess little or no land and those members who own much land--not counting other difficult, complex aspects--are enough to destroy the work rotation, work exchange and production collective movements in many areas of the Nam Bo countryside.

The prerequisite for organizing the Nam Bo peasants and leading them onto the road of agricultural cooperativization from low forms to higher forms is /to resolutely readjust land/ in the Nam Bo countryside. We must combine land readjustment and the distribution of land to the peasants who have little or none of it with efforts /to resolutely abolish within a short period of time the portion of land used by rich peasants, rural bourgeois or landlords for exploitative purposes. We must take away the portion of land of the upper-middle peasants which their owners cannot cultivate due to the lack of labor and which is used for exploitative purposes. We must also take away the land of those people who live in towns and cities and earn their living as merchants

and handicraftsmen. At the same time, we must recover all the land taken from the peasants by various agencies, armed forces units, and state cadres, workers and civil servants at all levels in Nam Bo, or the land confiscated, expropriated or purchased from, or donated by, landlords, bourgeois elements and people of other strata, which various agencies and units have been allowed to keep to carry out production work themselves for self-sufficiency purposes, but which have been rented out or cultivated by hired hands instead/. Exceptions must be made for the elderly and people without support who have no labor and little land and who, consequently, must earn their living by using hired hands or allowing other people to cultivate their land in exchange for part of the produce. These people should not be considered as land lessors or users of land for exploitative purposes.

Work exchange really means mutual assistance aimed at developing production and promoting mutual benefit only if there are no substantial differences in land distribution among the peasants who are members of work rotation or work exchange teams. This also applies to the members of production collectives, who should derive a fair and reasonable income from the products of their land and from the man-days they perform according to the principle of more work, more pay and less work, less pay. Those who work but do not do so must not live off the fruit of the labor of other people. Exploitation of laborers under all forms must be done away with.

Along with land readjustment, the administration at all levels in various localities must organize and consolidate tractor teams, machine groups, state-run and collective processing installations and state-run and collective transportation units to support the peasants in developing production. On the other hand, we should tightly control fuel and spare parts so as to control and regulate the private individuals' machine force in support of production, processing and transportation according to plan. On this basis, we must determine reasonable labor rates and ensure the machine owners' interests and those of the peasants who have no means of production and who must rent them.

Land readjustment must be closely combined with grouping the peasants into appropriate collective production organizations from low forms to higher forms. We should not stop at the peasants' individualistic mode of production because this has constantly caused class division in the countryside. On the contrary, we must strive to basically achieve, by the end of the current 5-year plan, the organization of the peasants in the Nam Bo provinces for collective production, primarily in the form of production collectives, as the Fifth Party Congress has clearly pointed out.

FOOTNOTES

1. Survey data only show about 70 percent of their actual income.

STRONGLY AND WIDELY DEVELOPING SMALL INDUSTRY AND THE ARTISAN TRADES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 82 pp 38-43

[Article by Hai Dang]

[Text] There are many types of industrial products that have high technical requirements and are produced in large quantities that must be produced by large-scale industry or state-operated industry in order to achieve economic efficiency; however, there are also ordinary types of products that are produced in small quantities or which require constant changes in their style that are suited to small industry and the artisan trades. There are also products, such as handicraft art products, whose requirements can only be met by artisans. As a result, industry in our country consists of three types of scales and technical levels: large-scale industry, which is closely linked to modern technology, small-scale industry, which is closely linked to semi-mechanized or mechanized technology, and the artisan trades.

In the recent past, the small industry and artisan sector in our country has developed in the correct direction and recorded significant achievements. In 1980, output value increased 13.5 percent compared to 1975, accounting for 41.5 percent of industrial output and 67.5 percent of local industrial output. In 1981, the production of small industry and the artisan trades equalled nearly 3.8 billion dong in output value, exceeded the plan by 10 percent, increased by 7 percent compared to 1980 and accounted for nearly 45 percent of industrial output and more than two-thirds of local industrial output. Throughout the country, 13 provinces and municipalities recorded output value in excess of 100 million dong and 60 districts and towns recorded an output value of 10 million dong or more. A widespread production network has formed throughout the country from the cities to the countryside consisting of 3,600 cooperatives, 9,000 production teams and tens of thousands of private artisan installations that employ nearly 2 million laborers. During the past 5 years, the sector has made more than 30,000 innovations that have improved technology, rationalized production, raised labor productivity from 2 to 200 percent and saved hundreds of millions of dong.

Although small industry and the artisan trades have recorded such significant achievements, we must realize that these achievements are not commensurate with

capabilities and requirements because there are still shortcomings regarding awareness, the organization of production and the organization of management; in particular, planning is not suitable and specific policies are not appropriate. In order to develop the potential of small industry and the artisan trades as highly as possible and raise small industry and the artisan trades to the level of their strategic importance, thereby helping to meet the socio-economic goals set forth by the 5th Congress of the Party, we must bring about profound changes in our understanding of the role played by small industry and the artisan trades in organizing production and carrying out socialist transformation as well as our understanding of the management of small industry and the artisan trades.

The Strategic Role of Small Industry and the Artisan Trades

Facts have proven that there are many large benefits to be derived from developing small industry and the artisan trades in the advance from small-scale production. First, we have surplus labor and developing small industry and the artisan trades will employ much labor. Over the past 5 years, the sector has absorbed tens of thousands of additional laborers. If we had long been fully aware of the fact that the development of small industry and the artisan trades encompasses both the transformation of production relations and the development of production forces (instead of only placing heavy emphasis upon transformation as we have long done), the small industry and artisan sector would employ many more than the 2 million laborers it employs today and could, in the not too distant future, employ 3 million to 4 million persons, thereby making a positive contribution to the redistribution of social labor.

Secondly, we are experiencing a shortage of investment capital and the development of small industry and the artisan trades will economize on investment capital and yield high economic returns. It can be said that the state has not invested much in small industry and the artisan trades for a long time but this sector has produced nearly one-half of industrial output. At present, 1 dong of fixed assets in the small industry and artisan sector produces an output value approximately 10 times higher than that produced by state-operated industry.

Thirdly, we need many consumer goods and export goods and the development of small industry and the artisan trades will result in the production of many additional goods for consumption and exportation. At present, small industry and the artisan trades produce about 40 to 50 percent of industrial goods and 75 percent of consumer goods; small industry and the artisan trades produce 90 to 100 percent of some important products, such as fish, salt, lumber, rush mats, raw silk, hand tools, lime, bricks, tiles and so forth. Goods produced by small industry and the artisan trades generally account for 20 to 25 percent of the total value of exports. The value of the exports produced by small industry and the artisan trades increased 125 percent between 1976 and 1980; two kinds of export goods that absorb much labor are rattan and bambooware, 500,000 persons, and handicraft art products, 200,000 persons.

Fourthly, we need to improve our standard of living and developing small industry and the artisan trades will make a positive contribution to improving the standard of living of the people. In the cities, millions of persons would be unemployed without small industry and the artisan trades. As a result of working in an artisan trade, many families of cadres and manual workers have increased their income by 20 to 30 percent. In the countryside, income from the artisan trades is one of the three main sources of income of farmers (the collective economy, the garden economy and the artisan trades); it is as a result of working in an artisan trade that many farm families have money coming in to spend for daily needs.

Fifthly, we have adopted the policy of coordinating industry with agriculture from the very outset and at the basic level and developing small industry and the artisan trades will help to implement this policy well. Small industry and the artisan trades are closely linked to agriculture and support both agriculture and the countryside well by producing and repairing farm implements, processing agricultural products and supplying lime, bricks and tiles for the construction of housing and the construction of material and technical bases within agriculture. At present, the output value of the artisan trades within agriculture accounts for about one-third of the output value of the entire small industry and artisan sector.

The vivid and profound realities of the recent past show that in conjunction with developing large-scale industry, the strong development of small industry and the artisan trades in both the cities and the countryside, within the scope of the district, at each cooperative and production collective and among families is totally consistent with the characteristics and laws of our country's development from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. In contrast to large industry, the development of small industry and the artisan trades does not require important supplies from the state; to the contrary, through medium and small-scale operations based primarily on the manpower and capital of the masses and through their mobility and flexibility, small industry and the artisan trades can make the best possible use of the manual skills, sources of labor and decentralized sources of raw materials everywhere and produce products from the simple to the sophisticated to promptly meet the consumer needs of the people and provide additional goods for exportation.

Due to the above mentioned important role they play, the 5th Congress of the Party confirmed: "Small industry and the artisan trades in our country have tremendous potential, are an important component of the consumer goods industry, have been and are being transformed and reorganized into a component of the socialist economy and occupy a vital, long-range position within the national economy, especially in this first stage."(1)

In keeping with the resolutions of the congress, we should not consider small industry and the artisan trades to be an ordinary supplementary force as we have long done, rather, they must be considered a strategic force, an important production force of the socialist economy. On this basis, we must adopt a correct and fair attitude concerning the artisan trades and small industry and

must make every effort to develop them in every situation. In addition, it must also be said that small industry and the artisan trades are not only of importance under the conditions of small-scale production, but will continue to be important even when the economy has reached the level of large-scale production, reached a high level of mechanization, because, at that time, there will still be products and jobs that small industry and the artisan trades can produce and perform more profitably than large-scale industry. This is not to mention products which it will be difficult for machines to produce, such as handicraft art products. In the advanced industry countries, facts prove this.

To fulfill the above mentioned strategic role under the 1981-1985 plan and in the 1980's, small industry and the artisan trades must concentrate on performing the following tasks well:

--Developing every potential, accelerating consumer goods production (including the production of building materials), helping to meet the needs of the people for food, clothing, shelter, education, health care and transportation and endeavoring to prevent shortages of ordinary consumer goods produced from domestic raw materials;

--Rapidly increasing the variety of export goods that are of high quality and high artistic value, especially handicraft art products;

--Producing an adequate supply of ordinary and improved tools for the various economic sectors, especially for agriculture.

On the basis of performing these tasks, small industry and the artisan trades must employ additional labor and improve the living conditions of handicraftsmen.

The Organization of Production and Socialist Transformation

In the development and transformation of small industry and the artisan trades, the most important standard is not to rapidly place all artisans in cooperatives, but how to organize their production so that they produce many goods for society and so that the living conditions of artisans are improved. The realities of the recent past have provided us with a very important experience as regards organizing production and carrying out transformation: we should help private producers to continue to produce that which they are and can produce well and not quickly have them join collectives; small collective and cooperative teams should continue to do that which they are doing and can do well instead of quickly upgrading them to large collectives(cooperatives); cooperatives should continue to do that which they are doing and can do well instead of quickly developing state-operated enterprises to take their place; and that which can be profitably produced in a decentralized manner need not necessarily be centrally organized. Such a policy does not mean the postponement of socialist transformation, rather, it demands that socialist transformation be carried out now but in a gradual, steady manner based on the level of awareness of artisans and on the development of production and technology. This is the correct

application of the law that production relations must be suited to the level of development of production forces under present conditions. Due to the need to develop production and maintain and improve the living conditions of the people, we will gradually absorb private producers into collectives and upgrade small collectives to large ones. On the basis of this principle, it is necessary to utilize the various forms of organization in a flexible manner depending upon the nature and characteristics of each trade, each product and each service. Within the professional artisan sector, these are: private artisans, cooperative teams, cooperatives and joint businesses or associations of inter-branch cooperatives and so forth. Within agriculture, these forms of organization are the specialized production units that operate throughout the year and the semi-specialized production teams that operate on a seasonal basis. In addition, there is another important form to which special attention must be given, namely, family handicraftsmen in the cities as well as the countryside. Family handicraftsmen are a component of the household economy and have long been closely linked to the collective economy and the state economy. Families can accept contracts for the production of a single part or a semi-finished product for cooperatives and enterprises or they can organize the complete production of simple products involving only a few stages of work. The industrial sectors, such as the textile sector, the ready-made clothing sector, the metal consumer goods sector, the package production sector and so forth, have many products that can be very conveniently produced under contracts by families. It is necessary to widely develop the household artisan trades in order to make full use of social labor, improve the living conditions of the people and economize on the investment capital of the state.

There must be close coordination between the reorganization of production and technological improvements. Only when there is a need to improve technology in order to raise labor productivity does production have to be reorganized and, once production has been reorganized, it is absolutely necessary to improve the technology being used in order to raise labor productivity. Attention must be given to making widespread use of the various forms of cooperation or joint production within small industry and the artisan trades, between the artisan trades and state-operated industry and between the artisan trades and the state with a view toward achieving high economic returns.

As regards transformation, we must insure the correct implementation of the principles of voluntary association, mutual benefit and democratic management within production organizations and must gradually proceed from a low to a high level of development in order to meet the requirements that cooperatives realize higher economic returns than cooperative teams, cooperative teams realize higher economic returns than private producers and large-scale operations yield higher economic returns than small-scale operations.

The Organization of Management

It is necessary to improve the management mechanism and planning so that planning can be carried out while utilizing market relations in a manner consistent with the characteristics of the small industry and artisan sector that upholds the right of economic collective ownership of cooperatives and handicraftsmen and

insures that small industry and artisan production installations can regulate themselves, adjust to changes and develop as though they were a living organism. To accomplish this, the state must implement a management and indirect planning mechanism for the small industry and artisan sector primarily through various economic policies. The cooperatives must take the initiative in formulating plans on the basis of closely linking cost accounting to their business operations. Each year, and eventually for every 5 years, the state must set forth production goals and guidelines and publicly announce the production requirements of cooperatives and the supplies that cooperatives will be receiving while also announcing such policies as the price policy, the tax policy and so forth. On this basis, the cooperatives must calculate and formulate plans through the signing of economic contracts and must report their plans to the upper level for integration. In addition, if it is considered inconvenient to sell supplies to cooperatives for the production of a number of certain products and it is necessary to tightly control these products, the state can have them produced under contract (with certain improvements) and assign legal norms with supplies being provided as they are to state-operated enterprises. The actual situation at many places shows that when this mode is employed, the production plan of the cooperative generally consists of three parts: the production of products under the system of state plans on the basis of the state assigning contracts or direct norms and providing the materials needed for production; production contracts with agencies and units outside the state plan system; and production that is flexibly organized in accordance with the requirements of the market. Of the production of the small industry and artisan sector in Ho Chi Minh City in 1981, part one accounted for approximately 30 percent, part two accounted for roughly 50 percent and part three accounted for about 20 percent. The same situation exists at many other cooperatives. As regards cooperatives, the formulation of plans and the production of products through economic contracts afford many advantages: the cooperative is assured of a source of supplies and a market for its products and financial and banking agencies have a basis upon which to make loans and collect taxes; the upper level has the basis needed to integrate plans and observe the implementation of the plan. In Ho Chi Minh City in 1981, cooperatives signed more than 17,000 economic contracts worth approximately 1.8 billion dong.

Research much be conducted in order to amend and perfect existing policies and eventually establish a system of policies for small industry and the artisan trades, a system encompassing a business registration policy, a tax policy, and investment and credit policy, a policy on equipping with technology and supplying technical materials, a policy on supplying grain, food products and consumer goods, a price and product marketing policy, a distribution and social security policy, a policy regarding private handicraftsmen and family handicraftsmen, a policy concerning skilled craftsmen and so forth.

The various policies regarding small industry and the artisan trades must fully reflect the following objectives and principles: providing incentive for the development of every potential of the economy in order to develop production as highly as possible; giving priority to the collective economy, encouraging the household economy and making full use of the private economy; regulating

production and business in accordance with the objectives and guidelines of the state plan; regulating income and insuring a reasonable distribution of income among the various trades and among the various strata of the population and truly encouraging clever talents in productive labor. The tax policy must be considered the most flexible, effective and efficient tool for encouraging, regulating and guiding the collective economy and the private economy and bringing them within the orb of socialism.

The present system of associations of inter-branch handicraft cooperatives is very weak and the function of these associations is not clearly defined, consequently, a major obstacle is posed to the development of small industry and the artisan trades. As a result, in order to develop small industry and the artisan trades, it is necessary to strengthen this organization very much as though it were a key economic sector. We absolutely should not raise the matter of merging the associations of inter-branch handicraft cooperatives with the industrial bureaus and services as has been the tendency in a few localities. It must be clearly established that an association of inter-branch handicraft cooperatives is not a political organization like a mass organization, but an economic-political organization that has two main tasks: organizing and mobilizing the masses to perform economic work and providing administrative and economic management of the small industry and artisan sector. The main functions of the associations of inter-branch handicraft cooperatives on the various levels can be defined as follows:

--Concerning themselves with developing the production forces of small industry and the artisan trades;

--Continuing to carry out socialist transformation and the improvement of the new production relations within the small industry and artisan sector;

--Participating along with the other sectors in the formulation of planning and plans for small industry and the artisan trades; providing sector management at the direction of the state for a number of trade sectors and products for which such management is considered necessary but which are not being managed by any economic-technical sector; and guiding the cooperatives in managing their production and business;

--Researching and proposing to the party and state policies and regulations concerning small industry and the artisan trades and observing and inspecting their implementation;

--Training cadres and skilled craftsmen for cooperatives and guiding and disseminating science and technology within the small industry and artisan sector;

--Coordinating with the mass organizations in teaching politics and ideology and mobilizing the mass of artisan laborers.

The Central Association of Inter-Branch Handicraft Cooperatives also has overseas functions, namely, organizing economic-technical cooperation with foreign countries

and organizing the exportation and importation of some special products in accordance with state regulations.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress of the Party, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 40.

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SOCIAL STATUS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 82 pp 44-46

["Ideological Life" feature by Nguyen Trung Thuc]

[Text] Social status--of themselves, these two words are not in the least bit abhorrent because social status merely denotes man's position in society. That which we want to criticize is the thinking of achieving social status because it is a manifestation of individualism and is totally contrary to the nature of the communist party member.

The thinking of achieving social status (or the social status mentality) is a product of feudalism. In order to supplement their economic exploitation and political suppression, the feudal class attached full importance to using the ethics of Confucianism as a tool of spiritual enslavement. Feudal culture and education tightly bound man to the feudal order by means of very many rules, protocols and customs. It placed man within a hierarchy, distinguished one person from another by means of class and evaluated persons by means of their reputation and influence. A person's status, a person's position were manifested in how one ate and lived, in where one stood or sat, in protocol and one's style of dress. Feudal culture only permitted each class of persons in society to adorn themselves, to dress, talk and behave in accordance with their station in life. It unequivocally stipulated that whatever belonged to a person in the upper class had to be more beautiful, more illustrious and grander than that which belonged to persons in the lower class; whatever belonged to a person in the lower class had to be smaller than, worse than or inferior to that which belonged to a person in the upper class.

In summary, in feudal society, a person's wealth, influence and reputation were directly proportional to his social status. The higher your position in society, the greater were your wealth and influence and the more you were respected. This was also upheld by the law of the feudal state. For this reason, the attitude of seeking social status formed in a natural manner within feudal society.

Today, the feudal system has been completely overturned in our country. The socio-economic base of feudal ethics has been destroyed. Having accepted the new ethics, our people have abandoned many old fashioned feudal customs and cast

aside many long held standards of feudal ethics. However, as Marxism-Leninism points out: the thinking of a class generally possesses greater vitality than the class itself. Therefore, although the feudal class was abolished by the revolution, the remnants of feudal ethics still exist and are exerting negative influences within our society. Deserving of attention is the fact that the remnants of feudal ethics have even permeated our corps of cadres and party members, thereby exerting bad influences and corrupting more than a small component of our cadres and party members. Exposing the remnants of feudal ethics and struggling to thoroughly abolish them are a necessary task in the ideological and cultural revolution, in general, and in the building and forging of the corps of cadres and party members, in particular.

In order to effectively overcome the thinking of seeking social status, it is necessary to clearly understand the basic characteristics of a person who seeks social status. What are the manifestations and the harm of the thinking of seeking social status?

A person who seeks social status is first a person who is desirous of wealth and honor. Such a person considers "struggling" to achieve a "worthy" social position to be an objective, to be their *raison d'etre*. This thinking causes them to try by every means to achieve a higher position in society, the higher the better. In bygone years, the feudalists did this in an urgent and open manner. They spent their money and wealth to buy one title or another, one honor or another; they grovelled, flattered and bribed others in order to obtain a certain position or acquire certain authority; they deceived, belittled and kicked one another aside and murdered one another often for nothing more than a position or rank; sometimes they even turned their beautiful wives and young daughters into commodities which they gave as gifts to high officials in the hope of being promoted.

In our society today, the things that are done by persons who seek social status are somewhat more secretive and subtle, that is, are not as obvious or brazen as they were in feudal society. However, secretive and subtle do not mean less intense. Because of their ambition for position and fame, persons who seek social status are prepared to do decadent things. They, too, flatter and bribe superiors in the hope of receiving a promotion that they do not deserve; they, too, form factions and discredit, slander, belittle and kick aside their comrades and friends in order to compete for power, usurp a position and so forth.

Persons who seek social status are also persons who like very much to display their power and position. A person who had only a small amount of authority could show his authority, behave outrageously and intimidate others. Everyone from the village watchman to the village chief and Canton chief and, even higher, to the district chief and province chief, had a way to show his authority, a way consistent with his position. In our society today, showing one's authority and position is also indispensable to persons who seek social status because to not show one's authority and position is the same as "wearing dark clothes at night"! Are you a cadre who is subordinate to a person who seeks social status?

Try talking with this person as though he were an equal, as though he were a comrade or friend, and see what happens! He will immediately respond in a way that shows you that you are just a subordinate. Another example is a person who, today, is an ordinary cadre like you or I, a cadre who lives a simple, unpretentious life, gets along well with others and treats everyone equally. There is nothing that sets him apart from us: we work in the same office and discuss our work in the same unpretentious and simple way. However, should this person be promoted tomorrow to office chief, for example, (that is, should he become the "commander"), he immediately finds the present state of things to be intolerable. He then feels the need to be different from the others so that everyone knows that he is their superior.

Persons who seek social status are usually also persons who have backward viewpoints concerning labor. In the old feudal society, disdain for the laborer and all manual work became a way of life. Confucius the spokesman for feudal thinking, often criticized "from the time we are small, we are taught that we should learn many trades." And, when Phan Tri, a follower of his, expressed the desire to study farming, Confucius immediately admonished him: "That's the trade of serfs, why would you want to learn that?" Confucius only emphasized the reading of books, emphasize "leisure" and considered it as an ideal. This backward viewpoint concerning labor, which is a characteristic of the thinking of seeking social status, has not been completely eliminated within our system. Persons who seek social status usually attach more importance to mental labor than manual labor, attach more importance to research than practical application and prefer occupations that are not strenuous over strenuous trades. They generally look for every way to insure that they, their spouse and their children work in occupations that they consider to be "clean occupations."

The genuine communist does not seek social position or fame. The genuine communist has serving the fatherland, serving the people as his objective and *raison d'être*. To the communist party member, no job is illustrious, no job is base. Within our system, every occupation, be it cook or street cleaner, minister or president, is a task assigned by society. When completed well, all of these jobs are glorious. President Ho always reminded our cadres to rid themselves of the mentality of seeking social status, to do things that benefit the revolution, benefit the mass organization in the best possible manner and that no job is illustrious, no job is base. And, he, himself, always set a bright example in this area. In early 1946, in response to journalists, he said: "I absolutely have no desire whatsoever for fame or wealth. Assuming the position of president entrusted to me by my compatriots, I must try to fulfill my mission as a soldier who is sent into battle by his nation.

Whenever my compatriots ask me to step down, I shall do so very willingly."(1) President Ho had no desire for fame or wealth, rather, he only had "one desire, one ultimate desire, namely, that our country be independent, our people be totally free, each of our compatriots be well fed and well clothed, each of our compatriots be educated."(2)

The thinking of seeking social status is nothing more than a remnant of feudal values; however, if we do not struggle to overcome this thinking, it will cause much harm. It is capable of causing cadres to have little concern for improving and forging themselves, capable of causing them to direct their efforts in the wrong direction and even become degenerate and deviant. It impedes the effort to establish the new style relations between cadres and the people, between the commander and his personnel, between the upper level and the lower level and creates unwholesome phenomena in the activities of party and state agencies.

The thinking of seeking social status is capable of causing such negative influences primarily because some of our cadres and party members have not cultivated good qualities. In addition, because we have failed to fully realize the harm caused by the thinking of seeking social status, we have not given attention to creating widespread public opinion denouncing this thinking and have not taken determined steps to eliminate it. The practice of evaluating persons on the basis of their rank or position, on the basis of external forms is still rather widespread. On the other hand, importance has not been attached to struggling against and criticizing those persons who practice the thinking of seeking social status within many party organizations, government organizations and units of the mass organizations.

Today, we are establishing a new system of ethics, the ethics of the proletariat. In order to establish the new ethics, the struggle to overcome the influences of the remnants of the old ethics must be thoroughly carried out. The thinking of seeking social status must be swept away together with all the other garbage of the old, outmoded ethics.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 1, p 381.
2. Ibid.

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CSO: 4210/3

BOOK REVIEW: BUILDING A STRONG AND STABLE LOCAL ECONOMY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 82 pp 47-51

[Book Review by Huy Hung]

[Text] Building the central economy at the same time as developing the local economy is one of the fundamental elements of the line on building the socialist economy that was confirmed by the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party. This is an important argument, one that reflects the creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of our country.

The fundamental elements of this argument have been presented by General Secretary Le Duan in his work "Building a Strong and Stable Local Economy." Generally speaking, the entire work is an entity consisting of a system of profound theoretical viewpoints, consequently, the contents of the work are extremely profound.

In order to help readers study and gain an understanding of this work, we have presented the following several main themes as they are discussed within the book:

- The strategic role of the local economy;
- The relationship between the central economy and the local economy;
- The role of the district level in developing the local economy.

In the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, a new economic structure is inevitably formed. The structure of this economy is an entity encompassing the central economy and the local economy. And, as regards our country, a backward, agricultural country advancing directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, the development of the local economy plays an especially important role in our strategy for socio-economic construction. Le Duan said: "Only by strongly developing the local economy is it possible to make full use of our labor, land, forests and ocean waters and open sectors and trades because labor as well as natural resources exist within the individual localities and are linked first to the development of production, to the opening of sectors and

trades in each locality on the basis of the line and the general planning of the entire country."(p 131)*

In the present stage, the strong development of agriculture and the partial advance of agriculture toward large-scale, socialist production must primarily be based on the existing labor, land and natural resources within each locality, Only when each locality, on the basis of the unified plan for the entire country, takes the initiative and thoroughly develops each of the potentials that it has in its labor, arable land and natural resources is it possible to create abundant sources of wealth for the locality and for the entire country. Therefore, "as the local economy develops, better conditions are provided for expanding the agglomeration of production and, as a result, better conditions exist for achieving centralization and providing for the central level increasingly large, centralized sources of goods"(pp 134, 135).

Every locality is an important base for organizing production, establishing a division of labor and developing the natural resources of the country. The local economy is the place where industry and agriculture are directly coordinated with each other from the very outset to form the district agro-industrial structure and the provincial industrial-agricultural structure. Above everything else, this is the coordination of an increase in labor productivity and an increase in total agricultural output with an increase in the output of the products of small industry and the artisan trades within the district, the coordination of a rapid increase in the output of industrial products with an increase in the total output of agriculture within the province. Only when agriculture develops is there much grain, many food products and many raw materials for industry; however, in advancing agriculture to large-scale socialist production, industry absolutely must play a strong role. Coordinating and making efficient and effective use of labor and land, opening trades and sectors and developing natural resources are the keys to establishing a new economic position, are the basis for creating initial sources of accumulated capital with which to carry out industrialization. "Therefore, developing the local economy has become a key issue in the utilization of labor and natural resources, in the gradual advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production"(p 133).

Developing the local economy is also one of the prerequisites to achieving our socio-economic goals, meeting the most pressing and essential needs of the people and gradually stabilizing and eventually improving the standard of living of the people. Caring for the material and cultural lives of the people is the common responsibility of all sectors and levels, from the central level to the local level. However, the central economy can only establish the major balances between production and consumption, between needs and capabilities on a nationwide scale. Every locality must first be responsible to the central level for developing the production and improving the standard of living of the locality's people. The specific balances within each locality as well as the diverse material and cultural needs of the local people can only be established and met in a correct and timely manner by developing the local economy.

In view of the fact that our country's economy is still encountering numerous difficulties and the fact that production does not satisfy consumer requirements, distribution occupies an especially important position in helping to stabilize the standard of living of the people. In order to achieve uniform distribution and meet the needs in the production and everyday life of each locality, the central level must go through the locality, must use the locality as the base for carrying out socialist distribution. And, "only in this way is it possible to keep abreast of the multi-faceted consumer needs of the various strata of the people, possible to satisfy the needs in the life of society as well as the needs in the life of each family, each person"(p 137). Doing this will develop the dynamism of every locality, overcome the habit of waiting for and relying upon the central level and heighten the spirit of responsibility of the local management agencies to the central level and to the people of the locality. Le Duan has pointed out: "The local economy is a component of social production, of the unified, nationwide industrial-agricultural economic structure; at the same time, it is the basic distribution unit of the central level for the distribution of material wealth to satisfy the needs in the daily lives of the people and is the place that closely coordinates production with distribution, that clearly reflects the objectives of the economic activities within our society"(p 137).

We are building our economy under circumstances in which we must deal with the schemes of sabotage and aggression of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers; therefore, coordinating the economy with the national defense system is a long-range, strategic policy that must be implemented on a nationwide scale as well as within each locality. Consequently, every locality must "be a base of production and a unit organizing social life and the local economy must be strongly developed in order to become the immediate, local rear base of the national defense system. We must turn every locality into a prosperous and strong economic unit and, at the same time, into a strong fortress"(p 144).

In summary, developing the local economy is not a temporary, immediate measure, rather, it is an objective requirement in the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. It plays an extremely important role in our country's socio-economic development strategy.

As mentioned above, the central economy and the local economy are the components of the economic structure of the entire country, within which the central economy plays the dominant role and is the lever stimulating the entire socialist national economy. When analyzing this relationship, Le Duan emphasized: "Both the central economy and the local economy lie within the unified structure of the national economy. There is no installation subordinate to the central level that is not located within a locality and, as a result, does not have certain economic relations with the local economy. Conversely, all economic installations that are subordinate to a locality are part of one sector or another and are closely linked to the economic installations subordinate to the central level within unified, nationwide economic-technical sectors. Each step forward by the local economy is a step forward by the sectors and each step forward by the sectors is a step forward by the local economy"(p 146).

The task of building the central economy and the task of developing the local economy have been defined in very deep detail. Through the unified plan of the entire country, the central management level establishes the major balances on a nationwide scale and meets the primary norms regarding production, distribution and consumption. The local management level establishes the specific balances and meets the specific norms regarding production, distribution and consumption on the basis of insuring the maintenance of the general balances and meeting the needs of the production and daily lives of the local people. Le Duan has pointed out: "The central economy as well as the local economy consist of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture. However, the central economy only consists of the most important installations within the industrial and agricultural sectors, especially the key system within heavy industry; the local economy, which primarily includes agriculture and the consumer goods industry, involves the labor, natural resources, trades and sectors within the locality"(pp 130, 131).

In this work, Le Duan emphasizes that building the central economy while developing the local economy thoroughly implements the principle of democratic centralism in building and managing the country's unified economy. It is necessary, therefore, to avoid both the tendency toward bureaucratic centralism and the tendency toward partialism and localism because both of these tendencies harm the development of the economy. "We must be thoroughly opposed to bureaucratic centralism, bossism, arbitrariness, the use of pressure and narrowmindedness; at the same time, we must be determined to reject partialism, localism, factionalism and the failure to give thought to the common undertaking of the entire country"(p 149).

In summary, correctly coordinating central economic construction with local economic development within a unified national economic structure is a matter in the nature of a law in the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. "It is a reasonable way to meet the daily needs of the people in a stable manner while carrying out expanded reproduction and creating rapid development on the part of the national economy"(p 52).

As analyzed above, developing the local economy involves developing the combined strength that each locality has in its labor and natural resources to contribute to the formation of the unified economic structure of the entire country. The local economy is the place where industry and agriculture are closely linked to each other from the very outset within the district agro-industrial economic structure and the provincial industrial-agricultural economic structure. In local economic construction, the district is an important base for achieving the direct coordination between agriculture and industry, between national ownership and collective ownership and also is the place that gives rise to many socio-economic problems that must be resolved. Le Duan has pointed out: "Every district is a basic economic unit consisting of many production and business organizations that practice independent cost accounting but which are linked together within a structure that forms the foundation of the provincial economy and the central economy"(p 152). The building of the economy of each district

is closely linked to the building of the provincial industrial-agricultural structure and the economic-technical sectors; at the same time, it inevitably encompasses the building and the strengthening of the agricultural production cooperatives and the other economic organizations within the district. This indicates the district level's function of organizing production and organizing life.

In light of the line on developing the socialist economy that was set forth by the 4th Congress and, in particular, in light of the main elements of socialist industrialization in the immediate stage as set forth by the 5th Congress of the Party, we see that the role of the district level in the formation of the district agro-industrial structure is very important. Le Duan has stated: "The basic, important tasks of the district are to accelerate agricultural production, build a system of large-scale, socialist agricultural production, initiate intensive cultivation and specialized farming, balance crop production and livestock production and build the new countryside. In order to support and stimulate agricultural production, the district must, on the one hand, rely upon the industrial strength of the central level and of the province or municipality; on the other hand, the district must immediately build a number of small and medium-scale industrial installations that are closely linked to agriculture in order to gradually establish an agro-industrial economic structure"(p 152).

Le Duan sets forth a number of basic measures for planning and organizing production within the scope of the district.

To begin with, every district must know how much arable land it has, which includes land under the cultivation of rice, subsidiary food crops and industrial crops, forests, forest land and so forth. On this basis, it must adopt a plan for raising the crops or species of livestock that yield the highest possible economic returns. It must know how much labor there is within the district, at each cooperative and so forth and must adopt a plan for efficiently organizing and distributing this labor within the scope of the district. A plan must be adopted for sending labor from places where there is a surplus of labor to build new economic zones. It must know the traditional sectors and trades and the existing material-technical bases within the district and must make full use of their capacity while expanding these sectors and trades, developing new ones and creating new production habits as well as new farming habits.

On the basis of having a firm grasp of the above mentioned aspects of the situation and on the basis of the general planning of the province, it is necessary to set forth the task with regard to reorganizing the production and life of the people within the district. "To begin with, we must resolve, and eventually resolve in a truly stable manner, the grain and food problem"(p 166). In order to achieve this objective, the concern of the various sectors and levels is needed in addition to the efforts made by each district. Increased investments in the material and technical bases of the districts by the central and provincial levels actually means increased investments in agriculture. Therefore, directing the efforts of the various sectors and levels, from the central level to the local level, toward the objective of strongly developing agricultural

production, meeting grain and food needs and so forth is the way to carry out the most important and pressing task set forth by the 5th Congress of the Party.

After defining the important role of the district level in building the local economy, the general secretary points out: "Beginning immediately to build the economy of each district in a manner closely linked to building the provincial industrial-agricultural structure and the economic-technical sectors and immediately strengthening and consolidating the leadership and management apparatus of each district, these are the key jobs on the economic front at this time"(p 153).

The general secretary's book "Building a Strong and Stable Local Economy" sheds light on our party's basic argument concerning simultaneously carrying out central economic construction and local economic development, which is a matter in the nature of a law in the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. By reading this book, we acquire deeper knowledge of the line on building the socialist economy that has been set forth by our party and, on this basis, become more confident and more determined to implement the directives and resolutions of the party, thereby helping to accelerate socialist construction and the work of protecting the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

- * The passages denoted by page numbers within parentheses are excerpts from the book "Building a Strong and Stable Local Economy."

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OUR LITERATURE'S NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NATURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 82 pp 52-57

[Article by Tran Van Binh]

[Text] Socialist realist literature, while affirming the fundamental principles of socialism in everyday life, always emanates within the land of a nation and is designed to meet the immediate and long-range requirements of the nation. As a result, the concept of the socialist content of literature cannot be separated from the concept of its national nature.

The literature of nations is the fruit of the life of nations and embodies national characteristics. These characteristics arise on the basis of the special characteristics of the natural conditions and the economic conditions that prevail, of the political system and the cultural and ideological traditions of the nation.

When discussing the national nature of literature, we usually first give our attention to language. The differences among nations are very clearly seen in their language. Each language has its own lexicology and syntax. This lexicology creates different principles that are applied when describing things and even defines the characteristics of speech in literature. The syntax of the national language defines the intonation of poetry and prose. The phonetic structure of words creates the non-repetitive nature of the sounds in a work. In a rather large number of cases, the characteristics of the national language are closely related to the poetic expression of the nation. It is difficult to fully explain the six-eight meter poetry of our country if attention is not given to the phonetic characteristics of our nation's language. In the 19th century, Pham Dinh Toai acknowledged this to some extent when he wrote: "The 6-8 meter poetry is familiar to everyone, everyone is a poet whenever they open their mouth, from melodic young girls who weave and the young men who plow, to the singing in the villages and the jokes of the children, everything rhymes perfectly." (1) It can be said that if the beauty of a nation's language is not understood, one's appreciation of the literature of the country is limited. However, it must also be recognized that these special characteristics of the language do not represent all the national characteristics of a literature. The phenomenon of a writer writing in the language of another nation while retaining

the essential character of his own nation is a phenomenon that frequently occurs. "French Colonialization on Trial" and a number of novels and articles of Nguyen Ai Quoc were written in French while he was in France and were published in French newspapers; however, they were the voice of a patriotic Vietnamese youth, a voice that expressed the long held, private thoughts and aspirations of the Vietnamese people.

The questions that arise are what is it that creates the characteristics of the national nature of a literature and how is this national nature expressed in literature? We all know that a territorial community is the first prerequisite to the formation of a nation. This community exerts common efforts with a view toward maintaining and developing the nation. The results of this process are the formation of attitudes of a social nature, which give rise to lasting concepts and habits. The first literary works of mankind, the myths, legends and so forth, were mirrors that faithfully reflected the life and the state of existence of the nations at the dawn of history. "The mountain god and the god of the sea," "Phu Dong thien vuong," Au Co, who gave birth to 100 offspring, and so forth, these myths and legends explain the origin of the courage bravery and love for one another of persons who share the same fate. The work "compatriot" (of the same country) as well as the following words of a familiar folk ballad--They like to take melons from opposite ends and although the melons are different, they are all from the same arbor--describe a dominant feature of the soul of our nation. The more we love one another, the closer we are to one another, the more we hate disloyalty and deception. This is also a rather universal theme in the legends and the classical literature of our country.

The surrounding natural conditions and climatic conditions also have an impact upon the thoughts and feelings of man. To nations in tropical areas, the image that is the equivalent of the sun as an image in northern climates that are cold throughout the year is the moon. Our poetry often refers to the moon: "The round, full moon, the beaming man in the moon"; "the green of spring pales in the light of a bright moon." The moon is often the backdrop for love. Images employing our familiar tropical plants and trees are also often used to describe the beauty and the appearance of man as in Persicaria leaf eyes, willow leaf eyebrows, bamboo shoot fingers, bamboo root hair, bead-fruit face and so forth.

The national character of literature is also defined by economic and social conditions. A lifestyle in the nature of a commune, which lasted for a rather long time in the history of our nation, and the division of the population into villages based on natural boundaries gradually created the psychology of partialism and localism. In addition to this, production carried out by manual methods also became deeply ingrained and created a careless, haphazard style in the everyday life of our nation. The long rule of feudal ideology in our country also left a rather clear imprint on the psychology of the Vietnamese of previous years: classes, respect for men but not for women and so forth.

The concept of national character is a very complex concept encompassing positive and progressive factors as well as negative and backward factors. All of these factors are formed through history. Generally speaking, those factors that are closely linked to the survival and development of the nation are progressive

in nature, for example, diligence, bravery, love for one another and so forth. Therefore, when developing upon the national aspect of the character of the soul, it is necessary to have a scientific and revolutionary viewpoint. Lenin's argument concerning two national cultures within one past national culture is a basic argument that helps us to distinguish between that which is real and that which is false in national traditions. According to Lenin, the value of the past national cultures is that they were democratic and socialist in nature. They were the products of the spirit of the laboring masses and of progressive authors representing the aspirations and the interests of the people. That which is reactionary and backward in the past national culture is that which is anti-scientific and demagogic, is a direct product of the exploiting classes.

When talking about the national cultural tradition, we are talking about the characteristics concerning the soul of the nation and about the forms of art that have become rather stable within the national culture. Generally speaking, the maintenance of the various forms of national art is very necessary. We cannot, in the name of the new, abolish the traditional art forms of the nation. To a significant degree, the achievements recorded by our revolutionary literature over the past several decades have been due to investigating, discovering, researching and developing upon the various art forms created by the people of the various nationalities within our country. Whereas some persons who attended the 1948 Conference on Theatrical Art held in Viet Bac were still vague about their heritage, the realities of the past several decades have completely rectified this mistake. As early as 1949, in an important report entitled "Marxism and Vietnamese Culture," Truong Chinh clearly expressed the viewpoint of our party toward the heritage of the past: the attitude of critical acceptance, that is, of sifting through the sand to find the gold. Of course, as Uncle Ho frequently taught, this is not the attitude of automatically "returning to the past."

Defining the national traits in the character of the soul is somewhat more complex. Tam Lang's "I, the Rickshaw Driver," although it described some of the aspects of the life of hard work and the way of speaking of a rickshaw driver under the old system, was still not of a popular, national nature. Conversely, Nguyen Du's "Story of Kieu" was highly popular in nature and of a profound national color. The matter is a question of the attitude with which the writer looks for national characteristics. A writer who only has the attitude of searching for material will never find national characteristics. The search for national characteristics begins with defining where one stands in the life of the nation and one's responsibility to the development of the nation. Failing to do this is the same as turning one's back on the nation or accepting everything in history on face value. The way that the attitude of socialist realist literature differs from the attitudes of past literatures concerning the national nature of literature lies primarily therein.

The critical realist literature of countries generally has been most successful in describing the national character. On the one hand, this has been due to the aesthetic requirements of the creative method, to the fact that critical realism establishes typical characteristics within typical circumstances. On the other hand, it has been due to the fact that critical realist writers are

clearly aware of the fact that they are members of a given nation. However, national traits in the character described in literature are still not being examined from an historical and dialectical point of view.

In the Marxist-Leninist concept, the national nature of our socialist realist literature today is examined from two points of view: the universal and the specific, the past and the present. Marxism-Leninism maintains that the law of the development of history from slavery to feudalism to capitalism to socialism and communism is a common law that is universal to all mankind. However, this general law is manifested in different ways in different countries. Some countries advance from capitalism to socialism but other countries advance directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. As a result, the course of the revolution and the specific tasks of the socialist revolution in countries are not entirely the same. In the course of the socialist revolution, together with building the material-technical bases of socialism, we must also mold the new, socialist man with consideration given to the historic traditions of each nation.

While describing the national traits of each country, socialist realist literature provides vivid, detailed and diverse pictures of the course of development of the world revolution and, at the same time, performs the task of incorporating and extolling the very best aspects of the spiritual life of each nation. These very best aspects consist of things that are beautiful in content and form. They are the "models of beauty" that have been created by nations and which we have the task of preserving. Each of the very best aspects of the nation is closely linked to the people and is expressed in the people. Therefore, an artist who is an artist of the people cannot help but find the very best of the nation. President Ho was the embodiment of this spirit. Even when he was young, in his 30's, he was deeply concerned with the national nature of art. In the 1920's, according to the memoirs of Eric Johanson, the Swedish painter, President Ho once said: "...Every nation must concern itself with the national character of its art." (2) In 1962, while attending a national art exhibit, President Ho advised: "The national character of art should be developed upon." (3)

Nations have different historic traditions and different psychologies but these differences do not lead to hostility among nations. Hostility among nations is a product of the consciousness of the exploiting classes. To communists, the national nature of literature is never in contradiction with the international nature of literature. Proletarian internationalism, according to Lenin, is the essence of the line of the working class. Lenin said: "We are opposed to national hatred, disharmony among nations and the isolation of nations. We are internationalists." (4) In order to acquire the international spirit, we must struggle against the concept of inequality among nations and must, moreover, "think not only of our nation, but also place the interests of each nation, the freedom and equality of all nations above everything else." (5) The patriotism of the proletariat is also manifested in the oneness between its national character and international character. Whereas, under the feudal system, in the face of aggression by foreign feudalists, the great patriotic poet could only write:

The king of the South lives amongst the rivers and mountains of the South,
And the destiny of the South is determined in the heavens.

If the pirates should ever invade it,
They will be smashed.

In the fight for the independence and freedom of the socialist fatherland, our
spirit of patriotism was not limited by the territorial boundaries of our country:

We are fighting not only for our 30 million people
But the 3 billion people of the world as well.

We desire national freedom
Not only for our own land.

For those who spread poisons on our land
Would destroy our sacred planet.

(To Huu's "The South")

The patriotism of the proletariat has turned the wars of liberation of nations into class struggles of international significance. Our recent war of resistance against the United States was a typical example of this. That fight became subject matter of international significance. Besides writers from our country, the reputations and careers of many of their foreign colleagues were closely associated with our people's fight against the United States for national salvation. Each of these writers and poets had a different style and dealt with different subjects but all of them spoke the same voice: the voice of protesting U.S. imperialist aggression and protecting Vietnam. This voice was the voice of internationalism.

The international nature of socialist realist literature is the inevitable result of recognizing and reflecting reality under the light of the aesthetic ideals of the revolutionary proletariat. These aesthetic ideals guide the artist in developing themes of international significance and establishing new virtues, virtues that meet the requirements of the revolutionary undertaking of the proletariat throughout the world. The international nature of socialist realist literature demands that the artist must have a broad outlook and know how to relate the separate events of each country to the laws of the development of history, to the process of the world revolution. In this regard, the international nature is the quality of the awareness, the breadth of vision and the ideology of the artist.

In addition, the international nature of socialist realist literature involves the conscious interaction of literatures within the same ideological system. Due to its special place in history, soviet literature cleared the way for socialist realism and has, over the past several decades, always stood at the pinnacle of the world's socialist realist literature. Of course, while accepting the influence of soviet literature, the socialist realist literatures of other countries still have deep roots in the national life of their country and incorporate the artistic traditions of their nation. On the other hand,

through its own efforts and achievements, the revolutionary literature of each country makes its own contribution to the development of world revolutionary literature. In all modesty, we can say that our revolutionary literature has made a significant contribution to describing the strength of the national liberation war and describing the true nature of the imperialists in the second half of the 20th century. As the 4th Congress of the Party observed; "Through the achievements recorded primarily in reflecting the two great wars of resistance of the nation, our country's literature and art have proven themselves to be worthy of being in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist literature and art of the present age."(6)

Thus, being international in nature is an attribute of socialist realist literature. The international nature of socialist realist literature creates the conditions for the development of the progressive, humanitarian factors within national traditions and, at the same time, directs these factors toward a common goal, a common ideal.

The three concepts socialist content, national nature and international spirit are three concepts that are organically linked to one another within socialist realist literature. If one of these three categories is lacking, the concept of socialist realist literature is no longer complete or perfect. Of course, when talking about socialist content we cannot help but discuss the principle of party spirit and, when talking about national nature, we cannot fail to discuss the popular nature of literature. The unity of the three concepts socialist content, national nature and international spirit is determined by the special characteristics of the world view and the aesthetic ideals of socialist realist literature. Socialist content demands that socialist realist literature be national in nature and international in spirit. Moreover, socialist content insures the unity between national nature and international spirit. Possessing socialist content, being national in nature and possessing international spirit are the guidelines for the development of the socialist realist literature of each country, are the measurements of the value of the works of socialist realist literature and are, at the same time, the standard for distinguishing between genuine socialist realist works and works that are influenced by bourgeois ideology as well as every other non-proletarian ideology.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Tu trong di san...", New Works Publishing House, the Vietnam Association of Writers, Hanoi, 1981, p 181.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Culture and Art Are Also a Front," Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, p 480.
3. Ibid.,
4. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 40, p 49.

5. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Russian Version, Volume 30, p 44.
6. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 121.

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EDUCATIONAL WORK IN GIA LAI-KONTUM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 82 pp 58-60

[Article by Bich Hoang]

[Text] Gia Lai-Kontum is a mountain province that has a population of more than 600,000, 60 percent of whom are members of ethnic minorities. Since liberation, educational work in Gia Lai-Kontum has developed continuously. The requirements of the revolution have faced educational work within the province with many pressing problems. The resolution of the 5th Party Congress pointed out: "In the South and the mountains, in conjunction with quality, very much importance must be given to increasing the number of schools and classrooms, especially on the general school level; at the same time, however, light attention cannot be given to supplementary education and the effort to wipe out illiteracy."

At the time of liberation (March, 1975), except for a number of areas, such as Pleiku, Kontum, Adunpa and An Khe, which had schools that were attended almost entirely by ethnic Vietnamese children, the ethnic minority areas, rural areas, areas far from roads and so forth had virtually no schools or classes at all. Some 95 percent of the members of the ethnic minorities were illiterate. Today, educational work in Gia Lai-Kontum has recorded tremendous achievements. The nursery school and basic general school education system has developed strongly. There are classes and schools in all villages and hamlets. Today, 8,930 children are attending child care centers; 17,543 children are enrolled in kindergarten; 113,768 students attend basic general schools and 3,296 students are enrolled at middle schools. By the end of 1977, the province had virtually wiped out illiteracy among the people. At present, 9,010 persons are attending supplementary education classes. One of every four persons is attending school. The province has opened many normal schools to train cadres and teachers who are members of the ethnic minorities. Each year, thousands of students graduate from these schools and supplement the schools and educational facilities within the province.

The representative feature and, at the same time, a direction that is consistent with the requirements of economic and cultural development and consistent with the educational principles of the party, is the network of ethnic youth work-

study schools that has been formed and developed in Gia Lai-Kontum. These schools have begun to achieve noteworthy results.

During recent years, educational work in Gia Lai-Kontum has contributed to bringing the light of the party to the members of the ethnic minorities, raising the level of knowledge of the people, training a corps of cadres who are members of the ethnic minorities to support the work of building and protecting the socialist fatherland and eliminating the remnants of the reactionary, decadent, neo-colonialist culture and backward customs and habits.

However, educational work in Gia Lai-Kontum has also been marked by many shortcomings and weaknesses that must be promptly corrected. The development of education has not been uniform or continuous and large number of ethnic children are not attending class. At present, 40,807 children of kindergarten age are not attending class or have no school or class to attend. The number of students attending basic general schools, especially students who are children of the ethnic minorities, has declined seriously (declined by 13,893 students compared to the start of the 1981-1982 school year). The higher the level of education, the lower is the percentage of children of the ethnic minorities attending school: level I: 60 percent; level II: 10 percent; level III: 2 percent. Generally speaking, the quality of students is still low; although 7 years have elapsed since liberation day, the average level of education of the students who are members of the ethnic minorities is still primarily first grade or second grade. Illiteracy has returned and new cases of illiteracy among the people are increasing with each passing day. The material bases and equipment supporting teaching and learning requirements are very underdeveloped and in very short supply, are neither scientific nor aesthetic and do not serve to maintain the health of teachers and students; at the same time, they cause both teachers and students to be less than enthusiastic and to not feel close to their school or classroom. Due to the shortage of schools and classrooms, many schools and classrooms must be used to teach two or three shifts of students per day. At some places, students have no chairs to sit on and no desks to write upon or must sit on a log and must use pieces of bamboo as copy books. A piece of oil paper substitutes for a blackboard(!). Teachers also have no chairs and no place to put their textbooks in order to teach. A number of schools that have been selected as "experimental schools" in the reform of education also lack many of the minimum items needed.

Practically all of the teachers in Gia Lai-Kontum have come down from the northern mountains or up from the delta provinces. Because they encounter many difficulties in their daily lives and are far from their homes, they are not very satisfied with their work and lack enthusiasm. Some teachers have quit their jobs and returned home or teach their students in a sloppy, form for form's sake manner. The majority of teachers do not speak the language of the local ethnic minority, consequently, they encounter many difficulties in their teaching activities and social intercourse and do not attract students. The occupational counselling provided within general schools is not good and the use of level II and level III school graduates and students who do not have the ability to study on a higher level of education is still marked by confusion and lacks specific guidelines.

There are many reasons for the situation described above. In addition to the general causes arising from the countries present situation, there are also subjective causes for which the local party organization and government are responsible. To begin with, the local party committee echelon and government do not have a full or correct understanding of the importance and significance of educational work. Some cadres and people also have an incorrect understanding of this matter and leave the teaching of their children up to the education sector. The education sector itself has not done a good job of serving as the staff of the party committee echelon and local government and has not improved itself in order to overcome its difficulties, rather, it has tended to wait for the upper level to act and has not tapped the ability of the people to contribute to the development of education.

It is necessary to propagandize, mobilize and inspire the people to eagerly and enthusiastically participate in educational work and make concern for participating in the development of education a broad, strong and continuous mass movement. Cadres, especially the key cadres of the districts, villages and mountain villages, party members, Youth Union members and so forth must take the lead in the effort to wipe out illiteracy and the lead in supplementary education.

The majority of the children within the province are members of the ethnic minorities. It is necessary to adopt appropriate regulations and policies designed to provide encouragement and motivation to study and closely link students to their schools and classrooms. The various types of boarding schools, semi-boarding schools, centralized schools and semi-centralized schools that operate on the basis of funds provided by the state or that are operated by the state in coordination with the collective, the parents of students and teachers are forms that are suited to the economic and cultural circumstances of Gia Lai-Kontum at this time.

In order to have students to train as local cadres and train them in accordance with the guideline of coordinating cadre training and economic development by area, the best form of organization is the ethnic youth work-study school. Here, students study both academic subjects and a specific trade, one that can be applied as soon as they graduate. Positive steps must be taken to reorganize the network of schools and classrooms and create favorable conditions that facilitate travel by students and are suited to the production habits of the ethnic minorities, such as opening classes in mountain villages, for example. In addition, some classrooms can be organized at production sites during the season of the year when the ethnic minorities are clearing land and making upland fields; only in this way is it possible to avoid the present problems of students dropping out of school and students having to repeat a grade. In the activities of the education sector, teachers, wherever they are, are the central characters of the school and determine whether the quality of education is good or poor in each subject, in each class period. In Gia Lai-Kontum, practically all of the teachers, from the level I to the level III schools, are from the North and the lowland provinces; they are remaining at their installations and in the mountain villages to perform their task. If organized well, they will be revolutionary soldiers on the ideological and cultural front in the

locality. For the next few years, until we are able to train a full corps of local teachers and in order to help teachers stabilize their living conditions, become satisfied with their work and perform good work, it is necessary, in addition to implementing the current regulations and policies of the state, to adopt a number of specific local regulations and policies, such as ones that resolve the housing and production land problem and the problem of purchasing grain and food products locally and promptly meet the needs that teachers have in their instruction and their daily lives. It is also necessary to adopt a suitable policy for motivating teachers to learn the languages of the ethnic minorities within the locality, encourage many students to attend class and provide high quality instruction.

Along with improving the quality of training at the normal schools with a view toward providing the province with a larger and better corps of teachers, one extremely important job with which we must concern ourselves is that of improving the management of education on the various levels. It is necessary to assign additional skilled cadres who are well qualified in their special field to serve as the nucleus at the Education Service, the district and town education committees and the specialized components.

Gia Lai-Kontum is a mountain province whose strength lies in the forests. In keeping with the guideline "the state and the people working together," it is necessary in our province to rely upon the contributions made by the parents of students, primarily in the form of labor to harvest timber to make schools and shelters, and upon the production collectives and agricultural cooperatives to establish carpentry sections and blacksmith sections to make desks, chairs, blackboards, bookcases and so forth as a number of places have done in order to create good conditions for providing the children of the people with classrooms and the necessary learning aids. On the basis of this guideline, it is possible to create a good method for providing occupational counselling to students if we know how to organize this effort and make appropriate investments.

Under the light of the resolutions of the 5th Congress, with the strength and the economic potentials of the province and under the guidance of the various party committee echelons, the education sector of Gia Lai-Kontum, in coordination with the other sectors, will surely create a position for itself from which it can move steadily forward toward a future filled with promise and will surely record much larger achievements in the years ahead.

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CSO: 4210/3

HISTORICAL TRADITION: THE NATIONAL LAW UNDER THE TRAN DYNASTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 82 pp 61-64

[Article by Chu Mong]

[Text] The Tran Dynasty replaced the Ly Dynasty at a time when the Nguyen pirates were plundering Asia and Europe and our country faced the serious threat of foreign aggression.

Strengthening the central government became a pressing need in building as well as defending the country. Building a strong central government also meant having more strength with which to defend the country. For this reason, at the start of the Tran Dynasty "the organization of the government and administrative regulations were clearly defined in the 'Quoc trieu thong che' which comprised 20 books. The legal activities of the state were also strengthened. Following many revisions and amendments, the House of Tran compiled a new code of law called "Hinh Thu." (1) Thus, immediately after they replaced the Ly Dynasty, the leaders of the Tran Dynasty attached special importance to drafting national laws and thoroughly implementing them, considering national laws to be one of the basic factors in creating the strength needed to build and defend the country.

In the second war of resistance against the Nguyen aggressor army (1285), every member of our army liked to write on his hand the words "kill the enemy," considering this to be the supreme national law that every Vietnamese, from the king to each citizen, had to obey, even if it meant sacrificing one's life. When he delivered a letter from the Tran king to the camp of the Nguyen Army with the intention of reconnoitering the enemy's situation, Do Khac Chung held out his hands and showed the Nguyen general O Ma Nhi the words "kill the enemy" in order to show the enemy general the tenacious, unyielding spirit and the determination to fight of our people.

In order to implement this sacred national law, all of the elders of the country who attended the Dien Hong Conference voiced the same opinion: "Fight!" At a time when the Nguyen pirates were in the midst of a fierce offensive and our people found themselves in an extremely difficult situation, it was on the basis of this supreme national law, this law that superseded even the authority of the king, that Tran Quoc Tuan proudly said to the Tran king: "Sire, we would rather die than surrender"!

Everyone from the king to the citizens of the country, from the imperial court to the localities, from the lowlands to the mountains, from ethnic Vietnamese to the minorities in the mountains accepted and scrupulously obeyed this sacred national law. The main force army of the imperial court closely coordinated with the local armies and the armies of the nobility in accordance with a single combat plan under the command of a supreme commander appointed by the king.

In the second war of resistance against the Nguyen aggressor army (1285), the militia forces of the various provinces commanded by Tran Thong, Nguyen Kha Lap and Nguyen Truyen fought alongside the main force army and actively participated in the counter-offensives, recording many major feats of arms.

When the Nap Toc Lat Dinh Army withdrew to Van Nam, they were stopped by the Ha Dac and Ha Phuong militia of the mountain ethnic minorities at Phu Ninh and dealt heavy losses.

When the Viet traitor Tran Kien and the troops of the Nguyen Army who were escorting him back to the country arrived at the Ma Luc camp (Chi Lang in Lang Son), they were attacked for 3 continuous days and nights by the militia of the Tay ethnic minority commanded by Nguyen The Loc and Nguyen Linh in coordination with a component of the army of the Imperial Court. Tran Quoc Tuan's servant, Nguyen Dia Lo, killed Tran Kien while he was still on his horse.

The "kill the enemy" national law, which was the law that closely linked together each person of Dai Viet within the bloc of national solidarity, was the foundation of the battle position of using the strength of the entire country to fight the Nguyen. The National law, which determined the survival of the nation, had to be thoroughly understood and obeyed by everyone from the Imperial Court to the villages and hamlets. Therefore, while preparations were being made for the second war of resistance against the Nguyen aggressor army, the Tran Imperial Court issued the following decree: "If the enemy attacks, all districts in the country must fight to the death; if their strength is not equal to that of the enemy, they may withdraw to the mountainous jungles but they may not surrender." (2)

Obeying the national law and feeling that he would rather die than surrender, Tran Binh Trong set a noble example of sacrificing one's life that will last for 1,000 years.

In the three wars of resistance against the Nguyen Army, only two of the country's villages surrendered. The citizens of the two villages "were condemned to exile... were not permitted to serve as mandarins and were delivered to the officials who issued the order in order to serve as their slaves." (3)

All the princes who surrendered and fled with the enemy were "sentenced in absentia to exile or death, their property was confiscated by the state and their citizenship rights were taken away. For example, Tran Kien, the son of Tinh Quoc, changed his surname to Mai... His brother, Ich Tac, although he received the same punishment, did not have the heart to change his name and merely called himself A Tran." (4)

In order to uphold the national law in war, the leaders of the Tran Imperial Court showed very much concern for upholding the law even in peace time. In the work of building the country and even in the activities of the palace, the king and his officials.

In the history of the feudal era, it was truly rare for a king to be dethroned simply because he drank too much and became intoxicated as was the case with Tran Anh Tong.

Tran Thanh Tong usually worked very closely with the princes but "when a major ceremony or audience was held, when guests were present or when a funeral was being held, rank and class were recognized. For this reason, all the princes of that time were on good terms with and respected the king but never committed the mistake of taking liberties because of arrogance."(5)

The wife of Tran Thu Do (who was appointed keeper of the national temple) once tried to ride in a sedan chair past a forbidden veranda; a military officer stopped her. When news of this reached Tran Thu Do, he had the officer brought to him for questioning. The officer answered him truthfully. Thu Do said: "There is no need to reprimand a person of such low rank who is so honest and polite."(6)

The Tran Dynasty drafted criminal laws at an early date. Even then, the Tran kings emphasized the cautious examination of both reason and sentiment in the sentencing of persons for crimes. "The Complete History of Dai Viet" states: "Two officials, Hoang Hoc and Thien Kien, once deceived a judge as a result of which a villager was blamed for the crime. When the emperor learned of this, he told the judge: 'Hoc is so sneaky that you could not discern his reasons and sentiment; if his reasoning is correct but his sentiments are dishonest, you cannot act on the basis of his reasoning and ignore his sentiments, both reason and sentiment must be taken into consideration before a person can be a skilled judge. If you know that his reasoning is not incorrect, you must act on the basis of his sentiments; if his reasoning is dishonest, you must, of course, determine what is right and what is wrong about it, in which case dishonest sentiments reveal themselves and you must act on the basis of both reason and sentiment. This is how cautious the emperor was with regard to criminal law.'"(7)

The strength for building the country that was created by the national law increased the strength for defending the country.

In the winter of 1285, following the extremely arduous and fierce second war of resistance against the Nguyen aggressor army that lasted from late January until late June, King Tran Nhan Tong ordered that a census be taken. Court officials advised him that a census was not an immediate necessity because the population consisted only of poor laboring people. The king said: "This is the perfect time to take the census, do you want the enemy to think that our population has decreased?"(8)

The kings at the start of the Tran Dynasty also displayed very much concern for the people's opinion about how the national law was being obeyed by the king and

mandarins. "Huy Chan's mother, Thai Binh Tran Thi, who served as an imperial concubine, was a greedy person who frequently took land from peasants. When a citizen complained about this, the king, instead of turning the matter over to the concerned minister, summoned Uy Gian (who was a prince and the husband of Princess Huy Chan), gave him the complaint to examine and said: 'I did not turn this matter over to officials to review because I was afraid of bringing dishonor to the imperial concubine but you should comply with the petition and return the land to the peasant.' Huy Gian immediately issued an order that the land be returned. After Thai Binh died, Uy Gian returned all of the land that she had taken from citizens to the former owners."(9)

The enforcement of the law during the early years of the Tran Dynasty was characterized by both strictness and mercy in order to "grow deep, strong roots among the people, which is the best policy for protecting the country (advice given by Tran Quoc Tuan shortly before his death to the Tran king)." (10)

Having established the national law, the kings and mandarins at the start of the Tran Dynasty showed that they themselves were making an effort to set an example in implementing the national law. Even in such work as protecting dikes, "the Tran king himself sometimes participated in dike work. The emissary Tran Khac Chung acknowledged the importance of this action when he said: 'When the people are contending with a flood, there is nothing more important than the king going immediately to help them repair dikes.'" (11)

Establishing a strict, fair and correct national system of law and the king and his officials setting an example in upholding this law for the entire country to follow, these are two of the reasons why the Tran Dynasty was able to "mobilize the entire country to fight the enemy," bring the strength of the entire country to bear in the three victories over the Nguyen Army and record imposing feats of arms.

The 174 year (1226-1400) existence of the Tran Dynasty showed: the maintenance of strict but fair national law was one of the basic factors in creating the strength used to build and defend the country during the early years of the Tran Dynasty. Of course, under the feudal system, national law was a tool used by a dynasty first to maintain its rule over the people of a country and consisted of laws that were established primarily to maintain the special rights and privileges of the feudal class, of the various strata of nobility and aristocracy of the dynasty.

However, at the start of the Tran Dynasty, the Tran king and officials faced two pressing requirements at the same time: winning the hearts of the people in order to strengthen the government that had been taken from the Ly Dynasty and uniting all the people as one in order to fight a foreign aggressor that was many times larger and stronger than we. The leaders of the Tran Dynasty at that time had to suppress their own desires and, on the other hand, had to give attention to the rights of the peasants. For this reason, at the start of the Tran Dynasty, national law was established and strictly enforced by the Tran court from top to bottom with a view toward achieving "unanimity between king and subject,

harmony among brothers and the joining of efforts by the entire country"(12) in order to create solidarity from within the Imperial Court to among the people and closely link the ruling circles of the Tran Imperial Court to one another and to the people of the entire country, thereby placing national law in the position as one of the basic factors of the strength for building and defending the country, raising many of the rulers of the Tran Dynasty during the three wars of resistance of the Nguyen to the position of national heroes and elevating the country of Dai Viet of that time to a brilliant pinnacle of glory.

Inheriting and developing upon their precious historical tradition of strictly enforcing national law, our people are making every effort to implement, in the very best manner possible, the slogan adopted by the party and state "living and working in accordance with the Constitution and law" in order to help to increase our strength in the work of building and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Lich su Viet-nam"[The History of Vietnam], Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume I, p 186.
2. Ibid., p 202.
3. "Dai Viet su ky toan thu"[The Complete History of Dai Viet], Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, Volume II, p 65.
4. Ibid., p 37.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p 34.
7. Ibid., pp 108-109.
8. Ibid., p 57.
9. Ibid., p 106.
10. "Lich su Viet-nam"...p 215.
11. Ibid., p 193.
12. Ibid., p 215.

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NATURE OF CHINESE EXPANSIONISM AND HEGEMONISM REMAINS UNCHANGED

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 82 pp 65-70

[Article by Tran Quoc Tu]

[Text] Chinese expansionism and hegemonism have once again been affirmed in various documents of the 12th CPC Congress, which was held in Beijing in early September 1982. The new CPC Constitution adopted by the congress still asserts: "The CPC considers Mao Zedong's thoughts as a guideline for its action." It is public knowledge that, by its nature, Maoism is great-nation expansionism and big-power hegemonism. This is great Hanism, a kind of bourgeois nationalism reeking with feudalism. Going under the euphemism of "a Chinese version of Marxism-Leninism," this big-nation chauvinism is aimed at establishing Chinese hegemony throughout the world, beginning with the Southeast Asian countries.

The present powerholders in Beijing still adhere to Maoism and continue to implement the basic line set forth by Mao Zedong, especially in the field of foreign relations.

In his political report to the 12th CPC Congress, Hu Yaobang said: "China bases its foreign policy on Mao Zedong's thoughts." He added: "We will persistently implement the basic principles of our country's foreign policy laid down by Comrade Mao Zedong." The basis of China's foreign policy is Mao Zedong's notoriously reactionary "three-world theory."

Fully imbued with Mao Zedong's foreign policy, the political report presented by Hu Yaobang at the 12th CPC Congress held that "at present, the most important task of the world's people is to oppose hegemonism" (that is, to oppose the Soviet Union). In his opening speech at the same congress, Deng Xiaoping also said that "opposing hegemonism" is one of "the three major tasks of the Chinese people for the 1980's."

Adept as usual at turning black into white, the Beijing authorities have slanderously accused Vietnam of "aggression." In his political report to the 12th CPC Congress, Hu Yaobang alleged: "Vietnam has invaded Kampuchea, pursued expansion in Indochina and Southeast Asia and ceaselessly carried out provocations along the Chinese border."

As a matter of fact, who is the aggressor? Who used 23 divisions of the Pol Pot army to attack Vietnam from the southwest and practiced a genocidal policy in Kampuchea? Who sent 600,000 Chinese troops to attack Vietnam from the north, to massacre civilians, including old people and children, and to completely destroy all the cities and villages in Vietnam's northern border provinces? Who invaded and occupied the Vietnamese Paracel Islands? Who is committing provocations, shelling, grabbing Vietnamese northern border territory and sending aircraft and warships to intrude daily into Vietnamese airspace and territorial waters? Who is aiding the genocidal Pol Pot clique to oppose the Kampuchean people? Who is conducting sabotage and subversive activities in Laos? Obviously, the Maoists among the Beijing ruling circles are still continuing their hostile policy against the peoples of Vietnam and other Indo-chinese countries.

As Hu Yaobang was claiming that China "had never stationed single soldiers in any country or had never occupied a single inch of territory or violated the sovereignty of any country," Chinese troops were occupying the Paracel archipelago of Vietnam and tens of thousands of square kilometers of Burmese territory and thousands of square kilometers of Indian territory. Also Beijing was using Chinese residents and various organizations of his henchmen to carry out subversive activities in Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand and so forth.

The 12th congress has once again proved that the Beijing ruling circles still pursue the policy of "opening the door to the West" in an effort to look for investment, technology and modern weapons. In his opening speech, Deng Xiaoping said: "We will consistently pursue the policy of opening our door to other countries." The Beijing ruling circles have paid special attention to their relations with the United States and Japan--those countries which have pledged to join them in "opposing hegemonism" (that means to oppose the Soviet Union). They consider relations with the United States as a strategic issue, although Hu Yaobang has lamented that "a dark cloud" exists in Sino-U.S. relations due to the Taiwan issue. In his opening speech, Deng Xiaoping swore that China would certainly "not swallow the bitter fruit" offered by a foreign country. However, the United States has passed "a bill on relations with Taiwan," continued to sell weapons to Taiwan, and treated Taiwan as if it were an independent country. Mr Deng could in no way "refuse to swallow that bitter fruit." In its relations with the United States, China has not been treated equally by the latter. The United States considers China as a "poor friend" or an "inferior traveling companion." The United States maintains that China needs it more than it needs China. Despite this fact, China still colludes with the United States to oppose the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the socialist community. China has been compelled to give way in face of the pressure exerted by the United States just because it needs the dollars, the technology and the weapons of the latter.

Although the Beijing ruling circles know well that the United States is playing the China card against the Soviet Union, they will resign themselves to being a card in the hand of the United States. The China card, however, has been underrated by the United States. To raise the value of this card, the Beijing ruling circles would, from time to time, bear a grudge against the

United States or threaten to hold talks with the Soviet Union. Beijing also exploits the resumption of negotiations with the Soviet Union in an attempt to sabotage Soviet-U.S. talks.

In the political report read at the congress, Hu Yaobang left the door open for talks with the Soviet Union in order to seek a normalization of relations with this country. China, however, had imposed conditions that could in no way be acceptable to the Soviet Union.

Among the issues put forward by Hu Yaobang, such as the various obstacles to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations, which should be discussed at the Sino-Soviet talks, there were the issues concerning third countries, which had nothing to do with China. Those were the issues concerning Vietnam, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Mongolia--independent and sovereign countries. These countries do not allow any country to discuss their own affairs during talks with another country without their participation.

Naturally, the Soviet Union--a genuine socialist country which always respects the independence and sovereignty of other countries--would have to reject these unreasonable demands by China. Thus, the Beijing ruling circles' efforts to demand that the affairs of Vietnam, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Mongolia be discussed at the Sino-Soviet talks and to interfere brazenly in the internal affairs of these countries are irrefutable evidence of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism.

Previously, in the talks to normalize relations with the United States, the Beijing ruling circles used Vietnam as an item or merchandise to trade with this country. That Chinese scheme was a failure because it had stumbled over the firm attitude of Vietnam. Today, in the talks to normalize relations with the Soviet Union, the Beijing ruling circles again use the Vietnam issue to strike a bargain. However, faced with the principled stand--which is based on proletarian internationalism--of the Soviet Union and with the just and unalterable stand on Vietnam, that scheme of China's will certainly end in tragic defeat.

In their counterrevolutionary global strategy, the Beijing authorities consider Southeast Asia the key region and Vietnam and the rest of Indochina the main target for expansion. Therefore, they have carried out an extremely cunning policy of sowing disagreement and division and of winning over all possible allies in order to isolate, surround, weaken, sabotage and then annex Vietnam. However, forged in the long revolutionary struggle, experienced in numerous trials and armed with the party's viewpoints as presented in the various documents of the recent fifth party congress, the Vietnamese people are remaining vigilant, steadfast and resolute; they will surely foil all the schemes and acts conducted by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists to oppose and sabotage Vietnam.

To create the material basis for great-people expansionism and big-nation hegemonism, the 12th CPC Congress adopted a program for "modernizing industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology." The political report presented by Hu Yaobang sets forth the following targets: "Gross

"national industrial and agricultural output will quadruple in value by the year 2000"; by the end of this century, "gross national income and the output of major industrial and agricultural goods of China will rank first in the world"; and "the real strength of national defense will increase very considerably." This is a very ambitious program. Press circles in the West consider this a new "Great Leap Forward" which is even more adventurous than the Great Leap Forward previously advocated by Mao Zedong. Right in China, an economist wrote in a newspaper article that China "will not be able to attain the goal of quadrupling the value of its gross industrial and agricultural output by the end of this century" (Footnote: article by (Wu Minyu) carried in the WORLD ECONOMIC JOURNAL published in Shanghai on 20 September 1982). Too enraptured in their dream of world hegemony, the Beijing authorities have set forth economic targets that far exceed their capabilities. Even if "the four modernizations," of which "the modernization of national defense" is the capstone, could be realized, they would, instead of bringing about a plentiful and happy life for the Chinese people, only make them suffer while simultaneously creating a grave threat to the security of the countries in Southeast Asia and to world peace.

Apart from the "four modernizations" mentioned above, there is also the fifth "modernization," which is being quietly carried out without any fanfare. It is the "modernization" of Maoism. In fact, the Beijing authorities are revising part of Maoism, stripping away all of its coarseness and inflexibility to make it suitable for the present situation. Therefore, post-Mao Maoism or Maoism without Mao is no longer Maoism in its original form but Maoism in a new form. It is revised Maoism or, in other words, "modernized Maoism."

The 12th CPC Congress criticized Mao Zedong's concept of "using the class struggle as the key." It also rejected Mao Zedong's theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," which was formerly extolled by the CPC as "Mao Zedong's great contribution to the treasure of Marxist-Leninist theories." These revisions were made to accommodate changes in the current situation of China. Formerly, after having been relegated by Liu Shaoqi to "the second line," Mao Zedong introduced the aforementioned concepts with the aims of motivating "the Red Guards" to rise up in rebellion and topple Liu Shaoqi and of regaining his control of the Communist Party and the State of China. Now that Deng Xiaoping and his camp have gained power, he must shift from "great rebellion to great rule" to maintain his power. Therefore, Mao Zedong's theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" is no longer suitable and must be criticized and rejected.

In the economic field, the 12th congress officially ratified the rejection of Mao Zedong's "military barracks economy" in favor of Deng Xiaoping's "market-oriented economy."

The expansion of the private economic sector and the reimbursement of capital and assets formerly confiscated from the more than 50,000 Chinese capitalists have opened the door for the Chinese economy to develop along the capitalist direction.

As for foreign policy, in his political report Hu Yaobang used subtle words which had not been seen in China's official publications for several years. The Beijing rulers no longer shouted such slogans as "Down with socialist imperialism" and "The Soviet Union is enemy No 1" as they had before. They prepared to make a few "small steps forward" in the relationship with the Soviet Union. Their scheme is to divide socialist countries, communist and workers parties and the national liberation movement. They used sweet words to beguile countries of the so-called "Third World"--claiming that "China belongs to the Third World"--in order to exercise Chinese leadership over the "Third World," seize the "Third World," win over the "Second World" and oppose the "two superpowers," mainly the Soviet Union.

The Chinese ruling circles had to make some adjustments in their policies because over the past few years they have encountered many setbacks in their foreign and domestic affairs. Domestically, they have been faced with the increasing dissidence of the Chinese people. Internationally, China has been isolated due to its policy of colluding with imperialism, especially the U.S. imperialists.

These changes, however, are of a crafty nature. There is no change in the nature and strategy of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism. The basic policy of the Chinese ruling circles is still a policy of colluding with imperialism against the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the revolutionary peoples of various nations, including the Chinese people. As a result, the "Maoist doctrine of modernization" is more dangerous than pure Maoism.

The 12th CPC Congress was a "formalization" of the Deng Xiaoping clique's victory in the CPC. After being "removed from power" twice, Mr Deng Xiaoping again emerged on the Chinese political forum in 1977. Since then he has striven to struggle against opposition factions to gain control of the Chinese party and state. Mr Deng Xiaoping's clique gained their superiority at the Third CPC Central Committee Plenum (11th session) in December 1978. Afterwards, due to the failure of the war of aggression against Vietnam, Mr Deng was severely attacked by the opposition factions. After working through a process of arduous and decisive struggle, at the Sixth CPC Central Committee Plenum in June 1981, Mr Deng's clique gained control. Since then the line of pragmatism advocated by Mr Deng and dubbed by the Western press as "a cat's doctrine" has won an advantageous position in the CPC. This line completely relies on capitalism, learns from Western experiences and cooperates strategically with imperialism to gain capital and technology in order to carry out the "four modernizations" so as to create the material bases for Chinese expansionism and hegemonism. The ideological basis of that line is the "Maoist doctrine of modernization." Its objective is to establish Chinese hegemonism in the world, first in Southeast Asia. Other vital objectives of this line include, internally, to carry out the "four modernizations" with "defense modernization" as the capstone and, externally, to establish a "world united front against hegemonism," which includes imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, and other reactionary forces to oppose the Soviet Union, Vietnam, socialism and the three currents of the world revolution.

In his opening speech at the 12th congress, Mr Deng Xiaoping pointed out the three tasks for the Chinese Communist Party and people: First, the "four modernizations," second, the recovery of Taiwan and, third, antihegemonism (that is, anti-Soviet Union). Mr Deng used the task of recovering Taiwan to trick the patriotic Chinese people who want to unify their country.

Everyone knows that Beijing has advocated the policy of cooperating with the United States strategically, i.e., Beijing has postponed the liberation of Taiwan indefinitely for the mere reason that Taiwan cannot be liberated without chafing the United States since Taiwan is, in fact, a U.S. neocolony and a linchpin in U.S. global strategy. Even Macao, a Chinese island that has been occupied by Portugal for several centuries, is now returned willingly by Portugal but is not accepted by China. Although the PRC was founded 33 years ago, the British colonial system is still maintained in Hong Kong. Why such a contradiction? Macao and Hong Kong have been Beijing's source of foreign exchange. Beijing does not want to kill its "goose that lays the golden egg." Trampling on the Chinese people's patriotism and aspiration for liberating their country totally, the Chinese ruling circles have sold Chinese territory cheaply to imperialism for strong foreign exchange in order to carry out the "four modernizations" and create the material base for Chinese expansionism and hegemonism. It is thus understandable that Beijing has postponed indefinitely the liberation of Taiwan and colluded with the United States to oppose the Soviet Union. It was clear that the task of liberating Taiwan, which Mr Deng pointed out at the 12th congress, was not meant to be implemented but only to be a propaganda theme to trick the Chinese people. The other two tasks (of opposing the Soviet Union and implementing the "four modernizations") pointed out by Mr Deng were meant to establish Chinese hegemony in Southeast Asia and the world.

Both Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang mentioned "anti-imperialism" at the 12th congress. We wonder: "How can one struggle actually and scrupulously against imperialism when one has advocated the policy of strategically cooperating with imperialists?"

The Beijing ruling circles have presented their line as the third path that resembles neither capitalism nor socialist realism as established in the Soviet Union and other genuine socialist countries. Lenin said the third path is practically the capitalist road. What is called "Chinese-type socialism" is actually socialist nationalism which conflicts with the scientific socialism of Marx and Lenin.

Studying the 12th CPC Congress publications, we can affirm that the nature of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism has not changed.

Mr Deng and his faction have won advantageous positions in the leadership. He has imposed his line on the Chinese people. However, his opponents are still strong. The 12th congress therefore approved a plan to "revamp the party" in 3 years and to "register party members again" in order to eliminate Mr Deng's opponents.

The Chinese people, who have a long tradition of revolutionary struggle, will certainly not carry out blindly all the orders of the reactionaries within the Beijing ruling circles. They will struggle to the end to defend their revolutionary gains. We sympathize with the Chinese people for the difficulties and sufferings which they have endured over the past few decades. We sympathize with and support their just struggle.

The Vietnamese people have maintained a long, traditional friendship with the fraternal Chinese people. We will safeguard this friendship with perseverance. We clearly distinguish the Chinese people from the reactionaries within the Beijing leadership. While struggling resolutely to defend our territory, sovereignty and independence against the reactionaries in the Beijing leadership, we will persevere to implement all measures to protect the friendship and restore the cooperation between the peoples of Vietnam and China.

No matter how insidious and crafty the plots and tricks of the reactionaries within the Beijing leadership, the Vietnamese people, who uphold their vigilance and are ready to fight, will certainly defeat all their plans of aggression and sabotage and firmly defend their socialist fatherland.

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END