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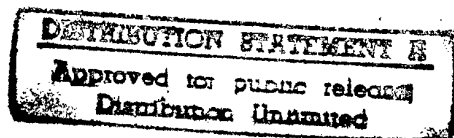
# Southeast Asia Report

No. 1278

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 1, January 1983



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

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PRESIDENT TRUONG CHINH'S NEW YEAR GREETINGS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 83 p 1

[Text] Dear Compatriots and combatants:

In 1982, in implementing the revolution of the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam our entire party, people and army have recorded new successes in building socialism and defending the socialist homeland. The inspiring successes in agricultural production and the progress of all services, localities and grassroot establishments have created initial but significant changes in the national economy, paving the way for our economy to overcome difficulties, stabilize and develop step by step.

I warmly commend the workers, peasants, intellectuals, and members of the People's Army and security force for having worked industriously and courageously and scored outstanding achievements in productive labor, in the strengthening of our national defense capabilities and in fulfilling our international duties.

Entering the new year, in the light of the resolution of the 3rd Plenum of the Party Central Committee, let our people bring into play their socialist collective mastery, emulate one another to boost production, practice thrift and successfully fulfill the 1983 state plan and meet the targets to be attained in 1985 recently adopted by the National Assembly.

Let us concentrate efforts on meeting the vital needs of the people's material and cultural life, step up socialist transformation of the national economy, reorganize the distribution and circulation of goods, build a healthy way of living and effectively curb the negative aspects in society.

Let the whole party, people and army enhance unity, increase vigilance, defeat the type of war of sabotage in many fields waged by the enemy, defend the homeland and maintain order and security. In 1983, we must achieve still bigger changes in order to create favorable conditions for further development in the following years.

On the occasion of the new year, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, the National Assembly, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers, I extend

my best wishes to all our compatriots, the People's Army, the disabled soldiers, the families of fallen combatants, the aged, youth, children and our fellow countrymen abroad. On behalf of the Vietnam party and state, I also extend my warmest greetings and thanks to our fraternal countries and friends and the world over. May the struggle of all nations for peace, independence, democracy and social progress record still greater successes.

CSO: 4210/6

LET US DO OUR BEST TO CARRY OUT THE RESOLUTION OF THE VCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
PLENUM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 83 pp 2-7

[Editorial]

[Text] The 3rd Plenum of the VCP Central Committee (5th tenure) has made important decisions on socio-economic tasks and orientations for 1983 and targets until 1985. Evaluating the implementation of the socio-economic tasks over the past, the plenum affirmed: "Over the past 2 years, in light of the party's general and economic lines and based on the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the VCP Central Committee (4th tenure), some economic management policies of the party and state have been promulgated. They have created new vitality in productive labor and brought about new and very significant changes in the national economy. These changes, though initial ones, are very important in that they have opened new prospects for stabilizing and developing the economy and society."

Over the past 2 years, through their creative labor and with the spirit of self-reliance, our people have scored remarkable achievements in developing the economy and society. Encouraging results have been obtained in agricultural production. Important progress has been made in self-sufficiency in grain through domestic production, collection and purchase of grain. Industrial production has been maintained and developed satisfactorily, especially local industry, small industry and handicrafts. Other economic sectors have also made remarkable progress. The amount of collected and purchased agricultural products has increased fairly well compared to the previous years. Socialist transformation in agriculture has been basically completed in the provinces of the former Zone 5 and developed satisfactorily in the Nam Bo Delta.

It is gratifying to note that changes have occurred everywhere, in localities and grassroots units. In the economic life, there have emerged many positive factors--"promoting an initiative, creative and self-reliant spirit; adopting new work methods and effective and dynamic organization and management measures, enhancing the mass labor enthusiasm and exploiting capabilities and favorable conditions to overcome difficulties." This reality indicates that the concretization of the party's lines, as well as the improvement of

economic leadership and supervisory tasks of all echelons and sectors from the central level to localities, over the past 2 years have made marked progress, creating new, positive factors for the economic development in the years ahead.

Besides the progressive aspects of the economy, our party has correctly and seriously evaluated difficulties encountered in the economy.

The plenum noted that the above mentioned changes and advances are still irregular and weak. In general, production has not been stabilized and is still seriously imbalanced, especially in the domains of energy, raw materials, spare parts, land, forests, sea, manpower and so forth. The use of available production capabilities is limited, output, quality and effectiveness in production, construction and transportation are low and waste and corruption in the management of materials and products are very serious.

On the distribution and circulation front, though there have been some changes, difficulties and complexities abound: prices have constantly fluctuated; the market has not been satisfactorily managed; socialist trade has not progressed and performed its function of controlling and managing goods, nor has it checked speculation and smuggling and illegal trade. The management of money in cash and the mobilization of capital from among the people have not been carried out satisfactorily. The wage system has not been improved. The life of salaried people is increasingly difficult. Obviously, "distribution and circulation is the concentrated manifestation of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths. It is also an area in which the enemy from without, in collusion with reactionary elements from within, is conducted sabotage. The weakness and shortcomings in distribution and circulation are making the difficulties in the economy even more serious."

We have realized that these difficulties and shortcomings, which are deep-rooted in small-scale, poor and backward production and which have lingered during the past 30 years of war, cannot be overcome overnight. The heavy consequences of the devastating war, unfavorable changes of the world economy in recent years and the multi-faceted acts of sabotage of the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries in the Chinese ruling circles have created more difficulties for our difficulty-laden economy.

These are objective causes. Subjectively, we are slow in overcoming shortcomings in economic management, our management system is still patterned after administrative and bureaucratic procedures and characterized by subsidization, conservatism and sluggishness. This has impeded production and the development of the dynamism and creativeness of various echelons, sectors and establishments in exploiting capabilities in many respects. The revision and supplementing of the managerial policy and system is slow and lacks uniformity and coordination; worse still, there have been major shortcomings and deficiencies in this task. The state apparatus is cumbersome and its leadership and operation are slow, inactive and ineffective. In the division of labor and classification of management, there are such phenomena as inflexibility, casualness, disorganization, departmentalism, the tendency to run after personal interests and a lack of close cooperation among echelons, sectors, localities and establishments.



Rearrangement of production has not been urgently carried out. Socialist transformation of agriculture in the South has been conducted slowly. The transformation of industry and trade and market management have been neglected.

In many aspects of the management of many facets of social life, especially on the distribution and circulation front, we are faced with a very serious shortcoming--slackening dictatorship of the proletariat.

The tasks of building the party ideologically and organizationally are far from meeting the requirements. In reality, negativism, conservatism and sluggishness among party cadres and members and people have adversely affected the implementation of the party's lines and policies.

Based on the correct evaluation of achievements scored over the past 2 years (1981-1982) and of the aforementioned difficulties and shortcomings, the 3rd Plenum of the VCP Central Committee made important decisions on urgent tasks aimed at solving socio-economic problems during 1983-85 and subsequent years.

First of all, regarding the socio-economic tasks for 1983-1985, we must successfully fulfill the requirements and objectives set forth by the 5th VCP Congress: "Develop a further step, rearrange the structure of and accelerate the socialist transformation of the national economy. These three tasks must be closely associated so as to basically stabilize the socio-economic situation, meet the most urgent and vital requirements of the people's life, lessen the most acute imbalances in the economy, make an important step toward overcoming the state of affairs which now prevails in distribution and circulation, and increase the prerequisites and conditions for a more vigorous and steady advance in subsequent years." At the same time, we must concretize the implementation of the four objectives--the improvement of the people's life, the building of material and technical bases of socialism, socialist transformation and the maintenance of national defense and security.

Aiming at these requirements and objectives, we must firmly grasp major policies in formulating and implementing plans for 1983 and the two subsequent years. We must uphold the spirit of advancing on our own and the spirit of mastery in exploiting capabilities in order to positively balance plans. We must resolutely concentrate forces on fulfilling the most important requirements of key areas and units; urgently rearrange production and construction; establish a socialist order in distribution and circulation, exploit scientific and technological potentials; renovate the mechanism of economic management and planning, strengthen the supervision and operation of this mechanism; and closely combine the economy with national defense.

As our immediate goal, we must concentrate, to a high degree, forces for agricultural production. The primary requirement is to solve the food and grain problem, quickly increase the sources of raw materials for industry and of agricultural products for export through intensive cultivation and multi-cropping, expansion of cultivated areas of rice, subsidiary and industrial crops and development of animal husbandry. In addition to the labor force of agricultural cooperatives, production collectives and peasants, we must mobilize all echelons, economic and social sectors, organs, enterprises,

military units and schools to support agriculture and participate in grain production. Along with accelerating agricultural development, we must seek every possible means of developing the existing capabilities and exploit latent potentials of the light industry, small industry and handicrafts in order to accelerate the production of consumer goods and meet the people's essential demand and increase the volume of goods for export. Accelerating exports is a very important task. It is, on the one hand, due to the requirement of the international division of labor, cooperation and payment; on the other, it will insure the importation of materials and equipment for the national economy. Therefore, we must "spare no effort to accelerate exports, understanding that to increase export goods is to create strength for the nation and for each locality." Along with rearranging production of heavy industrial establishments and building important heavy industrial projects, we must overcome the acute imbalances in the domains of energy and communications and transportation, by accelerating the exploitation and economical use of our energy resources and available communications and transportation facilities in order to serve production and the people's life.

Along with increasing the production force, we must accelerate socialist transformation. In Nam Bo, by 1985 we must basically complete the organization of peasants into production collectives and agricultural cooperatives and integrate part of the individual handicraft producers into collective organizations in various appropriate forms. We must perfect and heighten the effectiveness of the state-operated economy, consolidate socialist production relations in agriculture and handicrafts and accelerate socialist transformation of trade and industry.

The settlement of these urgent problems requires that we concentrate capital and raw materials and materials for key areas and units, especially major rice and industrial crop areas, the capital city of Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, industrial complexes, northern border provinces and so forth.

The plenum decided on a number of problems concerning distribution and circulation. It noted: currently the most urgent task in distribution and circulation is to devise correct and effective measures for quickly stabilizing and gradually improving the people's lives, especially the life of workers, cadres, soldiers and personnel of the public security force. This is the primary socio-economic objectives set forth by the 5th VCP Congress. It is also the earnest aspiration and urgent demand of our party cadres, members and the people at present.

To establish a new order in distribution and circulation, we must, as our immediate goal, concentrate our efforts on solving, at all cost, the following urgent problems:

First of all, we must control and concentrate sources of goods. According to general principles, production always determines distribution, but our distribution system must be achieved under a unified and concentrated plan to a harmonious combination of the three interests and really serve as a lever to accelerate the development of production. To carry out a unified distribution system, the state must control and concentrate all sources of goods in its own hands. State-operated enterprises must fulfill their obligation to deliver

their products to the state according to set norms. They must end the practice of withholding part of their products for their own use or for giving awards in kind. Small industrial, handicrafts and agricultural establishments must scrupulously implement state policies and regulations on the collection and purchase of products, on placing orders of goods and on the two-way contract system. They must implement the VCP Central Committee Political Bureau's directives on grain collection in 1983.

Measures must be taken to closely manage financial and pricing activities in order to increase income and reduce expenses.

We must expand the socialist trade network and strengthen market management, scrupulously implement regulations on opposing speculation, smuggling, forgery of goods and illegal business transactions. This is the main task in distribution and circulation and, at the same time, a spearhead of the struggle to solve the "who will triumph over whom" problem on the economic front. We must adopt resolute and prompt measures to eliminate capitalist spontaneity and firmly maintain the socialist position in this domain.

In order to renovate the managerial mechanism and satisfactorily fulfill the socio-economic targets, the VCP Central Committee has decided on the classification of economic management for the years ahead.

The national economy is a single, integrated and indivisible whole, using the state plan as a main managerial tool. All sectors and echelons must absolutely respect this wholeness.

To insure the wholeness of the socialist economy, we must correctly apply the principle of democratic centralism, and struggle resolutely to overcome bureaucratic centralism, departmentalism and localism. On the basis of insuring the central government's unified and centralized leadership of the basic problems of socio-economic management, we must boldly extend the initiative and creative right of localities and establishments and resolutely give the right to take the initiative in production, trade and finance to establishments within the framework of the state plan and policies.

To implement the system of collective mastery in production establishments, localities and in the entire country and to insure the uniformity of the national economy, we must correctly carry out the policy of building the central economy while developing the local economy under the unified national economic structure and the principle of coordinating management according to sectors with management according to localities and territorial divisions. We must pay special attention to encouraging the development of the local economy, with emphasis on building the district level.

Consolidating and strengthening the district level is a major policy set forth by the 4th and 5th VCP Congresses. To implement this policy, the recent Party Central Committee plenum decided to build and strengthen the district level.

First of all, we must firmly grasp the following main requirement of the district building task: under the concentrated and unified leadership of the central, provincial and city echelons, develop the initiative and creative

rights of districts and grassroots units, reorganize production, redistribute manpower and build agro-industrial or agro-forestry-industrial or agro-fishery-industrial economic structures.

Along with consolidating and strengthening the district level in the economic domain, we must build districts into fortresses in the cause of national defense. There must be plans and programs for building and improving school networks and cultural projects at the district level.

Developing the party and perfecting the managerial mechanism at the district and village levels are of great significance in the implementation of the aforementioned tasks. Therefore, they must be associated with the requirements for building and strengthening the district level.

To successfully implement all these tasks, we must improve the organization of supervisory work, strengthen and develop the party's leadership, enhance the operational effectiveness of the state apparatus, vigorously promote the mass movement and stir up a seething emulation impetus throughout the country.

First of all, there must be a profound change in organizational tasks and cadre-related tasks in order to strengthen the party's leadership and the state managerial task. Party organizations must be strengthened and the implementation of socio-economic tasks in all echelons and sectors effectively directed. We must strengthen those party committee echelons which really possess combativity and capabilities in organization and leadership, especially economic leadership. We must consolidate grassroots party organizations in all respects, including the expulsion of unqualified members and the admission of outstanding persons emerging from the mass movement. We must urgently reorganize the operational apparatus in all echelons, especially the central and provincial levels, in order to insure quality, cut down on unnecessary intermediary levels and increase their operational effectiveness. In carry out the the cadre task, we must re-examine the contingent of leading and managerial cadres at all levels, resolutely dismiss cadres who are no longer able to fulfill their tasks, and send more cadres who possess managerial capabilities and the correct viewpoint, who have acquired adequate knowledge of technical management, and who are still young from the central and provincial levels to districts and establishments. Meanwhile, in 1983, sectors and localities must, at all costs, initially streamline their administrative and managerial personnel and shift them to productive labor. Along with perfecting the apparatus at all levels, great attention must be paid to improving the leadership in the implementation of these tasks.

To enhance the people's awareness, stimulate the working people's patriotism and their love for socialism, we must improve and strengthen the ideological tasks. This is necessary to make all party cadres and members and the people profoundly understand the party's lines and policies as well as the basic advantages and difficulties of the present economy, and particularly aware of the enemy's schemes of sabotage and the complexity and fierceness of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths during the transitional period. In this way, our party cadres and members and people will consolidate their confidence in the revolution and the regime and resolutely struggle against skepticism, pessimism, individualism, loss of revolutionary vigilance,

indifferent attitude and the lack of responsibilities in the face of difficulties facing the country. The important thing at present is to strengthen the party character and the sense of organization and discipline in the socio-economic activities to firmly maintain the party's discipline, to uphold the socialist state's laws and regulations, to correctly implement the principles of democratic centralism within the party and the state apparatus and to develop the workers' right to collective mastery. It is necessary to resolutely overcome bureaucratic centralism, encourage localities and establishments to develop their initiative and creativity and overcome and prevent manifestations of liberalism, disorganization and undiscipline.

The resolution of the 3rd Plenum of the VCP Central Committee (5th tenure) is the most important document in that it concretizes the general line and the line on building the socialist economy as set forth by the 4th and 5th VCP Congresses. The resolution clearly pointed out the basic tasks that determine the change in our country's economy in the stage ahead. All party committees, echelons and sectors must satisfactorily organize the study of this resolution and successfully implement all tasks outlined in this resolution.

As our country's economy is on an evolutionary path, we still have to overcome numerous difficulties and ordeals. However, with the correct and creative resolution of the Party Central Committee and with the solidarity and unanimity and the strong determination of the entire party, people and the armed forces, we will certainly and successfully implement all the tasks set forth by the 3rd Party Central Committee plenum, thereby creating basic economic and social changes in our beloved country.

CSO: 4210/6

LE DUC THO INTERVIEW BY THE SOVIET NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 83 pp 8-11

[Text] Question: What were the diplomatic and military causes that forced the United States to sign the Paris Agreement?

Answer: The great victory of the Vietnamese armed forces and people on the battlefield was the fundamental, decisive factor that forced the United States to sign the Paris Agreement, withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam, and end its war of destruction in North Vietnam.

The United States had sent over half a million troops to the South, rigged up a puppet administration there with a puppet army of nearly one million men, and had mobilized its air forces including the strategic air force to attack North Vietnam. But it could neither break the Vietnamese people's determination to resist nor win a quick victory as it had expected to.

On the contrary, in the valiant national liberation struggle waged by the Vietnamese armed forces and people for several decades with the militant solidarity of the Lao and Kampuchean peoples and the sympathy and support of the socialist countries and all peace-loving people, one U.S. strategy after another was defeated on the Vietnamese battlefield. Meanwhile, the warlike, stubborn nature and barbarous actions of the United States were exposed and condemned by people all over the world. Progressive countries and peoples, including the American people, put in motion a world-wide movement against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The United States was a house divided and became isolated in the international arena.

Due to its military and political setbacks at home and abroad, the United States was compelled to sign the Paris Agreement, recognizing Vietnam's independence, sovereignty, reunification and territorial integrity, and withdrawing all American and satellite troops from South Vietnam. Moreover, it had no legal grounds to demand the withdrawal of North Vietnamese armed forces from South Vietnam. This was a very important victory of the Vietnamese people which basically changed the balance of forces on the battlefield and created a turning point for us to win the victory in spring 1975 after the United States and the Saigon puppet administration had

unilaterally discarded the Paris Agreement by going ahead with their plan to Vietnamize the war.

The Vietnamese people's great war, which was of epochal significance, has greatly influenced the national liberation movement in the world. Regarding the United States, its defeat in Vietnam, the most humiliating defeat in its history, weakened its international position. The consequences of this defeat will last many years, and no one can tell how they will affect the United States.

Question: What were the factors that enabled the Vietnamese people to defeat the U.S. aggressors and the Saigon puppet administration?

Answer: That the Vietnamese people were able to defeat the U.S. aggressors was due to a combination of many factors:

1) The Vietnamese people's fight was a just one, while the U.S. imperialists, as the aggressor, did not have a just cause.

2) Armed with Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of Vietnam had an iron-like determination, a correct line, a great wealth of experience and creativeness gained in the long struggle against imperialism. Upholding the banners of national independence and socialism it was able to mobilize the people in the whole country to fight simultaneously on the military, political and diplomatic fronts and to gear the struggle to the three revolutionary currents of our times to create a combined strength.

3) The Vietnamese people were strong with their traditional heroism and indomitableness in the face of foreign aggressors, knowing that "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" and determined to "sacrifice all rather than lose their country and live in slavery," they put to use all their resourcefulness and creativeness.

4) The sympathy and assistance of the world's people was also of great importance, especially the militant solidarity among the three Indochinese countries, the great, effective assistance of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, and the sympathy and support of the international communist and workers' movement, the national liberation movement, the movement for peace and democracy of the world's people among them progressive Americans.

Question: What are the consequences of the U.S. aggression to Vietnam?

Answer: The U.S. war of aggression has left very serious consequences with long-term effects on man and nature in Vietnam.

South Vietnam's economy under the U.S. puppet regime was a neo-colonialist economy totally dependent on foreign countries. It was fed by U.S. aid mainly to cater for the 500,000 U.S. troops and the more than one million puppet troops and to create an extravagant consumer lifestyle although supply was unable to meet demand. Meanwhile, vast urban and rural areas in both the North and the South were devastated by bombs, shells and toxic chemicals.

This has caused profound and extensive damage to the ecology and environment that will take many years to repair.

U.S. neo-colonialism also destroyed the family and social structures of South Vietnam. It gave rise to a decadent culture, many social evils, and serious unemployment, which affects millions of ex-Saigon soldiers.

With the liberation of South Vietnam, the country was reunified. The Vietnamese people, however, were faced with the aftermath of the war. To restore and rebuild the economy, to build healthy culture, and to meet the post-war demands of the people and of socialist construction, however, are a difficult undertaking which will take time to carry out.

Question: What have the Vietnamese people achieved in restoring the national economy and in peaceful construction over the past 10 years?

Answer: Following the signing of the Paris Agreement, the U.S.-puppet regime, instead of implementing it, continued to Vietnamize the war. The Vietnamese people following up their victory, liberated the whole of South Vietnam in 1975, taking the revolution in the whole country to a new stage.

The Vietnamese people have made brilliant achievements in rapidly reunifying the country on the state plan, extending proletarian dictatorship to the whole country, paving the way for complete reunification, mobilizing the whole country for socialist construction and transformation, defeating two wars of aggression in the North and the South, thereby initially foiling the dark schemes of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism and fulfilling our international obligation towards the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, in defense of our national independence and of peace in Southeast Asia.

In economy, the Vietnamese people have recorded success in difficult conditions, by overcoming most of the serious consequences of the 30-year war and of repeated natural calamities, restoring almost all the agricultural and industrial bases destroyed by the enemy, relocating the social work force, consolidating the socialist relations of production in the North, carrying out initial socialist transformations in the South, developing certain industries, fighting famine in storm-stricken areas and improving the working people's life to a certain degree.

Defense and security have also been strengthened to maintain law and order and defend the country.

Many achievements have also been made in culture. Illiteracy in newly liberated areas has been basically eradicated. Education has been further developed. The whole country is engaged in building a new culture. Progress has also been made in literature, arts, public health, sports and physical culture. Science and technology have efficiently served both economic construction and national defense.

Those achievements are inseparable from our comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and their active assistance. The Vietnamese people are deeply grateful to the great people of the Soviet Union



and the peoples of other fraternal socialist countries for their generous, effective and all-sided assistance.

Apart from economic and cultural achievements the Vietnamese people are still encountering numerous difficulties due to the generally small scaled economy seriously damaged by war and blockaded and constantly sabotaged by the enemy and also to our shortcomings and mistakes in economic and social management.

The 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam drew beneficial experiences, and charted out a correct line and socio-economic strategy for the first stage of the transitional period to a gradual industrialization in Vietnam.

Now our people are making every effort to put into effect the resolutions of the 5th Party Congress and the resolution of the third session of the Party Central Committee on a socio-economic plan for 1983 and, on efforts to be made till 1985.

The economy, though still beset with many difficulties, is making initial progress and facing inspiring prospects.

Question: Are the efforts of the S.R.V. in external affairs aimed at consolidating peace in Southeast Asia?

Answer: The Vietnamese people need a favorable international situation to successfully build socialism in their country. Therefore Vietnam's objective in Southeast Asia is to ease tension, consolidate peace and stability in the region, and contribute to safeguarding world peace.

The Vietnamese people are determined to defend their independence and sovereignty, and unite with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea to foil the expansionist and hostile policy of the Beijing ruling circles, while always desiring to restore their time-honored friendship with the Chinese people. Vietnam has put forward fair and logical proposals for the normalization of the relations between Vietnam and China, but China has so far made no response.

To the ASEAN countries, Vietnam, together with Laos and Kampuchea, has advanced constructive initiatives in a spirit of cooperation and mutual respect for each other's legitimate interests, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and peaceful co-existence. The Indochinese countries' good will has contributed to promoting the trend of dialogues in the region in the interests of peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

Our efforts have gained strong support from the people of the world, especially the Soviet Union. As Leonid Brezhnev said on October 5, 1982: We unreservedly support the constructive initiatives formulated last year by the foreign ministers of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. The Soviet Union, like other peace-loving countries, wholeheartedly wished the millions of people living in Southeast Asia an enduring peace and prosperity.

The Vietnamese people sincerely thank the Soviet people for their valuable support. Like the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and other nations in the world, we believe that the peoples of Southeast Asia will live in peace, friendship and cooperation.

CSO: 4210/6

## RENOVATE THE MANAGEMENT OF STATE ENTERPRISES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 83 pp 12-21, 70

[Article by Le Thanh Nghi]

[Text] As business units owned by the entire people and holding key positions in the economic, state enterprises are furnished with better technical equipment and have a higher level of production socialization than the enterprises of other economic elements. However, at present, state enterprises, especially industrial enterprises, are encountering numerous obstacles and difficulties in production and business. This state of affairs stems from two main causes:

First, production conditions are not stabilized; especially, food, energy raw materials and spare parts are lacking. This problem has its roots in the low standards and imbalance of the economy, which still consists mainly of small-scale production and suffers the consequences of a protracted war and neo-colonialism. On the other hand, past mistakes and shortcomings concerning economic development plans and the guidance of their implementation have not only delayed rectifying the imbalance of the economy but have even exacerbated it in some respects. When the sources of foreign aid were sharply reduced and exports were not developed fast enough to satisfy the demands for imports, we failed to promptly reorganize the economy to suit the real conditions. Limited as our sources of energy, supplies, capital and foreign currencies were, we used them scatteringly and indiscriminately, thus diminishing their effectiveness while breeding dependence and passivism among economic establishments.

Second, the bureaucratic system of management based on subsidies has not only hamstrung enterprises but has also prompted them to show irresponsibility in production and business. Together with the meddling and officious interference by various administrative and economic management organs in production and business operations, the imposition of plans with too many binding norms by the upper echelon on the lower one has greatly impeded the promotion of enterprises' initiative, creativity and responsibility. Meanwhile, many management policies and systems based on indiscriminate subsidization and loss-compensation have lessened enterprises' responsibility for the results of their production and business operations, thereby failing

to compel all units and people to satisfactorily utilize and absolutely economize on labor, land, property and capital. This has further diminished the state economic sector's already low efficiency in the use of investment capital. A number of state enterprises, though furnished with better technical equipment, have achieved no higher labor productivity than the other economic elements.

A number of revisions of management policies and systems carried out since the 6th Plenum of the 4th VCP Central Committee in 1979 and the 5th VCP Congress have created proper conditions for various basic economic units to exploit their production capacity better at a time when they still faced many difficulties in production. However, much remains to be done to basically and uniformly renovate the management system. We must continue to correctly and concretely renovate planning procedures to prevent negligence and laxity. Other management policies and procedures, especially those concerning prices, wages, labor, supplies, finance, money and so forth, must be uniformly improved to insure that enterprises can really carry out economic accounting and overcome illegitimate business practices that upset the market and prices.

Reality has clearly shown that production reorganization and continual renovation of the management system are important and urgent measures which can help state enterprises extricate themselves from the state of sluggishness and take the initiative in exploiting all their capabilities to develop production and business according to the state plans and to achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency.

#### I. Reorganize Production

The Council of Ministers has recently issued a directive on reorganizing the production and construction establishments of the various economic elements. Concerning state enterprises, especially industrial enterprises, the reorganization of production must satisfy the following demands:

1. Redefine the direction and tasks of production and business to suit the actual demands and conditions.

During the next few years the economy must concentrate its resources on the key targets--such as grain and food stuffs, a number of staple consumer goods, export commodities, energy and transportation--to create a new balance. The state plans must concretize these targets and clearly determine a list of products, construction projects and the fields of activity on which we must concentrate our efforts to achieve our targets at all costs to help improve the general situation. Such a list can serve as a basic for the priority distribution of state-managed material means. A number of important economic policies such as the accumulation and consumption policy, the population and labor policy, the economization policy, the energy policy, the policy regarding the use of certain kinds of key supplies, and so forth should also be amended as required by the new situation to provide the basis for reorganizing production.

Based on these conditions, the upper level management organs (ministries, general departments, unions of enterprises, people's committees) together with

their subordinate enterprises, should consider their problems and define suitable production direction and tasks.

Since the state provides energy, supplies and equipment for specific objectives according to the order of priority, the amounts each enterprise may receive depends on its role in and responsibility for achieving these objectives. Concerning establishments producing the same kind of products, those credited with higher productivity, better quality and greater efficiency will have higher priority in the provision of supplies. Thus, more favorable conditions will be insured for important enterprises highly efficient in the production of necessary goods so they may stabilize and develop production.

Concerning those goods for which the state has none or only part of the supplies needed for their production, enterprises have the responsibility and the right to seek, by legitimate means, additional supplies from other sources to fully exploit their production capacity. This regulation applies for all enterprises because even the enterprises provided by the state with key supplies on a priority basis often have to procure for themselves some additional supplies in order to perfect their products.

If the enterprise cannot find the supplies it needs to fulfill its set production tasks, and if it fails to achieve the required efficiency in carrying out these tasks, it may completely or partly change the direction of its production so as to rationally utilize its equipment and to insure employment and the livelihood of its cadres and workers. In case the enterprise can in no way continue production or if it suffers chronic losses but takes no corrective action, it must temporarily halt production. Any change of direction or temporary suspension of production, however, must be decided by competent organs. In such cases, measures must be taken to satisfactorily preserve the unused workshops and equipment, to maintain the contingent of key cadres and technical workers and to provide jobs for the redundant laborers.

## 2. Promote production integration in basic economic units.

To rationally organize and make better use of the state enterprises' production capabilities, we should promote the integration of production among various economic establishments. Here, we will discuss only the form of organization for integrated production within the limits of basic economic units, that is, the combine (or the corporation having the character of a combine) which practices economic accounting independently and which has the status of a juridical person. Such a combine comprises a number of member units which carry out economic accounting separately but which enjoy no juridical person status or are accorded this status only in some respects. Concerning the forms of production integration at a higher level than the enterprise (such as the union of enterprises, the general corporation and so forth), we will discuss them when we study the problem of organizing management according to economic and technical sectors or localities and territorial divisions.

Most of our state enterprises are still organized on a small scale and lack the necessary conditions for the development of their production and business.

Grouping enterprises linked by close economic relations to form a combine is an important and essential measure to effect the division of labor and cooperation in production, to add to and make the fullest use of production capabilities, to advance to large-scale production and business and to achieve higher efficiency. This measure will also help promote the streamlining of the administrative and economic management organs on the basis of insuring the combines' independence in production and business.

Combines are shaped in the following principal forms:

--A grouping of enterprises which are linked by close relations in the technical process of production, which practice the division of labor and specialization according to each stage of production and each component of products, and which utilize a combination of raw materials. This grouping is often described as a vertical integration of production. In our country, this form is applied for production establishments in the fields of metallurgy and machine-making (such as sewing machines, bicycles, electronic products and so forth); for establishments engaged in the production of sugar, liquors, paper, yarn, textiles, dyes, and other products; and for a number of production sectors which are still in the planning stage or which have just begun to be built, such as oil refining, petrochemicals, tractor making, shipbuilding and so forth.

--A grouping of enterprises processing farm produce and state farms growing this produce which are located in the same area which form a combine in order to closely bind the sources of raw materials to the processing unit. This combine associates itself in business with agricultural cooperatives and other establishments which produce the kinds of agricultural raw materials it needs and which are located with a specifically designated area. This industrial-agricultural combine is also a form of vertical integration of production. It plays an important role in developing the cultivation of tea and sugarcane; the processing of vegetables, fruits and marine products for export, the production of silkworms, rubber and so forth.

--An association of enterprises which make the same kinds of products. It is formed to promote the organization of joint production-support units such as spare part engineering plants, repair workshops, establishments for research on and application of new technology, packing materials factories, specialized transportation units and so forth. This kind of association is often described as a horizontal integration of production. It is used to combine coal mines, electric power plants, textile enterprises, liquors distilleries, breweries, construction and installation units, transportation establishments and other enterprises.

In reality, many combines are built on the basis of a close combination of both vertical and horizontal integration of production. The important thing is to insure economic efficiency. Therefore, economic-technical and cadre organization plans must be formulated for the setting up of each combine to insure that this new form of organization will yield good results from the beginning. These plans can deal with readjustment in the division of labor and responsibilities in enterprise management among various sectors and between the center and localities so as to create favorable conditions for the

shaping and operation of the combine. Concerning the combines already set up, we should continue to improve their production organizations, strengthen their management apparatus and revise their management system to bring into play their active role.

3. Broaden the integration of business among economic units and economic elements.

Along with organizing the integration of production among state enterprises, we should broaden various forms of business integration among the economic establishments belonging to different management organs and different economic elements. This is an objective demand aimed at responding to the extremely diversified and flexible character of economic relations and contributing to the efforts to overcome red tape and bureaucratism in production and business. The broadening of business integration will also enable the state to concentrate its resources on the most important targets and areas and to correctly use the forces of other economic elements to develop production under the direction and guidance of the state.

In each form of business integration, from economic contract to product group, cooperative, joint enterprise, and so forth, the principles of equality, of mutual benefit and of all participants' responsibility to honor their commitments to one another must be insured. When associating themselves with other economic elements the state enterprises must assume the key role but must guard against "authoritarianism" and inequality. Product groups are joint enterprises are often organized in specific areas to insure convenience of relations in joint activities. We should, however, avoid mechanically dividing these organizations according to the administrative units.

## II. Renovate the Management System

Production reorganization must be carried out in conjunction with the renovation of the management system because one task will create proper conditions for and help promote the other.

Concerning the state enterprises, renovating the management system means to do away with the bureaucratic management system based on subsidies and substitute for it a system which is based on the principles of socialist economic management, which uses planning as the chief instrument and combines it with economic accounting and socialist business, and which insures the enterprise's financial independence and mastery in production and business. The main requirements of management renovation are to link the enterprise's responsibilities, rights and interests with the results of its production and business operations; to make sure that the enterprise brings into play its right to mastery and assumes responsibility for its activities; and, at the same time, to improve the state plans and various general management policies and procedures and increase their effectiveness and strengthen the control of upper level management organs.

On the basis of the resolution of the 5th VCP Congress and the conclusion drawn by the Political Bureau concerning the revision, amendment and continuation of the implementation of decision number 25-CP of the government

aimed at promoting the state enterprises' independence, we will analyze a number of key questions regarding the renovation of the state management system for enterprises. This renovation will serve as the basis for improving management within the enterprises and for developing economic relations between them and other economic organizations.

#### 1. Renovate planning.

The enterprise's most important mastery is mastery over its plans. The conclusion of the Political Bureau concerning decision number 25-CP clearly pointed out: "We must broaden the enterprise's independence in production, business and financial matters on the basis of using the state plan as the core.

We must especially encourage the enterprise and create proper conditions for it to make the fullest use of its production capacity and not to be passive or to depend on the state... By applying the principle of elaborating plans from the basic units upward, we must affirm that the entire plan formulated by the enterprise on the basis of the supplies provided by the state and partly procured by the enterprise itself is a unified plan of the enterprise approved by the upper echelon."

According to this guiding concept, the planning system of enterprises should be renovated as follows:

--On the basis of the enterprise's production reorganization and the guidance provided by the state plan, the upper echelon should assign plan control numbers to the enterprise, determine the list of products and inform the enterprise of the material conditions which the state can provide. The state should promulgate concrete regulations authorizing state enterprises to exchange supplies with one another, thus making the fullest use of their backlogged supplies; to buy additional raw materials and supplies from other economic elements at agreed-upon prices and with the state price management system; to borrow foreign currencies for the import of supplies necessary for production; and to take measures to circulate products so as to recover foreign currencies through exports, thereby insuring that the enterprise will be able to pay back both the principal and interest in foreign currencies. These regulations should be rational and strict to prevent negative phenomena in supply management and to overcome competition in buying, which inflates prices in the market.

Based on the plan control numbers and these regulations, the enterprise should devise measures to exploit all its latent potential and take the initiative in studying the market, trading, developing relations of cooperation, conducting joint business operations, signing contracts for supply procurement, products consumption, transportation service and so forth with other economic organizations. On the basis of actively balancing the necessary conditions for the implementation of its plan, including the supplied provided by the state and those procured by the enterprise itself (by exploiting the enterprise's resources, through cooperation with other economic organizations, or by using exports to pay for imports), the enterprise should take the initiative in elaborating its production, technical and financial plans and



combining them into a unified plan. If the enterprise formulates its plan with set targets higher than the control numbers (such a plan is usually called a plan with high registered targets) and with a projected volume of production larger than the one for which the state can provide the necessary supplies, and it is still managing to fulfill this plan, it will be entitled to a larger share of the profits than usual.

The plan formulated and defended by an enterprise before the upper echelon must be a comprehensive one in which the plan for material resources is unified with the plan for output value and in which importance is attached to the quality norm and especially the norms for labor productivity, supply consumption and production cost. When examining and assigning plans to enterprises, the upper echelon should reduce the number and improve the contents of the norms to uphold the responsibility and independence of the enterprises in production and business. The upper echelon should assign plans to enterprises to spell out a number of principal norms such as:

--The output of main products and the value of goods to be produced (the quality of products and the amount of exportable products, if any, must be clearly stated).

--Profits and contributions to be made to the budget.

--Wage funds (proportionate to the volume of production).

--Investment capital, equipment and supplies to be provided by the state (this is also a binding norm for disbursing and supply procurement organs).

If the upper echelon wants to assign plans with targets higher than the ones the enterprises would set for themselves, it must take measures to insure a sufficient provision of supplies. In the process of executing assigned plans and within a definite time limit, the enterprises may add supplementary plans with high registered targets. To insure the success of this planning method, the upper echelon must assign to the enterprises annual plan control numbers in the 1st quarter of the preceding year and plans a month before the plan year begins. Once 5-year plans are effectively elaborated from the basic units upward, the state can assign in advance to enterprises a number of norms for several consecutive years to create conditions for them to exert a higher level of mastery over plans.

Aside from the products to be produced according to the plans assigned by the state, the enterprises may make the fullest use of discarded materials and surplus production capacity to make secondary products, do contractual work and provide services. Although the upper echelon does not assign norms to the enterprises concerning the making of secondary products, it should monitor their operations to prevent any activity detrimental to the economy. It should adopt a policy aimed at encouraging the enterprises to develop secondary production in the right direction. It must, however, see to it that production installations and laborers reap the greatest benefits from executing the plans assigned by the state, not from making secondary products.

2. Gradually perfect the economic accounting system, insure the enterprises' financial independence.

This task calls for the settlement of numerous concrete questions in the following direction:

--We must closely bind the enterprises' responsibilities with their rights and interests in the management and use of capital in order to achieve the highest possible economic efficiency. To do so, we should step up the re-evaluation of the enterprises' fixed assets and determine their circulating capital. On this basis, we should experimentally levy a tax on the enterprises' production capital to compel them to increase their effectiveness. Along with this, we should rationally broaden the enterprises' right to take the initiative in allocating and using various kinds of capital, in procuring more capital for themselves and in disposing of their unneeded assets.

--We should fix a reasonable profit-sharing rate and accord the enterprises more latitude in distributing their various funds. For example, the state should determine the minimum percentage of the enterprises' profits to be set aside for their production development funds and should exert relative control over the enterprises' bonus funds (but when these funds exceed a certain limit, the state must regulate them). The sharing of profits between the bonus funds and the welfare funds may be discussed and decided by a conference of enterprise workers and office employees. We should study the possibility of allowing the enterprises to retain a part of capital depreciation according to a rational ratio to meet the demand for expanding the enterprises' production development funds while insuring an adequate concentration of capital under the control of the state. There must be a different ratio for each kind of enterprise.

We must improve and expand the credit system for the benefit of the state enterprises. We must accord preferential treatment to those enterprises which achieve high efficiency. At the same time, we must apply strict credit and payment measures with those enterprises which perform poorly. On the basis of insuring that the enterprises can easily withdraw enough cash from their bank deposits to cover their legitimate spending, we should strengthen discipline in monetary management.

Through the application of these measures, the enterprises must procure for themselves the capital they need for production, for investment in the acquisition of new technical equipment and for the improvement and expansion of production. The state should invest more capital only when it wants to expand or transform the enterprises on a new scale beyond their own capabilities.

--We should do away with the loss-compensation system of the state in production. The enterprises must use revenue to cover expenditures. If they do well, they will enjoy profits; if they perform poorly, they must suffer losses. This is a basic requirement of the economic accounting system, which should be firmly applied and gradually perfected. To do so, we should actively formulate, amend and perfect economic and technical norms, especially the supply and labor norms, and should closely bind these norms with the

standards of product quality. We should continue rationally settling relations in the pricing system and improving the wage system. On this basis, we should fully and correctly carry out production cost accounting and rationally determine factory wholesale prices, thereby creating proper conditions for the enterprises, including the heavy industrial enterprises, to make a profit when they operate normally and achieve average or higher productivity. Through the application of these measures, the state will cease compensating for losses incurred by the enterprises in production operations. The enterprises must really use their revenue to cover their expenditures and must make profits. In those cases when loss-compensation is still necessary, the state will compensate for losses in circulation only, not in production operations. At a time when the economic situation is still unstable and proper conditions do not exist for this system to be simultaneously applied in all enterprises, we should immediately implement it with those products and enterprises for which rational new factory wholesale prices have been determined.

Concerning those enterprises which have to buy additional raw materials and supplies at high prices to insure production, the state should adopt a policy to readjust the limits of the state enterprises' revenue (or to readjust the selling prices of their products when necessary), thereby insuring that these enterprises have enough money to cover their reasonable expenditures and to enjoy adequate profits. Regarding those enterprises which take advantage of the differences in prices to illegitimately boost their income, measures must be taken to check and deal with this practice.

### 3. Increase the enterprises' independence in labor management.

Along with their mastery in planning and financial independence, the enterprises should be accorded independence in labor management to insure the results of their production and business operations and to bear full responsibility for these results. To do so, we can gradually apply the following measures:

Instead of assigning norms for the number of laborers to the enterprises, the state should only determine the size of their wage funds proportionate to their projected volume of production. These wage funds must not be computed according to the average wage, as was done in the past, but must be based on the fixed compensation rate for each product unit or each job. In this way, the number of laborers will be closely bound with labor productivity. On this basis, we can permit the enterprises to act independently in deciding whether to increase or reduce their personal and in organizing labor in their production chains and management apparatus. Concerning the laborers who may become temporarily redundant, the enterprises should make efforts to find jobs for them and to care for their livelihood but must not include them in the work force and wage funds destined for the principal production operations. The state should also adopt an appropriate policy to deal with these redundant laborers.

Within the framework of the labor law and various state policies concerning workers and civil servants, the enterprises should be accorded independence in recruiting and dismissing workers and cadres. The enterprises' workers and

cadres, however, also have the right to request transfer to other work. Specific state regulations should be amended to insure a correct exercise of these rights, remove obstacles and prevent abuse.

Based on general state regulations and the guidance provided by the management organs of their sectors, the enterprises should be empowered to arrange and change their production organizations and management apparatuses according to the requirements of business and production operations. The upper echelon should decide on the appointment of the director of an enterprise and his deputies according to the recommendation of the enterprise concerned. Concerning the appointment of other categories of cadres, the upper echelon should leave this task to the discretion of the enterprises.

We should urgently carry out study and prepare conditions for reforming the wage system to insure the reproduction of labor power according to the actual conditions and to correctly apply the principle of distribution according to labor. On the basis of the wage system and the wage plan norms, the enterprises should be allowed to use any forms of wage and bonus payment they deem most advantageous to production and daily life. We should actively create proper conditions for broad implementation of the contract and piecework wage systems and should disseminate experiences in implementing the contract wage system based on end products. We should rationally regulate the enterprises' payment of bonuses to units and individuals outside the enterprise who have made practical contributions to the results of the enterprises' production and business operations.

As long as basic wages are not reformed, we should broaden the distribution of bonuses and allow the enterprises to seek legitimate measures to increase the income of their cadres and workers. Regarding the Con Dao Fishing Enterprise's wage payment method, which has the character of income distribution, we should further improve it to bring it to perfection; we may also apply its wage payment method on an experimental basis in a number of other kinds of enterprises to gain experience and consider future implementation. As long as the system of goods rationing remains in force and accounts for an important part of the basic wages, we should study various forms and measures to allow the enterprises to link this rationing with the results of the labor of their cadres and workers.

#### 4. Broaden the enterprises' relations with the market.

Market relations of the state enterprises consist mainly of relations with the organized market. These relations are based on the guidance provided by the state plan, are established as soon as control numbers are assigned to the enterprises and are conducted through business transactions and the signing of contracts between the enterprises and other economic organizations.

The state enterprises' products, made from raw materials bought from whatever sources, all belong to the state goods fund. On the basis of the products distribution plan of the state and their economic contracts, the enterprises may turn over their products to various consumer organizations. Concerning the kinds of goods not to be exclusively managed and distributed by the state, the enterprises may take the initiative to find consumers for them. If the

state trade organs and other state economic organizations refuse to accept these goods for consumption, the enterprises are allowed to consume them themselves but must comply with the price management system and tax policies of the state.

In the present situation, the enterprises are allowed to use an amount of their products to barter for supplies needed for production, but this bartering must not hinder the implementation of the state product distribution plan. The enterprises are not permitted to retain products for internal consumption. If they want to use a certain number of secondary products as bonuses for their cadres and workers, they must buy them back at industrial wholesale prices.

In conducting trade relations with one another, the organizations belonging to the state-operated sector must strictly observe the state price management system and are not allowed to "blackmail" one another or take advantage of the differences in prices to illegitimately reap profits.

State enterprises are allowed to broaden relations with other economic elements and with the free market to satisfy their own demands. In doing so, however, they must strictly follow state policies and actively contribute to the tasks of market management and socialist transformation. The policy of buying products from the collective and individual economic sectors and the state price management procedures should be defined in accordance with the actual situation to avoid causing difficulties to the enterprises in their production and business and, at the same time, to prevent competition among the state economic organizations in buying products, which helps inflate prices on the free market.

Enterprises which manufacture products that are exported or which participate in producing goods for export are provided with supplies on a priority basis (with regard to supplies which must be imported, especially those of specialized use, the state may allocate to the enterprises a definite percentage of their export revenue to enable them to devise for themselves the most advantageous possible import plan), may borrow foreign currencies to import additional necessary supplies and are entitled to a larger share of profits from their exported products than they would get from the same kind of products intended for domestic consumption. In addition to the bonus in local currency, those enterprises which satisfactorily fulfill their export plans also enjoy the right to use a definite percentage of their actual revenue in foreign currencies mainly to develop production. Those enterprises which have the production of goods for export or the production of goods under contract for foreign countries as their main tasks, or which have to import relatively large amounts of specialized supplies and equipment, are allowed to deal directly with foreign customers under the management and guidance of the foreign trade agencies. The foreign trade sector is responsible for improving and strengthening information services concerning the international market situation in order to enable the enterprises to closely follow any change regarding the kinds of goods and the prices of products in which they are interested.

### III. Reorganize the Enterprise Management Apparatus

The reorganization of production and renovation of the management system require that the enterprises rearrange their production organizations, technical chains of production and management apparatus to make them more suitable. Even the application of a concrete management system, such as the wage payment system based on end products, would sometimes require the reorganization of production within the enterprises. For this reason, we should broaden the enterprises' right to act independently in studying and implementing plans to reorganize production whenever necessary and in accordance with the principle that this reorganization must insure the enterprises' economic efficiency and must not be contrary to general management policies and procedures.

Along with reorganizing production, the enterprises should revamp their management apparatus and improve their working system to fully implement the unit chief system and bring into play the collective mastery of workers and civil servants.

The system of unit chief in enterprise management becomes all the more imperative when we want to satisfactorily apply the system of closely linking the responsibilities, rights and interests of the director and all other laborers in an enterprise with the results of their production and business operations. The supplementary regulations of the VCP statutes adopted by the 5th Party Congress concerning the responsibility of enterprise party organizations and party committees for leadership should be fully understood and concretized to satisfactorily settle the relations between the director's managerial role and the leadership of the party committee in an enterprise.

Within the framework of the law and general policies and on the basis of insuring the fulfillment of the state plan, the director of an enterprise is empowered to decide on questions concerning production and business and on other economic and technical problems of his enterprise. However, he must assume responsibility for these decisions. The director must make reports to the party committee of his enterprise in accordance with established procedures and at the committee's request. Concerning the cadres task, we should issue concrete regulations along the line of upholding the principle of collective responsibility while insuring the implementation of the unit chief system.

An enterprise director's responsibility for his decisions must be reflected in the results of his enterprise's production and business. After a definite period of time, if an enterprise has performed poorly in production and suffered losses in business, its director must resign. On the other hand, when an enterprise has satisfactorily fulfilled the state plan and made profits in production and business, its director and management cadres should be appropriately commended and rewarded.

The party committee and director of an enterprise must apply themselves to training and organizing the contingent of cadres in their enterprise and strengthening its offices and staff by improving their quality and making them compact. Simultaneously, they must pay utmost attention to building the

contingent of cadres who directly guide production work--from outstanding workers to team chiefs, unit chiefs, shift supervisors, foremen, factory shop supervisors and deputy directors.

The workers, civil servants and trade union of an enterprise have the responsibility and the right to participate in managerial work, especially in elaborating and implementing plans, distributing and using the funds of their enterprise, implementing labor policies and promoting socialist emulation. Also, practical conditions must be created for them to do so. Aside from holding periodic congresses of workers and civil servants, an enterprise should set up a council comprising a number of technical and managerial cadres and outstanding workers to advise its director in production and business and in considering economic and technical plans.

Party building work and the activities of various mass organizations in an enterprise must be geared to the requirements of production and business development and to the achievement of high productivity, quality and efficiency. Through the meeting of these requirements, we should build a new type of socialist man who has the sense of and capacity for collective mastery.

In the portion dealing with the role of basic economic units as masters, the resolution of the 5th Party Congress clearly pointed out: "The basic economic units must show creativity and initiative in production and business on the basis of the principle of financial independence. They must be capable of covering their production expenses and making profits to make increasing contributions to the entire country, carry out expanded reproduction, enhance collective welfare and provide material incentives for individual laborers in their units."(1)

The problems dealt with in this article stem from the actual situation. They are raised with the intention of creating conditions for the state enterprises to overcome their difficulties, surmount their obstacles and fulfill the demands posed by the party congress. Among the matters discussed are policies and measures needed to meet the requirements of the current situation. Some of these matters have been settled by the Council of Ministers through the promulgation of concrete regulations or are continuing to be studied for the purpose of revising and amending the management policies and procedures. In addition, these are also problems which take time to be resolved, which need preparation and which must be gradually settled in conjunction with the process of reorganizing the economic structure, stepping up socialist transformation and putting the national economy into a position of steady development.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Documents of the 5th National Party Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Vol I, p 81.

CSO: 4210/6

## SOME PROBLEMS TO BE SOLVED TO PUSH OUR COUNTRY'S INDUSTRY FORWARD

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 83 pp 22-29

[Article by Truong Son]

[Text] The 5th Party congress made the assessment that in the recent years our people have scored considerable achievements on the economic front. In 1981, thanks to the broadening of the enterprise's initiative in production and business and to the widespread application of various forms of product-based wages, contract wages and bonuses, there were some initial changes in production, construction and transportation: industrial output, especially that of local industries, small industry and handicrafts, increased over 1980; a number of major construction projects were carried out on schedule; and communications and transportation, especially rudimentary transportation, have begun to develop in a number of provinces and municipalities.

These are new factors which reflect the creative talents displayed by our country's working class once a suitable mechanism for management has been introduced; and they have opened up new prospects for the movement. However, in taking an overall view of the entire process, we must frankly admit that the achievements which have been recorded were not compatible with our efforts, and that at present, our country's industry is facing major difficulties.

Production has developed slowly and unsteadily. During the 5-year period from 1976-1980, industrial output only increased at an average annual rate of .6 percent and the production volume of consumer goods dropped by 3.3 percent, while the population grew at a rate of 2.25 percent. As a result, the per capita output of virtually all industrial production decreased. Economic results were too low. In comparing 1980 to 1976, fixed assets increased by 83 percent; the number of enterprises, 37 percent; and the work force, 10 percent; but output only increased by 2.5 percent and labor productivity dropped by 2.2 percent.

The basic factors for production are seriously out of balance. Difficulties concerning raw materials, energy and transportation are heavily weighing down on the various industrial branches. A lot of machinery and equipment are



approaching the state of breakdown. As part of the industrial work force is under-employed, life is becoming more difficult.

The aforementioned situation is due to many objective and subjective causes; but the chief cause is that the various industrial branches have not yet developed a strategy for promoting production and business nor carried out long-term planning; we have maintained for too long a bureaucratic management system based on subsidization which fails to develop the basic units' initiative in production and business; and leadership over industry still displays many shortcomings.

The 5th Party Congress asserted that while efforts are being concentrated on developing agriculture it is necessary to vigorously step up the production of consumer goods and to continue to build a number of important heavy industry branches. In addition, a number of targets must be established for the various industrial branches to achieve by 1985, such as 470,000 to 500,000 tons of saltwater fish, 380 to 400 million meters of cloth and silk, 350,000 to 400,000 tons of sugar, 1 billion packs of cigarettes, 90,000 to 100,000 tons of paper, 5.5 to 6 billion kwh of electricity, 8 to 9 million tons of coal, 2 million tons of cement, 350,000 to 400,000 tons of potash and so on. These are minimum targets. Even if these targets are met, the situation will not change very much. Nevertheless, with the current work methods and considering that only 3 years are left, it will be by no means easy to achieve them.

To meet the targets mentioned above and, especially, to prepare to achieve even higher targets in the 1980's, we must carry out the following tasks satisfactorily:

First, it is necessary to review the development of industry and concentrate research efforts on devising strategies for developing production and business in various fields for major industrial branches, especially the strategies for energy, raw materials, clothing and so forth.

These strategies must set forth a system of targets spanning at least until 1990, and make projections up to the year 2000. It is necessary to establish the party's economic line for basic relations, especially economic relations with foreign countries; and combine development strategies with management strategies in order to achieve the targets. Such strategies must be consistent with the socio-economic situation at home, as well as with the world situation, so that optimal plans can be selected.

It can be said that it is a very important and urgent matter to formulate economic strategies along with long-term programs and plans. This is an important matter because only with long-term strategies and plans can we clearly see "the steps to be taken" and have a basis for making correct decisions on specific issues, such as the organization of production and business activities, international cooperation, the training of cadres and workers and so forth, in addition to creating the conditions for overcoming serious imbalances that cannot be dealt with through short-term planning. This is an urgent matter because some tasks must be firmly decided upon right now and implemented immediately before they will yield noticeable results for

the national economy 5 to 10 years from now; and also because some tasks can only be decided upon after further investigation and study at home or consultations with foreign countries and thorough discussions.

At present, various ministries and sectors are doing this. But, generally speaking, it is only being done routinely and in accordance with a routine way of thinking. We must adopt a new way of thinking and a more farsighted viewpoint. It is necessary to put more cadres to this task; utilize all branches of science, including social science and managerial science, and carry out this task in a very intensive and continuous manner and under unified guidance so as to bring about good results.

Second, it is necessary to broaden the basic units' initiative in production and business.

It must be clearly understood that basic units are the tissues of the economy; and as the tissues, they must have life, develop and be self-adjustable and adaptable. The national economy as a whole cannot develop unless the basic units develop. Therefore, resolving the problems of the basic units and broadening their initiative in production and business constitutes a very important issue concerning the renovation of economic management and also, a very fundamental issue of the entire national economy.

Broadening the basic units' initiative in production and business is meant to not only expand their authority, but also to closely link responsibility and authority with interests. The basic units have the responsibility to try by every means to turn out an ever-increasing amount of products to meet the demands of society and the state plan, and they have the right to do anything they deem useful, consistent with the party's lines and policies to fulfill that responsibility. The interests of basic units are closely linked with the output of their production and business activities: they will either benefit from their successful activities or suffer losses from their inefficiency. The higher echelons have the responsibility to create the conditions and guide and supervise the basic units in strictly observing the aforementioned authority, responsibility and interests.

Third, it is necessary to correctly resolve the relationship between central industry and local industries. This is a basic issue involving the established line which many cadres have thus far failed to fully understand, and also currently a troublesome issue that must be resolved. It is necessary to correctly understand the significance of the development of local industries. In advancing from small-scale production, our party's policy of developing both the central and local industries simultaneously is aimed at bringing into play the self-reliant spirit of the various localities, tapping all the local potentials concerning labor and natural resources to producing plenty of goods to meet the local demands, and creating conditions for the central industry to concentrate on building major projects and producing important items of goods to meet the demands of the entire country and for export. Local industries should not be developed by thinly spreading the central government's capital investments to the various local projects, or by building local enterprises to further drain the already insufficient supply of raw materials that has not allowed large and modernly equipped central

enterprises of the same category to operate at full capacity. Naturally, where necessary, the central government will help the localities with investment capital and there will be some goods which will be produced by both central and local industries, according to a rational plan in order to insure economic results.

On the other hand, it must be understood that socialist industry is an integrated whole and breaking it down into central and local industries is only relative. Central enterprises belong not only to the central government, but also to the localities, because they are situated in these localities and subjected to local territorial management. By the same token, local industrial establishments belong not only to the localities but also to the central government, because they are part of one branch of industry or another and fall under the administrative and economic management of the various ministries and central departments.

In view of such an organic relationship between central and local industries, it is necessary to stress again the responsibility of the various ministries to administer to the entire economic-technical sector on a national scale, and the responsibility of the people's committees of the various localities to administer to the entire industrial sector under their territorial jurisdiction, including central industry. Economic policies must be designed to link the central industry with the local industries so that the localities will benefit at a rate which is commensurate with the services they render to the central industry (instead of bearing the "burden" of the latter as they are now), and that the more assistance the ministries give to local industries, the more benefits their own sectors will enjoy. One such policy may be as follows: for every ton of agricultural products supplied by a locality to the central industry for use as raw materials, the locality concerned will have a certain amount of revenue credited to the local budget and receive a certain amount of products distributed by the central government; or both the central and local enterprises will allot a certain percentage of their profits to the local and central budgets.

Fourth, it is necessary to vigorously develop small industry and handicrafts. Realities in the recent past have demonstrated that while advancing from small-scale production, the development of small industry and handicrafts will have a great, positive effect on attracting labor, making full use of natural resources, saving on the state's investment capital, linking with agriculture right at the grassroots level and producing goods in large amounts for society. In 1981, the small industry and handicraft sector drew more than 1.6 million professional laborers and produced almost 3.8 billion dong worth of goods that accounted for 44 percent of the entire industrial sector's total output. At present, for every dong worth of fixed assets, the handicraft sector can produce an output value of 5 dong, as compared with 50 cents in the state-run industry.

To vigorously develop small industry and handicrafts and promote a profound understanding of the strategic role of small industry and handicrafts, it is necessary to adopt a correct viewpoint on the organization of production and management.

It is necessary to consider economic results in selecting appropriate forms for organizing and transforming small industry and handicrafts--from family handicrafts, individual handicraftsmen, cooperation teams and cooperatives, to joint production enterprises and cooperative combines. Attention should be given to broadly developing family handicrafts in order to make full use of labor and save on investment capital and workshop space. In particular, emphasis must be made on developing handicrafts in agriculture in order to combine industry with agriculture right at the grassroots level under appropriate forms; and on broadly applying various forms of joint ventures and economic cooperation within the handicraft sector and between handicrafts and agriculture or state-run industry.

It is necessary to change the planning and management mechanism for small industry and handicrafts along the line that the state uses chiefly economic policies and economic contracts to guide production activities and control the products of small industry and handicrafts. These policies must reflect the guiding principle of vigorously encouraging production development and technical improvement, using all talents, giving preferential treatment to the collective economy, regulating production and business activities according to the orientations and targets of the state plan, insuring uniformity among the three interests and guaranteeing a rational income for the various branches and trades.

Finally, a decisive factor is that we must consolidate the network of cooperative combines at all levels according to their importance in carrying out both their political and economic functions and successfully fulfilling the two tasks of developing production and perfecting the new production relations.

Fifth, priority must be given to developing energy. The situation concerning energy is very strained. To resolve this problem it is necessary to conduct a study at an early date to devise a long-term comprehensive and basic energy policy that is suitable to the conditions in our country and the trend of the world. The contents of this policy may be as follows:

--Truly develop energy by comprehensively promoting various sources of energy such as coal, firewood, electricity, oil, fat, natural gas and so forth.

--Step up the exploitation of coal, even at small coal mines, including peat that is available in various localities, make full use of various types of coal with a caloric output and utilize cinders.

--Give priority to developing hydroelectric power on large, medium and small scales, and advance toward using hydroelectric power as the mainstay of the electric energy structure.

--Concentrate forces on exploring and exploiting petroleum and natural gas, make preparations for building oil refineries at an early date and advance toward achieving self-sufficiency in liquid fuel.

--Continue research, applications and preparations for developing other sources of energy, such as wind, biological gas, solar and atomic energy.

--Actively conserve energy resources, use energy rationally and strictly save energy in the course of exploitation, production, usage and consumption.

Priority must be given to developing hydroelectric power along with thermoelectric power. Our country's fossilized resources (coal and petroleum) are limited but its water resources are very great; and it is not very expensive to invest in the construction of hydroelectric projects, because we enjoy superior waterflow conditions.

To develop hydroelectric power, for large projects, it is necessary to make plans for additional surveys, designing and construction in order to utilize the work force continuously and, therefore, reducing construction costs. Plans must also be made to broadly develop medium and small hydroelectric projects wherever power plants with a capacity ranging from 1 to 100 kw, 100 to 1,000 kw or 1,000 to 5,000 kw can be built.

Sixth, it is necessary to step up exports in order to sustain imports. Exports and imports are an integral part of economic strategy and national industrialization is impossible without it.

As our annual demand for imports is very large, it is necessary that we adopt a new way of thinking and new work methods to rapidly exceed the total export value of 300 to 400 million [no currency unit given]. We must advance toward exporting 1 to 2 billion rubles or dollars [as published] a year so as to balance imports. It is necessary to employ all forms of exports, such as producing goods for export with domestic raw materials, providing labor for the production of export goods, borrowing foreign currency to import raw materials for producing export goods, cooperating with foreign countries in the production of goods for export, and so forth.

It is necessary to clarify that exportation is a strategic task of all sectors and echelons, and to advance toward implementing the policy of using exports to balance imports toward those production establishments where conditions permit.

Plans must be formulated to concentrate efforts on developing the mass production of a number of specific goods of high quality and great value for export. A corporation will be set up to specialize in each of these items, from procuring raw materials to conducting export activities. Each corporation will be staffed with a team of experienced cadres.

It is necessary to establish a rational structure for importing goods, and, as an immediate step, we must concentrate on importing raw materials and spare parts and limit the importation of machinery and equipment. To step up exports it is necessary to renovate planning work, link domestic production activities with foreign markets, satisfactorily organize market research and survey efforts, and provide those establishments producing goods for export with additional technical equipment. Policies must be devised to encourage the production of goods for export and to improve our work methods thoroughly and scientifically so as to make them conform to international trade standards.

Seventh, it is necessary to develop a raw material base. Raw materials constitute a vital issue in industry and it is now posing a major problem. Speaking of raw materials, we must correctly assess our natural resources. As far as we know, our natural resources, though not as abundant as we used to believe, are not as poor as in some other countries. By efficiently exploiting the existing natural resources, we can create the raw material base necessary for industrialization.

To insure the supply of raw materials for industry, it is necessary to adopt a comprehensive strategy covering the development of agriculture, forestry and industry, as well as exports and imports, in order to create stable and industrially based sources of raw materials. To do so, it is necessary to develop industrial crop areas along the line of practicing specialized and intensive cultivation to increase productivity. And, at the same time, to adopt correct policies on grain distribution, collection and purchasing, as well as prices, so that the 1 million or so hectares of industrial crops targeted for 1985 will increase the raw material supply to industry by 40 to 50 percent. Later on, when 9 to 10 million hectares of agricultural lands can be put into use, at least 2 million hectares will be reserved for planting industrial crops.

It is necessary to complete forestry planning at an early date and organize forestry activities along the line of combining forestry with agriculture in accordance with the motto "the state and the people work together." We must boldly allocate lands and forests to cooperatives and families of cooperative members and broadly promote the tree-planting movement among the people so as to cover barren hills with greenery and spread forest vegetation throughout the country within the next 15 to 20 years, thereby turning our forests into an important source of raw material supply for industry.

It is necessary to step up basic investigations and exploration for natural resources and to intensify preparations for investment and construction so that we can rapidly build mines and factories for processing minerals into raw materials for industry. The chemical sector must formulate a long-term plan for producing domestic chemical raw materials to gradually replace imported chemical raw materials.

Efforts must be made to formulate a long-term plan for exports and imports and for production cooperation in order to develop the superiority of our tropical natural resources and abundant labor and overcome the shortage of raw materials.

Moreover, it is necessary to strictly practice thrift in using raw materials and to organize even more satisfactorily retrieval and recycling activities and the use of raw materials in category 2.

Eighth, it is necessary to improve and strengthen material and technical bases. The existing material and technical bases of our various industrial branches are relatively large (totalling more than 10 billion dong in fixed assets); but the big drawback is that they are not standardized and out of balance, and many pieces of equipment are either worn out or in disrepair. This is a matter of grave concern and it is also a reason for the low usage of

the design capacity beside the shortage of raw materials and energy. Therefore, in the near future, it is necessary to adopt a correct investment policy that combines vertical investments with lateral investments in order to improve and strengthen the material and technical bases.

First of all, an appropriate amount of investment capital must be reserved for balancing the production systems of the various industrial branches--such as balancing the various production chains of the coal sector, balancing the power grids with the power supply sources, increasing the engineering sector's capacity for designing and manufacturing, and so forth. In light industry, investments must be made to balance spinning with weaving operations, the processing of paper pulp with the production of paper and oil pressing with oil refining; supply the tailoring sector with additional equipment; and so on. Generally speaking, in industry, attention must be given to making investments to balance production with packaging, especially the packaging of exported goods, for there have been many cases in which the goods produced cannot reach the consumers due to a shortage of packaging material.

Laterally, attention must be given to making investments with the aim of building the raw material base, developing communications and transportation, building the infrastructure and building power and water supply systems, technical projects serving industry, and so forth.

In the small industry and handicraft sectors, it is necessary to chiefly mobilize the capital of the cooperatives. Nevertheless, there are some cases in which the state must make partial investments (through budget appropriations, credits, material supply or sales of machinery, equipment and transportation means) to help the cooperatives renovate technology or build the necessary material and technical bases where the cooperatives cannot do so with their own capital.

Ninth, it is necessary to stabilize the living conditions of the contingent of workers and provide them with additional training. Beside its basic strongpoints, our contingent of workers is still displaying the following weaknesses: they are not uniformly organized; their cultural knowledge is poor, their professional skills are low (the average grade is 2.6/7); and they have not yet developed an industrial tradition and ethic. In addition, the most critical problem at present is that as most of them can hardly live on their all too low basic wages and cope with the harsh living conditions, they have not only failed to work enthusiastically and feel attached to the enterprises, but have also developed negative tendencies. Therefore, to promote production we cannot fail to pay attention to stabilizing the livelihood of workers and giving them additional training.

It is not true that the most urgent problem at present is to seek ways to save the working class. Lenin taught: "In a devastated country, the primary task is to save the laborers. The primary production force of all mankind consists of workers or laborers. As long as they exist, we will be able to save and restore everything."<sup>(1)</sup> To do this, as an immediate step, we must insure the distribution of various types of goods according to the prescribed quantitative norms; broadly apply the payment of product-based wages, contractual wages and bonuses to increase the workers' income; and, at the

same time, actively prepare to carry out a wage adjustment as soon as possible so as to insure that all workers can live on their basic wages and on this basis, to make them feel attached to their enterprises and overcome other negative phenomena.

Concerning the training of technical workers, as an immediate step it is necessary to appropriately readjust the scale and structure of their training with attention given chiefly to refresher training and, at the same time, to formulate long-term programs and plans for training workers in order to meet the quantitative, qualitative and structural requirements. It must be clearly understood that the training given to workers at schools is simply the first step; and the key method is to train them continually through the production process at enterprises.

Tenth, it is necessary to build the party and strengthen party leadership. This is a decisive factor. We have many times strived to consolidate basic party units and enhance the quality of party members; but the results achieved have not been as good as expected. In many enterprises, as well as in the various small industry and handicraft cooperatives, party organizations still remain weak and the quality of party members has yet to be enhanced. Therefore, it is necessary to study more carefully the actual situation of basic party organizations and the causes of their weakness, so that measures can be taken to consolidate them effectively.

To consolidate the party organizations of enterprises it is necessary first of all to strengthen the party committees of enterprises by correctly appointing secretaries who can fulfill their functions of leadership and supervision satisfactorily, and by strictly observing the system of leaders.

It is necessary to consolidate the relationship between the local party committee echelons and the party organizations of enterprises. Provincial and municipal party committees must rely on industrial departments to closely direct the party organizations of local enterprises, as well as locally situated central enterprises, and must create conditions for the people's committees to satisfactorily discharge their industrial management role in the territory under their jurisdiction.

In strengthening leadership over industry, it is no less important to carry out the work related to cadres satisfactorily. It is necessary to re-evaluate cadres and assign them to posts in accordance with their positions and professional qualifications so they can fully develop their talents. Special attention must be given to post-graduate and on-the-job training. It must be regarded as the main method for training cadres. Equal attention must also be given to training managerial cadres and plans for refresher training in management must be devised to insure that all cadres can effectively carry out their role in production and business management.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, p 430.

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NEW CONTRACTUAL SYSTEM AND THE QUESTION OF PERFECTING IT IN AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

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[Article by Vu Huu Ngoan]

[Text] The implementation of the new contractual method in agricultural cooperatives has given rise to conflicting phenomena. There have been at least two attitudes toward this new contractual system. The first attitude considers the new contractual system as a very effective prescription written by a highly skilled physician and a panacea for all ills. The second attitude considers the new contractual system as a mistakenly prescribed medicine that seriously destroys the system of cooperatives, one of the fundamental bases of socialism. In fact, the correct assessment of the new contractual system is related closely to the overall examination and evaluation of the problem related to the requirement of grasping well the real current economic situation of our country. As a result, all subjective and superficial ideas which praise or criticize unilaterally, do not in any way help to perfect the current contractual system.

Although the implementation of the new contractual system in agriculture presents several positive aspects, there are still several negative ones. These two aspects are often seen interlocking in a thing, a person and a primary unit.

Consequently, there must be a scientific and objective method to assess the situation correctly.

In 1979, D.H. District achieved only 60.2 quintals of rice per hectare. It achieved 61.76 quintals in 1980 and then an average of 71.34 quintals per hectare in 1981 over a contracted area of 32,780 hectares. The figure of 30,000 tons of extra rice obtained from a district poses a major mathematical problem that should be audited by the entire society to see the value of an economic formula. However, also in D.H. District, 500 water buffalo died, mostly because of overwork. In D.X. Cooperative, the new contractual system has stimulated peasants to increase labor productivity and time for higher production volume. However, disputes over the right to use water in irrigating rice fields has led to several scuffles, causing disunity among

cooperative members. In T.L. Cooperative, some 24 tons of rice have been stockpiled, causing losses to the cooperative and the state. In T.H. District, although the peasants are happy, some 150 workers of the tractor station are out of work, thus leaving 47 tractors idle. The scene of cooperative members who have been so eager to the point of replacing tractors and buffalo in hoeing land demonstrates most clearly the interlocking of positive and negative aspects. Just as Lenin remarked: "Man's shortcomings seem to be the continuation of his advantages. However, if the advantages continue to exist beyond necessity and if they do not appear when and where needed, they will become deficiencies."(1)

In many cooperatives, as a result of exceeding the contract norm, their members' extra income equals the basic pay of the days they worked. This has exposed two facts: one is the positive role of contracts and the other is the irrationality in distribution (too low) according to the number of worked days has prevailed for several years. Lenin said: the more specific problems we face, the more general problems we will encounter and the more often we will be forced to return to the fundamental theoretical matters.

Due to the characteristics of agricultural production and collective ownership in agricultural cooperatives, the principle of distribution according to labor is implemented through the number of mandays. The manday is the gauge of cooperative members' work. The number of working days may be either larger or smaller than or equal to the number of mandays. Income from mandays may be computed in cash or in kind, or partly in cash and partly in kind. Cooperatives' production results are divided into various components: taxes, obligatory sales to the state, seeds, reserve, public welfare and recycling for expanded production and so forth. Only then can cooperative members be distributed materials according to their credited mandays. Consequently, although the income through mandays is the immediate income of individual cooperative members, the rate and absolute amount of this income is related to the economic interests.

Within the framework of socialist collective ownership over the production means, together with the grading of work and the establishment of correct economic-technical norms, contracts are a mode of remuneration that links the labor inspiration of individuals closely with the interests of the state and collectives. The role of a work contract is to stimulate cooperative members to complete the assigned work quickly and save time for developing their families' secondary economy while being always able to keep up with the crop schedules of cooperatives. This will obviously benefit the entire society. The interests of society here lie in the fact that production can be guaranteed, social labor used economically and products increased. The role of product contract is to encourage cooperative members to work enthusiastically and increase labor intensity and time and material investment in turning out more products. Once the contract norms are exceeded, the volume of products will be increased, thereby benefiting both individuals and collectives and the entire society as a whole.

Contracts can be made with production teams and units, with groups of workers, or individual workers. At a time when the level of organizational and managerial knowledge is still low, peasants are still heavily affected by the

psychology of small owners when joining cooperatives. Also, manual labor still prevails. It is appropriate to organize cooperatives, production units and groups of workers on a medium and small scale. If production units and groups of workers are organized on a medium and small scale and if contracts are awarded to units, groups of workers and individual workers, the attractiveness of the cooperative system will become greater. This is an appropriate form of economic management to guide peasants in advancing step by step and steadily to socialism. It makes peasants see the transitional path as a great stride forward on the one hand and as a process in line with the nature of the period of transition to socialism in general on the other. It is all the more suitable for a small agricultural country that bypasses the stage of capitalist development to advance directly to socialism.

Contracts are by nature a form of labor organization of collective labor. As for private labor, there can be nothing called contracts. As a result, in awarding contracts we must maintain firmly those tasks calling for labor cooperation in order to attain high productivity. Any task that can be performed by individual workers with better results must be awarded to individual workers so they may exploit their latent labor potential within the framework of the cooperative system. Contracts are a form of labor organization in labor cooperation. They will exist for a long time as long as the regulations on distribution according to labor can be brought out to bear. However, the current product contracts in agriculture are merely of a transitional nature. They are very appropriate to all the current conditions of cooperatives, especially the condition of manual labor. An increase in agricultural products is due mainly to an increase in labor intensity and time. The contractual system is also in line with the level of general organization and management of cooperatives by the cooperatives themselves and by the state. It suits the psychology of peasants who used to be heavily affected by a sense of small ownership for quite a long time. It makes them enthusiastic to work effectively just as on the pieces of land allocated to them for secondary family-based economy (5 percent). The important point now is that the social products have increased, overcoming the sluggish and wanting situation and benefiting individuals, collectives and the state. There should be a scientific and revolutionary conception at this point. In the condition of proletarian dictatorship, the shaping up of any new economic form must be aimed at developing production and improving the people's livelihood.

The product contracts with individual workers currently used in agricultural cooperatives are a transitional and intermediary form of economic management. They are a mixture of strength from the just started cooperative labor and from individual labor still possessing some given potential. Being transitional and intermediary, product contracts can by nature oscillate and fluctuate like any other transitional economic form in any other area. The persons who implement them can lean on this or that side, making the gap between collectives and individuals very small and hard to distinguish. Consequently, it is understandable that negative and positive phenomena have interlocked and intertwined with each other. The positive fact, no matter how small, always reflects the trend of development while the negative factor always runs counter to the trend of development. Leadership in this area calls for calmness and alertness. The managerial knowledge here lies in the

ability to firmly grasp and promote the positive aspect and to gradually repel the negative aspect. Evidently, if we relax and float in our control, the negative aspect will suppress the positive aspect for a certain time.

We should realize that although the product contracts currently used in agricultural cooperatives are necessary, their capability is definitely limited and not unlimited because the utilization of tools to increase labor intensity and time is always limited. The highest production capacity brought about by this new contractual system can only equal or slightly exceed the production results from the piece of land allocated to the family-based economy. If we want to bring the production volume higher than a certain level, it is necessary that technical measures be used intensively. In time of serious drought, waterlogging and damage by insects, individual labor on rice fields clearly proves to be deficient.

To overcome the negative phenomena and perfect the new contractual system promptly, along with the newly emerging form of product contracts, it is necessary to continue using the form of work contracts while, at the same time, linking all people and tasks in cooperatives to the final production results, which is called finished product contracts. The payment of cooperative cadres should be improved. Cooperative heads should not be entitled to the highest number of mandays no matter what the production results of the cooperatives are. Depending on whether the cooperatives' plan norms are fulfilled or not or exceeded, the cooperative heads will either be remunerated a corresponding number of mandays or subjected to punishment. People engaged in direct cooperative labor (seed production, plowing, irrigation, fertilization and protection of vegetation) must also be rewarded or punished accordingly, depending upon the results of finished product. If we are successful in this connection, we can contribute to overcoming the practice of lowering norms for contracted production volume as compared to the average conditions achieved in production. We can also get rid of the situation in which water buffalo die of overwork or the practice of trading land for pork, thus reducing the number of pigs in society.

The conclusion of product contracts with individual workers is correct only when workers are remunerated for their contracted products according to the number of mandays accounted for by cooperatives as a whole with relevant norms for mandays and production volume and losses in materials based on the average facilities achieved in the cooperatives, and especially when the standard for cooperative labor organization is still low and individual labor still bears some effect on the development of production. For example, product contracts with those who raise pigs for collectives are made as follows: pigs of the collectives are still tended to in herds inside the cooperatives' pens. The cooperatives will provide breeding and feed and will prescribe norms for feed, pig weight and mandays to which the contractors are entitled. On this basis, the cooperative members' families are assigned a given number of pigs for raising. If the cooperative members raise the pigs well by providing additional feed and obtain a meat production volume higher than the contracted norms, they may get the extra amount beyond the norms in addition to the income from the contracted mandays. Such a conclusion of animal raising product contracts with workers will give workers additional income while being always able to maintain and develop the collectives' herds of pigs and

increase social products. As for bartering 4 kg of rice for 1 kg of pork on the hoof or 1 hectare of land (360 square meters) for 50 kg of pork on the hoof, this will permit the cooperative members to practically take the pigs home for raising in their families (they used to raise their own pigs) and then deliver them to the cooperatives in exchange for rice. Finally, the herds of pigs in society decrease to the disadvantage of the collectives and the entire society. The awarding of continued pig raising contracts to families in some localities should also be reconsidered very closely along the principle of insuring a continuous increase in the herds of pigs in society.

The product contracts with individual workers for subsidiary food crops can also be concluded in a similar manner. The cooperatives will allocate land and seeds, establish norms for fertilizer and mandays and award contracts for production volume. If the cooperative members grow the crops better technically by giving better care and more fertilizer to the crops and thus get an increase in yield over the contracted norms, they will receive the increase in addition to the income from their mandays.

The most difficult task is how to conclude contracts correctly for the three final works on rice crops because failure to do it properly will lead to a situation in which rice fields are divided in a too widespread manner; the material bases of cooperatives cannot be used; the cooperatives' members dispute for water and buffalo; the status of hired labor resurges and products are stockpiled. With respect to those weak cooperatives or newly established ones, their members are enthusiastic in accepting contracts, and products have clearly increased. However, since the organizational and managerial knowledge of these cooperatives is originally poor and since they now have to control and coordinate all the details of cooperative and individual labor. They will become more confused and consequently fail to conclude contracts properly. With regard to good cooperatives, although they have some favorable conditions in terms of organizational and managerial abilities, their members are not eager to accept contracts because in these cooperatives the strength of cooperative labor has developed, the superiority of cooperatives has begun to show a good yield and production volume and individual labor can hardly catch up with cooperative labor. Although the party members in some advanced cooperatives have been urged to set an example in accepting contracted rice fields for the people to follow, there are still some cooperative members who refuse to accept contracts. In this case, if the cooperatives lower the contracted norms as compared to the average norms achieved in several years, it will benefit only individuals to the detriment of collectives.

It is obvious that specific contracts must be materialized properly in line with the different levels of cooperatives. Contracts for finished products which are currently used in agricultural cooperatives are necessary to all types of cooperatives since individual labor still has some definite effect on manual labor. These contracts are by nature a transitory and intermediary form of economic management and have great impact on production collectives (where land and rice fields have been collectivized) which were recently established in the southern provinces, especially in the Mekong River Delta. In this region, the system for income from land and rice fields has been maintained for some time along with the system of distribution according to labor. As a result, middle farmers can accept the path of cooperativization

more easily. If contracts for finished products are concluded by combining cooperative labor with individual labor and using the strength of the newly built collective economy while making full use of the fruitful capacity of the family-based economy. It will be easier to attract peasants onto the path of cooperativization. With respect to cooperatives in the southern provinces, contracts are only the start of a work bearing many positive factors.

Concerning the weak and average cooperatives in the northern provinces, product contracts are a new contractual form of which the role is to rescue the situation. We should not hold this new contractual system responsible for all negative phenomena. On the contrary, this system has helped overcome negativism in production, which is basically sluggishness and slow development. Apart from the newly emerging negative factors, some other negative factors have existed for quite a few years because of weak and poor organization and management. The question of overcoming negativism has been raised previously. Therefore, the perfecting of contracts in those weak and average cooperatives primarily calls for the retraining of managerial cadres along with using economic leverage and linking the responsibilities of cooperatives' managerial cadres closely with their benefits. Cadres and cooperative members must uphold their sense of collective mastery and responsibility. They must have authority, independence and creativity in organizing their business.

We should proceed with developing or re-establishing the system of economic-technical norms. On this basis, we will accelerate the implementation of work contracts along with product contracts and not the latter alone. At the same time, we should readjust the scales of cooperatives and production units properly to keep them on a par with the cadres' managerial ability.

Although the situation in those weak and average cooperatives can be improved primarily by an economic form that combines the three interests closely together to encourage the cooperative members to work enthusiastically, the situation in those good cooperatives is not merely the same. The continued improvement of production and life in good cooperatives calls for action to resolve a series of problems and not merely a contractual form. In those cooperatives which have achieved 7 or 8 tons or from 9 to 10 tons per hectare cultivated throughout the year, cooperative labor has been fully exploited on the basis of manual labor. This situation compels us to think of some vigorous scientific and technical measures to change the structure of production and further develop the various sectors of the family-based economy and so forth, along with the product contracts. The requirement of perfecting contracts here must be entirely fulfilled. Only by doing so can we overcome negativism arising from the implementation of contracts. We should continue to firmly maintain the system of work contracts and proceed with adjusting the scales of production units appropriately. At the same time, we should widely apply the contracts with groups of workers for the three final tasks concerning rice products. If the product contracts are made with groups of workers, cooperative labor should still continue on all eight tasks, not just on five tasks. This is not only necessary but achievable in good cooperatives. We should conclude the rice product contracts with individual workers for the three final tasks on condition that the cooperative members volunteer to fulfill the contracted norm for the average crop yield obtained

over the past several years (except in case the supply of technical materials is poorer than previously); rice fields and land are not divided in a too widespread manner; and the existing material bases of cooperatives are continually used in a satisfactory manner (except in case the cooperatives' realistic capacity has been previously overused, adversely affecting members' income). Concerning animal raising, industrial crop planting and various handicraft jobs and sectors in good cooperatives, product contracts can and should be used. In fact, grain--one of the main problems in daily life--has forced peasants to quit other jobs and concentrate on the contracted plot of rice field. This difficult problem can be resolved in two ways:

First, if the scale of the job and sector involved and the size of business is large and the business is good, a separate cooperative can be established with independent accounting. Obviously, after being separated from the agricultural cooperative, the new cooperative can and should maintain various forms of joint enterprise with the agricultural cooperative.

Second, if the job and sector continue to be secondary in the agricultural cooperative, the same principle of economic accountability--especially for distribution--must be maintained and unified throughout the entire cooperative. In fact, secondary jobs and sectors normally create higher values than cultivation and animal raising. Therefore, it is necessary to classify jobs and determine appropriate manday norms so good workers can always get larger amounts of rice, even larger than the income they used to get from their jobs. This way they will quit their jobs to accept rice fields under contracts.

To sum up, depending on different specific conditions, the question of perfecting contracts in weak, fair or good cooperatives, either in the northern or southern provinces, must be always resolved on the basis of correctly insuring the three economic interests.

Lenin repeatedly urged: "In eradicating capitalism completely and in beginning to shift to the transitory stage of advancing to socialism, we have just taken the first steps. We must go through several more transitory stages to reach socialism."(2) As a matter of fact, through the valuable realistic experiences in the recent past we can profoundly understand Lenin's teachings because the period of transition to socialism is a special historic period that calls for a high level of self-consciousness. Whether this period of transition will be long or short and how many stages this period must go through, it all depends on the level of our self-awareness. Lenin further indicated: "We all know that in a country with a small agricultural economy, if we do not go through a series of preliminary and gradual stages, we will not be able to advance to socialism."(3)

The whole method of examining and correctly resolving the new contractual system in agricultural cooperatives should be based on the understanding that this is a transitional form of economic management in the initial stage of transition to socialism in our country. If we use it correctly as a transitional and intermediary link, we have taken the right step. As a result, we will contribute to shortening and not prolonging the period of transition.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Book 33, p 251.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Book 27, p 160.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Book 28, p 441.

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EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS: THE CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES OF VIETNAM(\*)

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[Continuation of the presentations made at the Cultural and Spiritual Values of Vietnam Conference held by the Marx-Lenin Institute and TAP CHI CONG SAN in Hanoi]

[Text] Vu Khieu:

The 5th Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party further developed and shed additional light upon the fundamental guidelines of our society and, on this basis, defined the genuine values of man in the form of the basic characteristics of the new man.

The socialist revolution is the most thorough revolution in every field of endeavor. In the process of transforming the old and building the new, it sweeps away the depraved remnants of the past and, at the same time, develops upon the positive values within the nation's traditions as highly as possible.

As a result, the list of our nation's new values not only reflects the needs and the standards of our nation today, not only incorporates the latest achievements of the civilization of man, but also embodies the most beautiful qualities that have been created by our nation in its long life.

Over the past several decades, philosophers and sociologists in the world have discussed the values of man at great length. Our nation has participated in this debate not only by means of pen and ink, but also by means of its very flesh and blood. Amidst opposing trends and a wide variety of opinions concerning values, we have established a goal, a path to follow, a lifestyle.

What are the most beautiful values in life? We have answered this question by choosing and fighting for these values in determined actions and with unshakeable confidence.

The fight that we have waged over the past half century to fight the French, drive off the Japanese, drive off the French and the Americans and then defeat the Beijing expansionists has been the greatest test of strength between the

most beautiful values of man and the most sinister, cruel and malicious forces in history.

During the past half century, we crushed countless malicious schemes and defeated countless barbarous weapons and innumerable insane actions of the enemy. We endured the greatest losses, sufferings and sacrifices that man can endure; however, in the face of these unprecedented challenges, we displayed the qualities of the nation and beautiful human qualities.

The international reactionaries were slandering us but all progressive mankind would come to see and forever remember the attitude with which we lived and fought during those most difficult days. We lived and fought for independence and freedom, for peace and socialism, for the noble desires of mankind, for the inevitable trend of history today.

Years ago, Nietzsche cast aside every traditional value of man and brought into existence a new set of values for mankind. Today, the modern bourgeoisie continues to destroy the very best values of mankind; the new set of values, the genuine values of man, will forever be beyond their reach.

Bourgeois philosophers have used great amounts of paper and ink to discuss values and have established a field of science called axiology. Separated from the great cause of liberation of the working class and laboring people and standing outside the influence of the Marxist-Leninist world view, old bourgeois axiologists have increasingly revealed their incompetence through a self-explanatory philosophy and convenient viewpoints. If they do not imprison themselves in mystical idealism, they fall into ordinary materialism. If they do not stop at Kant style rationalism, they fall into Camus style nihilism.

Capitalist society, which is becoming increasingly decadent with its robberies, fraud, insanity and licentious behavior, has nurtured an atmosphere of pessimism in philosophy and art. It is increasingly undermining confidence not only in the values of man, but also in life itself.

Within the modern bourgeoisie, the viewpoint concerning values is a pragmatic viewpoint. Weapons of murder, deceitful tricks, religious prejudices, anything that can create profit is a value.

To bourgeois and petty bourgeois intellectuals, to these persons who are abandoned and helpless amidst the cruelty, corruption and absurdity of capitalist society, whatever is consistent with their isolated state, whatever supports the "absolute freedom" and the "rebellion" of the soul is a value.

Against this background, bourgeois philosophers have set forth very many disorganized theories concerning values but they, like so many pieces of rotten wood, have been unable to save the sinking, corrupt capitalist system.

As they have travelled the path leading to their own destruction, the imperialists and their lackeys have become increasingly reactionary. They have brazenly trampled upon the genuine values of man and had the affrontery to speak beautiful words about "freedom," "democracy" and "human rights." The

U.S. imperialists were talking about the "right of man to live" while they, themselves were annihilating our villages, murdering our compatriots and using chemical poisons to destroy vegetation and even the insects. In the name of "human rights," they appealed to Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea in order to once again push the people of that country into the claws of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary genocidal clique. They closed their eyes and feigned ignorance when this clique, under the guidance of the Beijing expansionists, massacred 3 million people and pushed 4 million other persons into a state in which they were half alive and half dead.

The Beijing expansionists, who always talk about "revolution," "socialism" and "proletarian internationalism," have become the most cowardly of traitors and are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists to undermine the world revolution and the Chinese revolution while insanely opposing the Soviet Union and attacking Vietnam.

Never before have we witnessed such cowardly and brazen attempts to turn black into white concerning the matter of the values of mankind as we are witnessing today on the part of the U.S. imperialists and the Beijing expansionists.

What are values?

In the history of man, very many different viewpoints have existed concerning values. Due to class limitations and limited awareness, the various viewpoints that have been adopted concerning values have generally not been consistent with the true values of man.

To the feudal class, "loyalty, filialty, integrity and devotion" were the concepts that were most frequently used; however, they were used not to protect the genuine values of man, but to demean and bring shame upon the masses.

Unable to find the material foundations and laws of social phenomena, religious viewpoints gave every value of life a mystical source. The world around us was created by God, happiness or misfortune are predetermined, talents and personality are also given to us by God. Subjectivism and relativism, which deny the objective requirements of values, maintain that values only have the significance of arbitrarily binding man to a thing.

Rejecting the mystical viewpoint that every value in the world is a favor bestowed by supernatural forces, by God, Buddha, an immortal being or a saint, we maintain that values must be the product of man, must be created by the hands and mind of man himself.

Rejecting subjective idealism that is based on convenient reasoning, on sentiment or intuition, we confirm the objective and social nature of values. Values lie within things themselves and are examined from the perspectives of social benefit and social progress.

A value is not something that is an inherent, integral part of natural phenomena such as the beauty of the moon, the water, the birds and the flowers, the bounty of the mountains, the rivers, the forests and the ocean

waters and so forth. Nature only becomes beauty, becomes good and assumes the significance of a value when it is placed in a practical relationship with social man and is evaluated by social man. The value of a thing lies in how well the thing meets the material and cultural needs of man, in the role that it plays in the developing life of society. For this reason, we can only confirm a value within the practical relationship between man and reality when it is examined from both an objective and subjective point of view. Marx criticized the mistaken viewpoint of ordinary materialism: "The main shortcoming of all past materialist philosophies, including the materialism of Feuerbach, lies in the fact that the truth, reality and the world that can be felt were only examined as objective entities or in intuitive form, not as concrete actions taken by man, that is to say, practice was not examined from a subjective point of view."(1)

Under the light of Marxism-Leninism, we consider values to be the achievements that man has contributed to the development of the history of society, achievements that serve both the interests and the happiness of man. Values have emerged from within the social relationship between the subject and the object, that is, from within the practice and the struggle of social man. Values, therefore, are defined by correct evaluations on the part of man, correct evaluations that are based on and tested in practice.

In philosophy, there have been very many different ways to classify values to suit the characteristics of the world view and the subjective desires of the philosopher. Under the light of Marxism-Leninism, we have divided values into material values and spiritual values, social values and personal values, essential values and noble values.

Examined from the point of view of society, material values are values that are evaluated on the basis of the products of labor that serve the material needs of society, such as the needs for food, clothing, sleep, shelter and so forth. Whereas, as Engels said, labor "is the first prerequisite to the entire life of mankind...and labor created man himself"(2), labor is also the first source of each value.

The spiritual values of society, which encompass scientific values, ethical values, artistic values and so forth, mark society's development in the areas of truth, goodness and beauty. These values reflect the beautiful relationships that society has achieved for the purpose of developing and improving social life, such as patriotism, heroism, independence, freedom, democracy, peace, equality, justice and so forth.

Examined from the point of view of the individual, the values mentioned above are the material and spiritual achievements that persons have recorded within themselves, such as scientific knowledge, ethical qualities, the spirit of altruism, patriotism, energy, talents, the health and beauty of the human body and so forth. These are values that the individual has achieved in the course of production and combat, in his studies and training in all four areas of intellect, ethics, physical conditioning and aesthetics.

The sum of these values within each individual gives the individual a uniqueness and causes the individual to become a unique personality and exist

as a value. A person who possesses a grand ambition always endeavors to achieve noble spiritual qualities and give his life meaning as a value that contributes to the development of history.

Of the various types of values mentioned above, some are essential values that directly determine the life of man and others are values which, although not essential, do help to improve life and further stimulate the progress and development of man. Marx said: "Man must be able to live before he can 'create history.'"(3) "Must be able to live," this is the essential requirement of man; however, only "creating history" brings more beautiful values to man.

For this reason, there are frequent conflicts in life between values and the implementation of these values, which generally means the abandonment of other values. The history of societies consisting of opposing classes records countless difficult circumstances of this kind, circumstances that have required choosing between loyalty and filialty, between obligations and love, between conscience and justice, between honor and life, between freedom and happiness and so forth.

In the challenges of life and these multi-faceted changes in values, the character of a nation as well as a person is seen first in the attitude expressed in evaluating and selecting values, in the system of values being pursued and in the order of these values within the system. The value system of Buddhism originated in the virtue compassion, the value system of Confucianism is loyalty and filialty but the tradition of Vietnam is independence and freedom. And, today, as we build socialism, the value system of our people also encompass the spiritual qualities of the collective master.

Pham Huy Thong:

I. The blossoming of the Vietnamese national spirit during the period of the Red River civilization of the first Vietnamese who built the country.

The first building of a country in our land during the period of the Hung Kings was described by ancient historians as an event. Legend refers to the first Hung King, the eldest child of Lac Long Quan and Au Co, who ruled in the midlands after the 100 children of Lac Long Quan and Au Co separated, half going into the lowlands and half into the mountains. And, the historical writings, recollections and notes concerning the first Hung King, the leader of the Gia Ninh Family, say that the Van Lang clan used "witchcraft" to merge the 10 families around the Van Lang clan and establish the country of Van Lang.

This event was part legend, part truth. We can be certain of the fact that the establishment of the first state in our country, which seemed to occur suddenly, had been gradually prepared over a long period of time and only occurred when the necessary conditions developed. The foundation underlying the building of the first state in our country was a long process of developing production forces, a process that was recently verified by archeologists; this process of developing production forces was reflected in the process of continuous cultural development, the remnants of which still

lie in our soil, a process that extended from the Phung Nguyen Culture to the Dong Son Culture, a period of no less than 1,000 to 1,500 years.

It was in this long, steadfast and painstaking process of creating a civilization and building a country that the ancient community of Viets built an increasingly prosperous and beautiful life and, at the same time, became an increasingly close knit society. This communal spirit blossomed on the basis of the common economy and culture and then developed deep roots in society, penetrating the soul of each member of society. The patriotism of those persons, of our forefathers, which emerged from diligent, creative efforts, strengthened the Red River civilization and built the country of Van Lang of the Hung Kings. And, as increasing success was achieved in this building of the country, the Viets' pride in their race, in themselves became increasingly deep and strong.

How impressive, how vivid were the high level of development and the special characteristics of our civilization during the early years of the country! The Dong Son archeological culture, which existed during the Bronze Age and the early Iron Age, blossomed primarily in part of the territory of present day Vietnam beginning in approximately the 8th Century B.C.

If we compare the archeological discoveries that have been made concerning this culture, discoveries that provide concrete, very vivid proof, concerning the era of the Hung Kings, which coincides with the legends that still exist among the people and ancient writings within our country and abroad and concerning the period during which the ancient Viets developed themselves into a nation and built the first country, we see that the pride that they felt was truly genuine. It was pride in their civilization, a highly developed, stable agricultural civilization. It was stable because it had its origins within the Hoa Binh culture that existed 6,000 years earlier and opened the way for the earliest agriculture. It was stable because it had developed a sophisticated metal refining technology and subtle aesthetics; this technology and these aesthetics were vividly manifested in the unique product of the Dong Son culture, the "Dong Son drum," that is, in the Hego type I bronze drums. It was stable because it had reached the level of building a country.

The outstanding achievements of the ancient Viets who built the first country are seen in the implements, the weapons and the many different types of pottery, copperware, ironware, and bronze items that have been found at hundreds of archeological sites within our country, from Hai Van Pass and further to the south to the Sino-Viet border. In fact, the present day border does not coincide with the boundaries of the cultural areas and communities of the people of that time. The bronze products that have been found in southern Hoa Nam, which are best known by the Dong Son drums, verify that which has been recorded in ancient history, namely, that Hop Pho in Quang Dong, present day China, was one of the four districts that was established in the spring of the year 40 under the banner of the two Trung Sisters and was recognized as the old land of the Hung Kings. Moreover, it is not surprising that the Dong Son style is quite evident in the archeological relics of the Warring States era in the countries of So, Ngo and Viet--the Viet of Cau Tien and Tay Thi, the periods of Cau Tien and Tay Thi, that is, evident among the populations along the Duong Tu River and the Hoai River who live next to the Viet culture

and the Han culture. This was the case to the north. The influence of the Dong Son culture also spread to the south, to the entirety of Southeast Asia, both on the mainland and the islands. Proof of this lies not only in the bronze items, in the Dong Son bronze drums, but also in the customs, religious beliefs, languages and patterns of thinking, remnants of which have persisted to this very day.

The achievements were outstanding. Consequently, the pride in these achievements is deep. Let us examine the rich, exciting storehouse of legends concerning the early years when the country was being built: it was a time when new crops were introduced in cultivation, rice cakes and pies were introduced, the customs of tattooing oneself, chewing betel and areca were established and so forth. Particularly moving were the epics about Lac Long Quan fighting the fish god, killing the tiger god and driving off Jupiter (the ancient Viets conquered the ocean waters, the mountains and the lowlands) and the epic about the mountain god winning victory over the god of the sea (the ancient Viets conquered the sea and maintained their own existence).

Only with a deep love of the land is it possible to build the country; the ancient Viets possessed an ardent love of their birthplace and felt an obligation toward their compatriots in the face of the tragedies caused by foreigners. "Linh Nam chinh quai" described the anguish and indignation of a populace who "could no longer live in peace" whenever the "emperors" of the North "imposed their will" upon the South. And the people, not only those in the areas of Phu Dong or Soc Mountain, but throughout the country as well have, since antiquity, sung the praises of Thanh Giong, who rode his iron horse and with bamboo spear in hand drove off the An pirates. Our forefathers, who deeply loved their country, the country that they build with their own hands and minds, loved their country even more ardently when it met with natural disasters or aggression and would endure any sacrifice to defend it because their country stood at an intersection and always had to contend with many misfortunes and challenges. The work of building the country and the work of defending it, which were equally beautiful, combined to create a tradition of patriotism for future generations, created for the nation an extremely precious spiritual value and wrote history. Moreover, we have, ever since then, been creating the nation itself and creating history itself rather than merely explaining the nation's history.

When we began to research the Dong Son culture of the Hung Kings, we thought that the Hung King bloodline lost the throne and the Dong Son culture declined at about the same time. However, the archeological vestiges indicate something else: the Dong Son culture was still in existence during the time of Thuc An Duong Vuong, the Trieu Dynasty and even the rule of the Tay Han. A full 300 years after the Hung Kings were gone, up until the birth of Christ, the Dong Son culture was still in existence, was still the foundation of the nation's life.

On the basis of this observation, we have acquired a very deep understanding of the Dong Son culture, the Trung Sisters and the uprisings in the year 40 which must, from now on, be considered pivotal elements in the nation's history. In the year 40, along with the Dong Son culture, the national consciousness of our forefathers blossomed and matured during the period of

the Hung Kings in the face of the threat of annihilation. Their love of their race showed itself to be strong enough to carry them through the three difficult centuries mentioned above, centuries in which our people clung to survival and, as a result, were able to maintain the Dong Son culture. Although the times changed and the many different persons succeeded one another as the highest leaders of the country, the Dong Son culture of the era of the Hung Kings persisted with virtually the same brilliance and sophistication.

However, in the year 40, the era of the two Trung Sisters began. This era was also the era of Han Quang Vu. Having completed the destruction of the Vuong Mang movement, the House of Han--now the Eastern Han--were stronger than ever before. It was the era in which Ban Sieu "sent ambassadors" all the way to the West, to the Roman frontier, and forced the populations encountered along the way to pay homage to the "Celestial Court." The policy adopted concerning the population of the South was the policy of assimilation. Chinese governors such as Tich Quang and Nham Dien flattered and enlightened peasants, as a result of which they supported China and asked to be annexed to Chinese territory; governors such as To Dinh were crude and militaristic and "used the law to tie up the population.

The two sisters arose and raised their banner amidst these circumstances in order to protect the Dong Son culture, that is, to maintain the national spirit and the traditional lifestyle.

The uprising was successful but Ma Vien won victory in the end. And, after winning victory, he decided to make every effort to destroy Dong Son life. Realizing what the uprising's source of strength was, he had Dong Son bronze items collected and cast into a horse that stood at Lac Duong Gate in tribute to his feat of arms and cast into chains to intimidate the spirit of the people of Giao Chi. From that point onward, the Dong Son culture declined; anything that remained was buried deep in the ground.

However, the fight waged by the two sisters was not in vain. Not only the widespread response to the two sisters within the old land of the Hung Kings, but also the very appeal made by them and even the consciousness of appealing for a struggle to be waged were measurements of the greatest of the national stature and spirit of the citizens in the land of Viet following the Hung Kings. But this was not all. The Dong Son culture disappeared not because the people were intimidated nor because they were persuaded to abandon it. To the contrary, the Dong Son culture, which embodied the soul of the nation and was synonymous with the nation's conscience, disappeared in the flames of struggle and, for this reason, it only disappeared in order to "achieve immortality."

The question that the times faced the generation of heroes in the year 40 was "is Dong Son life worth preserving?" The historic answer was: "Yes, it is worth preserving, even to the point of shedding blood to do so."



## II. The Development of the Vietnamese National Spirit in the Period of the Dai-Viet Civilization, the Civilization of the Second Vietnamese To Build the Country.

A. The brilliant result of the 1,000 year struggle waged under the guidelines set forth by the Trung Sisters, of a struggle that was sometimes a quiet struggle and sometimes an open struggle that caused blood, sweat and tears to be shed but which glowed with the radiance of the dignity of man, was that the will to win back sovereignty and rebuild the country remained firm.

The opportunity to achieve this most ardent, burning aspiration of the nation arose at the start of the 10th Century. The Khuc family raised the banner of rebuilding the country. Our people were quick to seize the favorable opportunity that presented itself: the powerful House of Duong was collapsing. However, the stratum of distinguished persons who were leading the masses was small and, as a result, readily fought one another for power; meanwhile, the militaristic forces that were struggling against one another for dominance in China and struggling to reoccupy the prosperous land of Giao Chi could not be taken lightly. And, no model of a newly established country had emerged from the collection of districts that had separated themselves from the world of China.

Therefore, more than 100 years of struggle at home and against foreigners passed before the newly established nation could achieve stability. Practically every head of state only achieved power after a violent struggle to conquer the forces of the regional warlords. At the same time, the Chinese clans were continuing to look furtively at Giao Chi. Sovereignty was in jeopardy; for an entire 100 years, numerous patriots struggled for a strong central monarchy, which was necessary during that age so that efforts could be focused on organizing internal affairs and contending with foreign aggression.

It was precisely because they had to suppress a strong spirit of patriotism, an ardent desire to have their own country and live with nothing but hope for 1,000 years that the Viets of the 10th Century had the courage, the tenacity and the wisdom to surmount countless difficulties, win and maintain their independence and freedom and build a stable and eventually powerful nation.

The national spirit that was born in the era of Van Lang, was nurtured during the time of the Trung Sisters on the alter of Hat Mon and then tempered for 1,000 years had now clearly become a sacred spiritual value of the nation. Clearly, a single, strong will of an entire age inspired generation after generation of soldiers to defend the Khuc family, then the Duong family, then the Ngo family, then the Dinh family, then the Le family, win back the country, destroy enemies, both domestic and foreign, unify the fatherland and bring prosperity to all families. Today, history sings the praises of the feat of arms recorded by Ngo Quyen by beheading Luu Hoang Thao in Bach Dang Bay; the feat of arms recorded by Dinh Bo Linh by crushing the Su Quan rebellion and proclaiming himself emperor; and the feat of arms recorded by Duong Van Nga by dethroning his son in order to insure victory over foreign aggression. However, history has not appropriately praised the remarkable 10th Century, a century of heroism, patriotism and the will to build for the nation a bright future, a glorious cause.

Praise for the 10th Century began to come forth at a scientific conference recently held in Hoa Lu.

The 10th Century was 100 years of great patriotism. It was 100 exciting years in which our people, displaying their national spirit, drove off aggressor armies from the South and the North and reunified the territory of the nation that others planned to divide. National spirit reached a high pinnacle and was prepared for a new high pinnacle in the Ly and Tran eras.

Beginning after the year 1010, when the capital was moved from the treacherous terrain of Hoa Lu to Thang Long, which was accessible from all directions, and lasting from the Ly Dynasty to the Tran Dynasty was the era of Dai Viet.

For a long time, it can be said even now, the imposing military feats of Ly Thuong Kiet and Tran Quoc Tuan overshadowed every achievement of the excellent civil administrations of the times. It must be understood that the civil administration and the military were linked together in one bloc during the great Ly and Tran Dynasties of the nation. Only on the basis of peace and prosperity was it possible for the Dien Hong elders to unanimously respond to the Tran king: what else is there to do when the enemy invades? The only thing we can do is fight!

The people's devotion to the country during the Ly and Tran periods was not only manifested on the battlefield. Because they noticed with enthusiasm that, after the 10th Century, the nation was gradually becoming stronger and life was becoming more stable, the House of Ly and the House of Tran promoted the clearing of wilderness and the repair of dikes and encouraged literature, architecture, sculpting, music and theatrical art. The country had been restored and it was now time for the king and his subjects to work together to make the country prosperous, more beautiful and stronger, to make life more enjoyable and comfortable and unite society as one and, as a result, provide the country with greater security. The words spoken by Tran Hung Dao before his death, "tap the strength of the people," which expressed, in a moving and profound way, the policy of the times, elevated devotion to the country and love of the people to the level of the highest traditional ethical values of the race.

What was the source of the all-encompassing patriotism during the prosperous Dai Viet era? Because of the enthusiasm of persons who had regained their country after having lost it for thousands of years and endured 100 years of arduous struggle to rewin their country, every effort was devoted to rebuilding the country quickly and steadily, rebuilding the country so that it matched their dreams. This explains why the Ly and Tran Dynasties recorded feats of arms in defeating the Tong, driving off the Nguyen and preventing the Chinese from inundating Southeast Asia, feats of arms that inspire us even today.

...An extremely glorious event at the start of the 15th Century was the Lam Son uprising. Le Loi and the contingent of heroic generals of the Le Loi Partisan Army, after 10 years of arduous fighting, drove the expeditionary army of the House of Minh from Dong Quang Thang Long and beyond the borders of Dai Viet. Borrowing the words spoken by Commander-in-Chief Le Loi and

speaking the voice of his times, Nguyen Trai eloquently expressed, immediately after the day brilliant victory was won, the thinking of Sino-Viet equality in the immortal "Report to the People on the Defeat of the Minh":

"They have their own rivers and mountains, Their customs differ, too.  
During the Trieu, Dinh, Ly and Tran Dynasties that built our country,  
The Han, Duong, Tong and Nguyen ruled their country..."

More than 300 years later, in a new test of strength with China, one that followed our decisive victory over the House of Minh in the long war of resistance, our people won resounding victory over the House of Thanh in a remarkable, very crucial battle. Before the hour of decisive combat, commander-in-chief of the Tay Son Army, Nguyen Hue, displaying the same old patriotism, expressed the same noble thoughts, feelings and ethical values of the nation in a moving image in the following several words of poetry: "Every heaven has its stars!" While confirming the role played by each cultural value as a factor in the formation of the nation's highest spiritual value, namely, patriotism, the leader of the nation at that time appealed to his soldiers to fight and win victory so that the nation could continue to wear long hair and continue to dye their teeth black.

These impressive feats of arms in the defense of the country, which were achieved as a result of the ardent and strong patriotism felt by our people since antiquity, helped to further strengthen this essential spiritual value of the nation. The projects involved in the building of the country, although only a limited success, were still, to some extent, unique creations of a people deeply concerned with the destiny of their country and also helped to temper the national spirit and enhance the special traits and color of the nation.(...)

Western colonialism invaded Vietnam at a time of stagnation, chaos and confusion among the people and even the ruling circles. The enemy took advantage of our internal confusion to steal our country from us, an act which provoked a strong reaction and caused deep feelings of indignation and bitterness. However, the effectiveness with which we dealt with this situation was not high. This was partially due to the lopsided balance of weapons but primarily due to the fact that our national attitude at that time was similar to that of a person standing at a windy crossroad and shouting to the heavens his frustration over not knowing "where to go" or "for whom to wait."

The Vietnam fatherland ruled by the Nguyen Family was divided and then occupied. Our shame over having lost the country was compounded by the fact that we had to endure an imposed social structure that was not based on concern for the happiness of the people, which only served to deepen the comprehensive economic, social, political and cultural crisis of that time. As a result, the nation's long smoldering, sacred flame of patriotism and national salvation was once again rekindled.

From that point onward, one generation after another awakened and searched for the nation's path of survival. From Truong Cong Dinh, Phan Dinh Phung and Hoang Hoa Tham through Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chu Trinh to Nguyen Ai Quoc,

each generation was different but none lacked patriots. Little by little, patriotic revolutionary leaders became aware that saving the country was no longer--and had, in fact, not been for a long time--merely a matter of liberating the nation and driving off foreign aggressors. National salvation could only be achieved under a certain set of circumstances within Vietnamese society, which had long been mired in crisis against the background of the tangled international relations of the times and the changed thinking of man. This set of circumstances was: the salvation of the country and the liberation of the nation had to be closely linked to the prospect for building a new economy, a new society, a new world view.

In Nguyen Ai Quoc, the requirement that a political revolutionary also be a socio-economic revolutionary and a cultural revolutionary became a fact. And, the genuine, reliable and effective path opening the way to the future was discovered. A new era began in Vietnam with the 1945 August Revolution led by the vanguard party of the proletariat.

#### In Lieu of a Conclusion

A new era has begun. It is an era more brilliant than all others. Following the efforts to build the country in the Dong Son era and the Dai Viet era, this present era constitutes the third time that our nation has built the country. And, never have the country's prospects been as bright as they are today.

Without exaggeration, a new era has begun. This is because the spirit of patriotism and these most beautiful traditional cultural values, spiritual values and ethical values of our nation are, as a result of the service performed by the great President Ho Chi Minh and under the leadership of the glorious Vietnam Communist Party, being smoothly combined with the modern revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism and playing a large role.

The patriotic spirit of Vietnam is not only beautiful, it has played a large and practical role as well. This is very evident because we, today, have been able to see, observe and evaluate the national spirit of Vietnam in its strongest, clearest and most resounding form of expression in the continuous victories won by our people against aggressors: the Japanese fascists, the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists. These victories had their origins in nothing other than the ardent patriotism that has been strongly manifested in our fights and victories every since the time of Thanh Giong, from the time of the Trung Sisters. In more recent years, we were not at all surprised when we saw that Uncle Ho, in order to motivate us to wage a decisive fight and win victory, frequently recounted the nation's history in each glorious stage in which our people drove off aggressors, as many of the nation's epics have done, as the Trung Sisters themselves did when they proclaimed themselves to be descendants of the Hung Kings.

#### The Future

With independence and freedom having been won, these precious values provide the conditions needed for the creation of new values.

Today, speaking from this perspective, independence and freedom are noble values when they guarantee the successful building of socialism, abolish poverty and backwardness and "begin to create a society that is beautiful in terms of its lifestyle, in terms of the relations between one person and another, a society in which the laboring people feel that they are living a happy life, even though their material standard of living might not yet be high."(4) These essential values cannot be achieved without independence and freedom. "However, if the country is independent but the people do not enjoy happiness or freedom, their independence is meaningless"(5), as President Ho Chi Minh said during the first days of the era of independence when the revolutionary government was still in its infancy.

If we only revere and praise the values that have been achieved but do not truly turn our efforts to creating new values, we will diminish the values that have been acquired by means of the blood shed by numerous generations. Not only that, if we do not create new values, the values that have been acquired cannot be firmly maintained because "the only guarantee that these victories are enduring and irreversible is a new and higher mode of social production."(6) The 5th National Congress of our party confirmed: "While not relaxing for one minute their effort to strengthen the national defense system and protect the fatherland, our party and our people must attach foremost importance to the task of building socialism. Because, socialism is not only the goal of our entire undertaking, socialism and the strength and stability of the socialist system are the guarantees of the independence and freedom of the fatherland as well."(7)

The line of the party is the reflection of the objective laws of society and also gives direction to the establishment and selection of ethical values.

As we entered the new era, the era of building socialism throughout the country reunified in independence and freedom, the 4th National Congress of the Party required: "Let us display the revolutionary heroism that we displayed in the fight to save the nation as revolutionary heroism in creative labor to build the fatherland"(8); this requirement also has the purpose of meeting the objective requirements of the development of the revolution in the new stage. "The answers to questions raised by life, by the economy lie in the laws of life."(9) Now, "labor is the *raison d'etre*, the conscience and the dignity of man, is the number one standard of the collective master."(10) Creative labor, technical labor, highly productive labor are the most basic and the most precious ethical values of the new stage of history. Without them, there can be no "new and higher mode of production" in order to advance socialism to victory.

In fact, labor has always been the original source of every value, both material values and spiritual values. Labor is not only something that creates wealth, it is also something very much larger. It is the first prerequisite to the entire life of man and, in one respect, we must say that "labor creates man himself."(11) In this respect, labor is the first quality of man because man begins his existence by means of labor. The essence of man is manifested first in labor because from both the point of view of logic and the point of view of history, labor is the highest prerequisite because it creates the highest value: creates man and improves man's character.

However, the value that is labor has changed during each period of history. Each class and each age has had a different view of the value of labor. It is not only under socialism that labor is considered important and man begins to praise labor as a beautiful virtue. However, it is necessary to emphasize that only under socialism does labor overcome its corrupt nature and regain its true value.

Since the time of our forefathers, we have "praised the virtue of hard work, feeling that he who works hard will live well." The struggle with nature to create the wealth that supports the life of society has forged within laborers the virtue of diligence: "Work hard from sunup to sundown" and "drop the plow when the buffalo needs a rest." Respect for the products of labor inevitably led to respect for labor itself. A "bit of soil" has the value of a "bit of gold" because it bears the imprint of man. It can be said that our forefathers, by means of their intuition, developed the consciousness that "value, once a means, had become an end."

And, laborers are not the only ones who extol the virtues of diligence and perseverance, the exploiting classes have also been forced to encourage work. The thinkers of the feudal system maintained that "idleness is the source of all evil." This philosophy of life was, of course, extolled by the laboring masses in order to put parasites in their place. The antithesis of "idleness" can only be industry and diligence; industry and diligence are goodness. Therefore, parasites are also forced, for the sake of their own interests, to extol diligence, the diligence of others, that is. The capitalists also encourage diligence, hard work and a talent at business in order to earn a profit. They, too, encourage diligent labor and high productivity on the part of workers, considering them to be the way to increase their profits, to be the object of exploitation.

However, because they extol labor from the point of view of their own interests, the exploiting classes are, in essence, opposed to labor. Capitalists look for every way to exploit the economic value of labor. They are totally indifferent toward and know nothing about the ethical, intellectual and aesthetic values of labor. The society of the exploiting classes has caused labor, which is an essential attribute of man, to become separated from and opposed to man, to become corrupt.

Once labor has become corrupt, laborers themselves can no longer recognize the true value of labor and cannot love labor as they would true labor. In those societies that have maintained the exploitation of man by man and societies based on the private ownership of instruments of production, labor can only be compulsory labor, not voluntary labor. In capitalist society, "the realization of labor is the objectification of labor" and "this objectification is manifested as the discarding of objects and enslavement by objects; the ownership of objects is corruption, self-corruption."(12)

As a result, the more wealth the laborer produces, the poorer he becomes; as he produces more goods, he becomes an even cheaper commodity himself and the more the prices of goods rise, the more he loses his value, his human dignity. Analyzing the self-corruption of labor, Marx pointed out: "To the worker or laborer, something that is external is not part of his very being;(...)" In

his labor, he does not assert himself, rather, he denies himself; he does not feel happy, rather, he feels that he is unhappy; he does not freely display the abilities of his body and spirit, rather, his body becomes crippled and his spirit destroyed. Therefore, the laborer, the worker can only feel himself; in the process of his labor, he feels that he is alienated from himself."(13)

As a means of material existence, labor possesses economic value; however, labor is also a means of teaching, one in which the human nature of man is clearly manifested and which, by means of its activities, benefits society. It is also by means of labor that one person is linked to another, to the collective and to society. The ethical value of labor lies therein. Labor is also a means for developing our creative talents, a means for testing the level of our skills and knowledge; from this point of view, labor possesses intellectual value. And, because it creates such values, labor is also a source of joy, is something that brings pleasure to man in the course of his work as well as when examining the products produced through his labor; thus, labor brings aesthetic values to man.

These values are only expressed when labor has been liberated from compulsion and becomes free, voluntary and creative labor. The superior nature and the great significance of socialism and communism lie primarily in the fact that they create the premises for labor to be liberated, they gradually create the conditions for returning these noble values to labor.

Our forefathers value labor but because the conditions under which they lived were so strenuous and because they were exploited and oppressed in addition, the laborer still had the dream of not having to work hard from sunrise to sunset, if not for himself, then for his children. In the attitude of the times, "living from hand to mouth" meant working more at the urging of the stomach than at the urging of the heart and mind. The attitude that "the poor must do whatever is necessary to survive" actually diminished the dignity of man and negated the noble significance of labor. It can be said that, in the long history of the societies of man exploiting man, labor has basically remained outside the scope of an ethic. "It is compulsory labor. It is not the satisfaction of a need for labor, rather, it is only a method to satisfy other needs outside the need for labor."(14)

Therefore, Karl Marx reached a conclusion of profound philosophical significance: "Consequently, the situation develops in which man (the worker) only feels that he is acting freely when he is fulfilling animal functions, when he is eating, drinking or engaged in the act of reproduction, most often when he is within his own home, when adorning himself and so forth; in the fulfillment of his other human functions, he feels that is nothing more than an animal. The inherent attributes of animals become the fate of man and the attributes of man become the attributes of animals."(15) The other functions to which Karl Marx referred are functions involving labor. Le Duan has often remarked that "true charity only exists when we see the value of labor and deeply understand that labor is creativity, that labor is the *raison d'etre* of man. Only by clearly understanding the significance of labor in the life of man is it possible to display genuine charity."(16) And, when he said "it brings the value of man back to man"(17), he primarily meant bringing back the

true value of labor. Humanitarianism as a principle of communist ethics is manifested first in the liberation of labor, the liberation of the laborer.

This means that we must know, not simply feel as our forefathers did, but know on the basis of scientific knowledge that labor, whereas it was once a means, has now become a goal in and of itself, that labor brings happiness and dignity to man. The value that is labor stands foremost among the values of socialism.

The principle of socialism is "working in accordance with one's ability and being remunerated on the basis of one's labor; those who are able to work but do not receive nothing."(18) The ethical value of labor lies in its economic value because, under the conditions of socialism, conditions in which the laboring people truly become the masters of society, the ethical values and the economic values of labor are inseparable and, in fact, combine as one. When society abolished the base of the exploitation of man by man, the basic prerequisite to the survival of society became each person living by means of his own labor and benefiting society by means of this labor. Living the life of a parasite is disgraceful and must be resolutely denounced by society. "Anyone who does not work, does not eat"; Lenin considered this to be the "number one, the basic and the primary principle of socialism."(19)

We have been discussing ethical values against the background of the "struggle between the two ways of life: between the new and the old, the advanced and the backward, the progressive and the reactionary within the fields of culture, ideology and lifestyle, a struggle that is occurring each day, a struggle that is very complex and cannot be given light attention by us."(20) Whereas, "through the new system, our people have shattered the chains that shackled man for thousands of years, brought the laborer from the position of working for hire to the position of being the genuine master of the country and society and brought back the dignity of the nation and the dignity of man"(21), this is also a time at which this dignity is being challenged. Together with the difficulties being encountered in economic life and social life, the outmoded concepts of values that have supposedly been deeply buried in the ground following more than one-quarter century of socialist construction in the North and the collapse of neo-colonialism in the South now have a reason for regaining popularity. The philosophy that "money can buy anything" is not merely an echo from some bygone time, rather, it is a philosophy that is attacking the beautiful ethical values that we are working so hard to cultivate. The categories of conscience, loyalty, honor, dignity and so forth reflect ordinary ethical values that are sometimes forgotten and have even been lost in environments in which there is still support for the remnants of the feudal-style habits of authority and the mentality of the bourgeois-style merchant. Attention must be given to the spontaneous way that values are given priority among masses who are constantly under the influence of economic difficulties and difficulties in their everyday lives. It is even more necessary to give thought to the negative examples that have been set by some degenerate, deviant cadres who offer clear proof of the distortion of noble ethical values and the spread of bad habits, of anti-values. In order to cultivate new, beautiful values, we must struggle to sweep these anti-values away because we must not forget that every value has a corresponding anti-value opposing it. It is even more necessary for us to realize that the



spread and growth of bad habits always occur more rapidly than the cultivation of the good. As long as the economy consists of five segments and the economic and social upheavals following the long war continue to have a serious impact upon life, vacillation among some persons in their evaluation of the order of priority within the system of genuine ethical values is unavoidable. The problem we face is that we must take the initiative and actively struggle against the viewpoints that support anti-values and take the initiative in actively cultivating new values. All of these values must be created on the basis of the most fundamental ethical values: the ethical values in working and fighting to build socialism and defend the socialist fatherland.

Le Anh Tra:

...According to the viewpoint presented above, every traditional cultural value is the result of struggle, of continuing cultural change that is closely related to the processes of political struggle, social struggle and economic struggle of the nation, within which the two main struggles have been the struggle against foreign aggression and the struggle to build the country. On the other hand, traditional values never stand still, rather, they are always developing and struggling against conservative, backward habits and thoughts. These values are also always changing, usually moving forward, even though they might, at times, retrogress. In this significance, tradition is always national and modern in nature. The traditional spiritual values, the qualities, capabilities and national character of the Vietnamese, which are, at the same time, the principles that guide our behavior and actions, are not only part of our consciousness, they lie deep within our subconscious minds as well.

...The system of traditional values of Vietnam has been formed as the crystallization of the spirit of the entire struggle, of all aspects of life, not only during each period of history, but over many generations as well. These values can be arranged under four main headings related to the following four areas: defending the country, building the country, the relations among persons and the relations with oneself; these four categories are: patriotism and an unyielding struggle against foreign aggression, the tradition of diligent labor in building the country, charity and the concept and style of life. This method of arranging these values is only designed to facilitate analysis and comparison in the most general way.

1. Patriotism and an unyielding struggle against foreign aggression; love of family, love of oneself, love of one's region and homeland are linked as one with love of the country as a whole, love of the people, of the nation. Patriotism, which is inherent in every nation, is especially strong and deep in the Vietnamese and has been expressed and challenged in countless struggles against foreign aggression, struggles that have driven off the most powerful aggressors in the world. Not every nation on earth is capable of such achievements. Due to our patriotism and our love of independence and freedom, we possess an unyielding spirit, a hatred of the enemy, the determination to resist foreign aggression and revolutionary heroism. However, it must also be realized that because we have always had to resist foreign aggression in order to protect the life of the nation, our patriotism has been heightened because,

the more we have fought, the more we have sacrificed, the more united we have become, the more we love one another, the more we love the persons and the soil for which so much blood was shed to protect. Therefore, patriotism and resistance against foreign aggression are one; one is the cause as well as the effect of the other and vice versa.

Today, traditional patriotism has cast aside all of the narrowminded attitudes of feudal times and developed into socialist patriotism, into love of the working people and hatred of the colonialist imperialists, into a fight for world peace. In the three wars against the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists and then the Beijing expansionists that have resulted in a continuous state of war for more than 30 years, the revolutionary heroism of Vietnam and Vietnam's patriotism and indomitable spirit of resisting foreign aggression have become a part of mythology and won the praise of the entire world, and this can be said without any over-exaggeration of a unique spiritual value of the Vietnamese nation.

2. Diligent labor to build the country: love of country means that we must fight aggressors, but this is something that we do reluctantly; love of country must go hand in hand with a love of peace in order to provide the conditions needed to build the country. The Vietnamese of ancient times had a tradition of working diligently, practicing thorough frugality, overcoming every hardship and shortage and working from sunrise to sunset producing products, building dikes, building sea walls, clearing land for terraces, raising crops and raising livestock under extremely difficult and arduous conditions. Although they worked hard day after day, lacked the necessary means and were technically backward, they were always happy and optimistic and remained pure, confident and loyal.

In the course of the revolution, this spirit of diligent labor has been supplemented by the sense of creativity, of looking for technical ways to raise crop yields as well as factory productivity. This spirit has also led to the full development and the learning of the clever skills of Vietnamese artisans, which have been handed down to the modern Vietnamese machine worker.

3. Vietnamese love and the sense of right and justice: love of our fellow man and affection for others run throughout the entire history of Vietnam, from the legends of the era of the Hung Kings to ancient tales and the pages of modern history. Charitable and loving persons are seen everywhere. Everything reflects the beauty of friendship, of marriage, of relations between brothers and sisters, of love for the poor, of a readiness to rescue and help victims of tragedies and a preference for things that are wholesome and good. Folk songs, proverbs and folk tales quite clearly reflect this love of others. It must also be mentioned that this human quality has mainly been a quality of the people, not of the king and aristocracy, the feudalists or the greedy bourgeoisie. Only the poor can love one another, sympathize with and respect one another; and, the persons who thirst for right and justice are none other than the simple, pure and oppressed Vietnamese. It can also be said that humanism has been a trend in Vietnamese literature and art, one that emerged during the centuries of the decline of the feudal system at a time when peasant uprisings exploded, emerged in the form of numerous works dealing with the fate of women (Kieu, Cung Oan Ngam Khuc, Chinh Phu Ngam, Song Chu Xon

Xao, etc.) and scores of anonymous stories and poems by Vietnamese, Muong, Tay, Thai and many other ethnic minorities.

Of course, Vietnamese humanism is an essential quality of the Vietnamese, one that emerged from a reality of many hardships and much suffering, from a history of uniting to guard against and resist enemies, both domestic and foreign. However, we must also mention the external factors supplementing this, such as Buddhist thinking with its fraternity and compassion and the influence of a number of other schools of humanism in the world that also formed part of the nation's origins.

Vietnamese humanism has been the foundation of the long-standing unity of the nation within the great family of nationalities in Vietnam and the foundation of our hospitality not only toward persons within our own country, but toward international friends as well. Vietnamese humanism made it possible for the Confucian scholars of Vietnam to not be confined to the limitations of the aristocratic "benevolence" of the Confucian religion or to the negative attitude of many pessimistic religious followers. At the same time, Vietnamese humanism involves a hatred of that which is wicked and cruel and uncompromising actions to combat that which is wicked and cruel.

Vietnamese humanism is also the partner of the love of that which is right, the love of truth, fairness and democracy and the love of others but it does not cover up things that are wrong or illogical: it is love in action, is a love that is oriented in a positive manner toward the truth, toward that which is right. The two values of love of others and respect for that which is right are the two traditional qualities that form the ethical base of Vietnam.

This is why, in a country in which many nationalities live, such as Vietnam, we rarely see the national jealousies, the racism and the localism that we see in some other countries, including countries in which there are many followers of religions that specialize in teaching charity, fraternity and altruism.

4. The concept of lifestyle: our forefathers liked to live a simple life, a life in which, although there were all the conditions needed to support life and although there was wealth, there was nothing pretentious, extravagant or ostentatious. Their life was simple but aesthetic and their love of beauty was closely linked to nature, to the mountains and rivers, to the trees and plants. It was a lifestyle based on principle, a life of respecting reasonable customs and habits. In their daily lives, the Vietnamese avoid excesses and extremes and maintain an optimistic, philosophical attitude in the face of changes in circumstances or society, in the face of both life and death. In fact, the Vietnamese do not like abstractions of the metaphysical nor are they fanatical; many persons have no particular religion but even those who do still have strong confidence in life, in man and practice few superstitions.

In the treatment of others and in social relations, the Vietnamese character is expressed in a flexible attitude in dealings with others, in acting in conformance with sentiment and reason; at times, they can be gentle and persuasive but, at other times, they can be hard and decisive. Being both flexible and resolved has made it possible for the Vietnamese to easily

acclimate to circumstances, surmount the harsh challenges of fate and resourcefully overcome the most difficult obstacles. This is a quality that some persons call "duality" and other persons call "the bamboo quality" or "the character of water." It is also the character of the guerrilla fighter, the way of life of a small but unyielding nation that has constantly been oppressed by powerful and cruel neighbors and has had to find ways to fight them without being harmed itself. To survive, this nation has had to wage a struggle based on the lesson and the experience of turning terrain into power, using weak forces to fight strong forces, using few forces to fight large forces, using love and righteousness to triumph over cruelty and using resourcefulness to dispel force.

This is our behavior toward enemies; however, the way we treat one another is filled with humanism, conforms with reason and sentiment and reflects unity and love; we do not like to be heavy-handed toward one another.

In our opinion, the above is a brief description of a model of the system of the vital spiritual, traditional values of Vietnam up until the present day, the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. In the course of history, some values have been dominant at one time while other values have been dominant at other times. (For example, in a war against foreign aggression, the spirit of patriotism in fighting aggression and revolutionary heroism occupy a very important position while in peaceful construction, the values that pertain to labor, humanism, that which is right and our style of life are of foremost importance).

And, we maintain that there are still many other values, values that we have been unable to fully describe here but which can be deduced from the four main categories mentioned above. It can be said that since the August Revolution, these values have been reinforced by new factors, by socialist revolutionary factors, thereby sweeping aside factors in the nature of narrowminded nationalism or are colored by individual heroes, are conservative in nature and are usually the opposite of fine traditions (some persons maintain that there are such things as bad traditions; however, we maintain that there are only good traditions and that these negative factors are anti-traditions, anti-values, within which it is possible to confuse every heritage from ancient times).

At present, this development is in a critical stage, a stage of struggle between the effort to advance to socialist values and the backward pull, even the corruption, of negative influences and anti-values as a result of the struggle between the two ways of life and the many difficulties now being encountered in everyday life. And, these anti-values do create regrettable phenomena and situations in life. For example, the spirit of diligent labor of farmers in their fields easily turns into laziness when the same person is working in collective fields or at a factory or worksite. In the same way, frugality and simplicity sometimes fade in the face of the temptations of wealth and working only to satisfy one's selfish interests.

In relations with others, the love of man fades in the face of a lack of respect for man which develops when the anti-culture consciousness has had an opportunity to destroy the values regarding charity, right and justice. The

philosophical lifestyle of our forefathers did, to some extent, include the idleness of Nguyen Binh Hiem, Nguyen Trai and Nguyen Khuyen which, was more serenity than idleness but which, if not given a clear revolutionary purpose, would easily become conservatism, fear of struggle, nepotism, slowness and so forth.

We are proud that every Vietnamese possesses an ardent spirit of patriotism but socialist patriotism is not something that everyone instantly acquires. Therefore, some persons, although they say they are patriotic, do not like the new system and have even left the country because they fear hardship and difficulty.

Our people are not fanatical but superstitious beliefs are spreading, even among educated youths.

At a time when the economic life of the country still involves many difficulties, that which is called the dual temperament, skill and flexibility in dealings with others can cause more than a few persons to foresake their staunch revolutionary stand and become pragmatic, to live without a sense of law and order, to live a life of opportunism divorced from that which is ethical and right.

We believe that the attack by the anti-values, although only temporary, might have a number of adverse consequences but cannot destroy the traditional values that have been the essence, the character of the nation for centuries. However, we cannot be complacent, rather, we must always preserve, protect and cultivate these values, always work to make them shining values.

The truth is that traditional values, regardless of how deeply rooted they might be, can only be handed down to the next generation through education, they cannot be passed on genetically; consequently, if we ever relax our effort to teach and mold the new man, it will lead to the destruction of traditions and the replacement of them by fads, which are usually unwholesome, or by demands for the satisfaction of bestial needs instigated by the imperialists for the purpose of destroying and corrupting man.

Even when they have developed to the point of perfection, the traditional spiritual values are not the sum of the qualities of the new, socialist Vietnamese. We must establish a number of new spiritual values that lie within the scope of proletarian ideology, such as the spirit of responsibility and discipline of the modern working class; the love of science and technology; the use of science and technology to support the socialist revolution; the proletarian international spirit, the spirit of socialist collective ownership and the socialist lifestyle.

These values have also emerged during the days that the party of the working class has been leading the revolution in our country and all of them are closely associated with our traditional values: they could only be formed on the basis of our traditional values and, conversely, they propel the traditional values toward perfection.

Both types of values mentioned above, the traditional values and the new values, will combine to form the entire system of spiritual and cultural values of Vietnam in the age of socialism.

This is also the key issue in the molding of the new man and the building of the new life and the new culture. To achieve this goal, we must make many efforts and must struggle against every negative, backward, feudal, bourgeois, neo-colonialist and old style colonialist thought. However, the molding of these cultural and spiritual values cannot be separated from the work of building the new culture, in general, in order to provide a developed cultural life for everyone in a manner closely linked to building the socialist economy and raising the people's standard of living.

Huu Ngoc:

...The August Revolution and the two wars of resistance elevated "Vietnamese values" in the world to the point where, following the resistance against the United States, practically everyone accepts the division of world history into the "pre-Vietnam" stage and the "post-Vietnam" stage.

In 1981, the British historian Thomas Hodgkin observed in his book "Vietnam, the Revolutionary Path": "the August Revolution was an extremely important event. In the history of the world, it was perhaps the most important event since the 1917 October Revolution in Russia... That revolution occurred at the point in history where World War II was coming to an end. The 12 days that Vietnam shook the world, from 14 to 25 August, occurred 1 week after the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki...thus, the August Revolution marks the start of a new age and marks the point at which the colonialist age began to give way to the non-colonialist age."(22) Dien Bien Phu truly shook the world. As the first colony to win a military victory over a colonial imperialist power, Vietnam won the admiration of the world and became more widely known as a result of the expansion of diplomatic relations following the return of independence and peace to one-half of the country.

The prison of war policy based on the combination of the Marxist class viewpoint and our traditional viewpoint of "charity and justice" was a unique aspect of the first war of resistance. No other country ever dared during war to send back to their camps hundreds of able-bodied prisoners of war who were still able to fight. At the time, only a few soldiers, only a single squad of Frenchmen and Africans were needed to command a puppet base and we sometimes lost whole battalions and still not secured these bases. Yet, we dared to release French and African prisoners of war after educating them: we trusted in their enlightenment because, generally speaking, we encountered no betrayal; very few of the French and African POW's we released took up arms again and some even went back and enlightened the other members of their units.

While in prison, the French captains Lucien Maury, G. Daniel and G. Vollaire wrote:

"We have been waiting (since being imprisoned) for the severe imprisonment befitting a soldier of an aggressor army... President Ho and the people of Vietnam consider us to be nothing more than blind tools of the French and

American colonialists, nothing more than soldiers who have been lied to and deceived by propaganda... Our imprisonment is, however, not a punishment but an opportunity to confess our crimes and become soldiers of peace. This viewpoint is based on a special wisdom and insight arising from an ideology of ever-vigilant democracy..."(23)

The days spent in prison camps helped prisoners of war gain an understanding of the democratic life of our people and our army. A soldier of the expeditionary army named Guibert wrote to his mother: "Mother, dear, dry your tears, I will return to you more mature than when I left as a result of a new spirit shown to me by the Vietnamese during this stage of my life"(9 May 1952).(24) According to a military medical captain named Pedoussaux, "we have had to re-evaluate all of our old values."(25)

In a book published in 1973 entitled "The White Soldiers of Ho Chi Minh," the journalist Jacques Doyon described the impression of Vietnam of the soldiers who supported us during the stage from 1945 to 1954.

Generally speaking, they sympathized with us and admired us for having ideals, even though they criticized our cadres as being curt and rigid. They returned to the rich West but felt "sad and dejected" when they recalled "the paradise of the poor," Vietnam. They lived far from one another but "one country brought them close together: the country of Vietnam with its past and present... Even the most cynical and debauched veterans respect Vietnam from the bottom of their hearts, feel a respect based on an appreciation of the country's beauty and admiration of its continuous struggle. The fight waged by the Vietnamese has shown thousands of rays of light into the souls of western veterans."(26)

Thus, we stepped from the war of resistance against the French into the war of resistance against the United States. Our fight was worthy of the praise of the world because it was a fight for a just cause, it represented the desire to be free of all oppressed nations and individuals and it represented the crystallization of the global strategy of the socialist countries over a long period of time.

(...) There is one other point I would like to raise: many western, leftist intellectuals who are frustrated over the socio-political situation within their consumer society and are unsatisfied with the socialism manifested in eastern Europe have turned to Vietnam in search of their own personal escape. To them, Vietnam is a "pretext," is something in "vogue," is a Brecht-style theme of assuredness... If only one of three Swedish middle school students is addicted to narcotics, it is because the other two are using Vietnam as their opiate"(27); therefore, to avoid being subjective, we must, when it comes to the very sincere and good opinions that they hold concerning us, differentiate between what they feel about us that is true and what they have subjectively pinned on us, what of their "I" they have ascribed to us. A typical example of this case is the young American journalist Susan Sontag.(28) She spent more than 15 days in Hanoi in 1968 and returned home to write more than 100 pages of observations on Vietnam. As she said, she had made a "trip to inner feelings." In addition to the points concerning us that

she correctly praised, she also employed all kinds of deductive reasoning to justify our foolishness or shortcomings and weaknesses.

Generally speaking, foreigners have correctly evaluated Vietnam's fight: "The colonial locust," which was the imagery used by the journalist W. Burchett(29), expressed the "conscience of mankind" and protected "human dignity."

They also have a high evaluation of the Vietnamese, of resistance war cadres and our determined party members. Andre Lebon, a French film journalist who parachuted in Dien Bien Phu, wrote: "My God, I love this land. Were I a Vietnamese, I would have first joined the Viet Minh and then become a Viet Cong."(30) According to the American journalist Mary McCarthy, an American officer said that "if the Viet Cong were fighting on our side instead of the Saigon Army, the United States would have won victory already."(31) At the conclusion of his play "V for Vietnam," Armand Gatti said: "My role is finished but it was not played in the seven letters that form the word Vietnam. Today, all mankind belongs to those paddies. The Viet Cong will be the name of the persons who stand facing directly into the sun."(32)

The world has tried to understand which characteristics of Vietnam have made it so brave. Due to the increasing number of foreigners in our country and the expanded introduction of Vietnamese culture, the world has gained a deeper understanding of Vietnam's spiritual values. The Soviet Union has translated all of our major classical works.

In "Selected Literary Works of Vietnam" (in French, four volumes, over 2,000 pages) published by the Foreign Literature Publishing House(33), foreigners evaluate our literature as follows:

"We are confident that, in terms of the classics, the poetic values of Vietnam are not the least bit inferior to the major Asian schools of poetry and, in modern terms, they have a place among the literatures of the world."

Through a collection of lacquer paintings published by the Foreign Literature Publishing House, the general director of UNESCO evaluated Vietnam's paintings as follows:

"I was very deeply moved by the remarkable paintings that depict, not with pain or discouragement or despair, the work, the months and years of a nation living amongst tragic circumstances. Through their rich form, neat arrangement and harmonious colors, these paintings reflect their love of life and unshakeable faith in man."

What is the image of the Vietnamese who resisted the United States?

A Romanian journalist proposed: "We should have three images of Vietnam, the first image, one filled with inspiration, is of the perseverance and bravery of the people. The second is the image of bureaucracy and honor and the last, perhaps the most correct image, is the sad image of the people of a country who try to laugh in order to keep from crying." This is but one of the



thousands of different observations quoted by the woman Bulgarian journalist Blaga Dimitrova.(34)

Many authors see the Vietnamese as a happy, open, polite, gentle and simple people. Palazzoli travelled from "melancholy, drab and rigid" Beijing to Hanoi, where he found "color, laughter; the soul of the poor, sensitive and warm, which changed the faces of the poorest persons."(35) Kurt and Jeanne Sterne were surprised to "see the happy life that the Vietnamese managed to maintain even at the peak of a terrifying war."(36) Jean Chesneaux felt that the poetry of President Ho was "simple, everyday poetry" unlike the poetry of Mao Zedong, which "appealed for things solemn and grand."(37)

...Through the evaluations of Vietnam by foreigners in general, we can learn things that help us to more clearly understand "the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam." Systematic and critical research of these opinions is necessary. By examining the evaluations made by friends and enemies during different periods of time, we can learn constants about the nature of Vietnam.

We must make a more bold and systematic investment of means and cadres in the effort to introduce to the outside by means of foreign literature the "cultural and spiritual values" of Vietnam. The world knows about Vietnam's stubborn resistance against foreign aggression and the world demands to know more about the culture, the spirit and the people of Vietnam. The research projects of our various sciences, especially the social sciences, must be disseminated overseas. This effort must be selective and suited to the persons to whom the presentation is being made, otherwise it will have a counter-propaganda effect. A beautiful and correct image of Vietnam in the world is a valuable asset for us.

Hoang Chuong:

When we talk about the attention being paid by the world to our national art today, we have the desire to prove as correct the latest and most profound public opinion and evaluations by European audiences during the recent performances of the Vietnam Classical Opera Group in several socialist countries: the USSR, the GDR and Bulgaria.

Although we had gained some idea from numerous performances for groups of foreign guests visiting Vietnam, we really did not know what the effect of classical opera performances on the stages of Europe would be. Moreover, the Vietnam Classical Opera Group gave its opening night performance at the 25th Berlin Theatrical Art Festival in the capital of the GDR. The city is also one of the famous and traditional centers of philosophy, aesthetics and art in Europe. At this festival, in addition to theatrical groups from the socialist countries, were drama troupes from Italy, France, Great Britain, Spain and so forth. Thus, the Vietnam Classical Opera Group unintentionally found itself in a talent competition with many well qualified contestants. Consequently, we were very nervous before opening day. Would the Berlin audiences understand classical opera? Would they be indifferent or would they leave in the middle of the performance because they did not like or understand this strange art form?

However, things did not turn out as we thought they would. European audiences turned out in throngs at the "Berlin Ensemble" Theater, the site of the official public performance of the classical opera; included in these audiences were persons from Asia, Africa, America and even overseas Vietnamese from West Germany. We called them audiences from the five continents and they were audiences that posed the greatest challenge that our classical opera ever faced.

When performing classical and historical operas involving characters of major significance, classical opera artists must express the emotional state and the personality of the character primarily by combining mannerisms and art; "there is aesthetic tension between the external form and the internal meaning." Because of the language of mannerisms combined with art to reveal inner feelings, European audiences did not need an interpreter to visualize what was being portrayed on the stage. Although some persons had seen Beijing's classical theater or Japan's theatrical art, European audiences still watched the art of performing by means of the language of mannerisms, that is, Vietnamese classical opera, with surprise and admiration. They intently followed the capturing of horses and the "horse race" on stage. Using green and red streamers to symbolize each type horse and by means of simulating capturing the horse, mounting the horse, urging the horse to run, falling from the horse and so forth, the opera performers represented different horses, some that are walking slowly and obediently and others that are racing and bucking so violently as to throw off a general. More importantly, the performers expressed the emotional state and personality of the person on horseback.

Following this performance, many European artists came to meet with us and excitedly said: "For a long time, whenever we in Europe have wanted to put a Don Quixote or Napoleon on horseback on the stage, we have had to put an actual horse on stage or put persons in costumes that looked like real horses, but the effect of these two 'real' horses has not been as good as the effect of the horse streamers of Vietnamese classical opera." For this reason, Western performers rarely dare to depict a horse on stage for more than 5 minutes at a time. Here, however, in one scene of Vietnamese classical opera, horses are portrayed for nearly 20 continuous minutes, sometimes running, sometimes standing and kicking, sometimes lying quietly in a swamp. Another point of interest to the European audiences was the "Dao Cu" made of Vietnamese rattan which, at one time represented a horse in action and, at another time, was shown to actually be a stylized horse whip. The same type of imagery is seen in the canoe used by the character Thuy Dinh Minh in the opera "Thuy Dinh Minh Goes Fishing." At first, the performer steps onto the stage with a crude oar but when he makes the motion of rowing a canoe, the canoe becomes a boat shimmering on water that is alternately quiet and rough, moving the boat slowly, then quickly. When he stops (this is also when the spatial arrangement on the stage is changed by movements of the performer that evoke changes in the symbolic mind of the audience) and the performer lets the boat float away, climbs onto a rock in the rapids, takes a pole in hand and makes the movements of a person who is fishing, the audience visualizes fish swimming by, some of which are fighting with one another for the bait and stirring up the water. By means of the art of symbolism and illusion, the river instantly becomes a battlefield on which the enemy is approaching.

Thus, the stage needs no curtain, no scenery, no special lighting in order for the audience to understand the various places, times and situations being presented. This is a characteristic and strength of Vietnam's national art and is also something new and interesting to foreign viewers.

..In Bulgaria, Comrade Moltromulchev, the head of the Pantomime Department of the Sophia College of Theatrical Art, after viewing the selections of the Vietnam Classical Opera Group many times, praised the completeness of the artistic imagery on the classical opera stage: "I do not know what it is that the stage managers themselves do on this stage because, the completeness and the solitude are such that they leave no room for intervention by a stage manager. As a result, I state that producers who do not understand the characteristics of this art, that is, who have not thoroughly studied singing, dance, music and the principles by which space and time are handled on the stage of classical opera, cannot direct a scene."

In the vast and great Soviet Union, the Vietnam Classical Opera Group performed before demanding and discriminating audiences, if not to say a public that has been trained in a highly developed culture. From the capital Moscow, we travelled to Regian [Vietnamese phonetics], a city in ancient Russia and, from there, to Vinniut [Vietnamese phonetics], the capital of the Latvian Republic in the Baltic region, where the term "classical opera" is closely associated with the word "Vietnam" and has become well known. Classical opera left aesthetic impressions upon Soviet audiences that they will not easily forget.

At the Ma Lui Theater, stage manager Alexandro said: "I do not recognize who the characters but I do understand what they want, what they are thinking, what they are doing on the stage. I love and hate along with them. And, it is not of basic importance how long theater exists, be it 100, 200 or 1,000 years, be it Vietnamese, Russian or Bulgarian theater. What is of basic importance are the things that occur on stage and move viewers, are the characters that clearly express the soul of the nation and firmly maintain its traditional culture."

Persons who perform art always dream of achieving and strive to achieve such words of praise for their nation's art and works of art. However, few persons dare think that the whole world would be as relatively unanimous in its assessment and praise as is the case in the comments presented in this article. This is a phenomenon special to classical opera--a unique national art of our people.

Hong Chuong:

On behalf of the Organization Department, we sincerely thank you. You have actively participated in the exchange of opinions with the seriousness of scientific researchers.

In the 2 days of debate, 23 comrades participated. All of their presentations have dealt with the spiritual and cultural values of Vietnam. Some have dealt with the theoretical basis of the matter at hand; others have presented our cultural and spiritual values and discussed the formation and the special

characteristics of these cultural and spiritual values; some have analyzed the strongpoints and weaknesses of the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam and how these values are playing a role in our people's socialist revolution, socialist construction and defense of the fatherland.

Some of you have discussed the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam from the perspective of your own fields of specialization: history, literature, art, aesthetics, folk culture, the military and so forth. Others of you have deeply analyzed the process of the formation of the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam, presented the historical circumstances under which these values have been formed and, on this basis, pointed out the strengths and weaknesses of these values.

Generally speaking, all of you who have participated in this exchange of opinions unanimously agree that our nation of Vietnam possesses precious cultural and spiritual values and that we must maintain an attitude of respect concerning these values, must bring them into play in the revolutionary undertaking of our people at this time. Of these values, some are long-standing values, such as patriotism, the spirit of unyielding resistance against foreign aggression, the spirit of working diligently to build the country, the spirit of unity, love of others and so forth; other values are only a little more than one-half century old, such as the spirit of proletarian internationalism, love of socialism, the communist world view, the methods of thinking of dialectical materialism, the new philosophy of life, the new lifestyle, etc. Under the leadership of the communist party founded and forged by President Ho, our working class and people have, in the course of the revolutionary struggle, strongly developed upon their traditional values and created the character that our Vietnamese nation has today. It is as a result of possessing this character that our people have won victory over imperialist powers, totally liberated the country and begun to gradually and steadily advance the country to socialism. In our examination of the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam, we have firmly adhered to the stand of the working class, of Marxism-Leninism, and have not divorced ourselves from the age in which we are living; we are determined to oppose big country chauvinism and narrowminded nationalism; we have selectively inherited the old values of the nation and have, in a critical spirit, incorporated their good aspects while rejecting their negative aspects. At the same time, we have incorporated the precious values of other nations in the world. Vietnam is advancing from small-scale production to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development; the Vietnamese are advancing from patriotism to communism, consequently, the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam have different characteristics than the values of other nations in the world.

In the course of this discussion, we have seen that some observations are not in agreement with one another and even seen differing opinions. As regards the spirit of patriotism, one person says that we must uphold the patriotic tradition of the nation; another person emphasizes the class nature of the patriotic spirit down through the various ages and point out the limitations of the patriotism of the national heroes of the feudal class and bourgeoisie. As regards the virtue of diligent labor, one person says that this virtue is a precious asset of the nation, one that must be developed upon; another person says that, in the present age, an age in which the scientific-technological

revolution is the key revolution, we must emphasize the scientific spirit, not diligent labor. With regard to the democratic spirit, one person says that because our country did not experience the system of slave ownership or a long-standing rural commune system, our nation possesses a democratic tradition (village democracy); another person says that because our country existed for thousands of years under the feudal system and did not experience a bourgeois democratic revolution, the remnants of feudalism in our country are severe and our country has no democratic tradition. As regards the factor of socialism, one person says that the primitive commune and the rural commune system existed for many years in our country, consequently, our national culture encompasses a socialist factor, as a result of which our people have readily accepted socialism; another person says that this factor is utopian socialism that places heavy emphasis upon averagism, consequently, it has posed an obstacle to the acceptance of scientific socialism. As regards the love of others, one person maintains that it is humanitarianism and must be developed upon; another person says that it is a kind of super-class humanitarianism and goes to great lengths to point out that it will not accelerate the class struggle or the struggle between the two ways of life during the period of transition to socialism. Concerning the cultural and spiritual values that were brought to our country from foreign countries in the past ages, one person talks about the positive aspects of Confucianism, the Lao Religion and Buddhism; another person maintains that Confucianism is totally negative and has no positive values whatsoever and that Buddhism, although positive in some respects, has very few positive aspects and is primarily negative; as regards our people's present revolutionary undertaking, these religions only have a negative impact.

One comrade said: there was never a revolution in our country prior to the August Revolution. As a result, the past weighs heavily upon the present. Old traditions are replete with negative factors. If we do not abolish these negative factors, we cannot advance to socialism. Conversely, another comrade said: since the 1945 August Revolution, our country has experienced great revolutionary changes. However, this does not mean that there were no changes of a revolutionary nature prior to the August Revolution. The uprisings that drove off the Chinese feudalists and won independence for the country were truly national liberation revolutions. The wars of liberation and the wars to defend the fatherland that were waged by our nation against the Chinese feudalists also served to stimulate the development of Vietnamese society. The Tay Son Uprising was truly a revolution by peasants, artisans and merchants against the feudal class within the country. Although, because of the limitations of history, a new social system was not born, these changes did stimulate the advancement of Vietnamese society. They were moving forces in the development of Vietnamese society. They were characteristic of the development of the "Asian mode of production" in Vietnam. They were a law of development of Vietnamese society in those times.

Although your opinions have differed, all of you who have participated in the discussion agree with one another on the need to research the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam. Everyone is in agreement that we must carry out this work in a practical manner in order to help stimulate our present ideological and cultural revolution.

This meeting has been productive because it has provided a good opportunity for us to meet one another, exchange opinions and learn from one another. The discussions of the past 2 days have shed much light on the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam. However, they are only the first step; we must continue to conduct research, must delve more deeply into the matter and make greater efforts in order to find accurate answers to the questions that have been raised.

The values of Vietnam are closely linked to Vietnamese culture. The several thousand year old culture of Vietnam is a culture with indigenous origins. However, this does not mean that it is a closed, xenophobic culture. It is not a "boundless" culture; it has not dissolved into other cultures. It has always retained its color. It has its own mark.

In the challenges of the collisions with other cultures, including highly developed cultures in the East and West, such as the Chinese culture and the French culture, the Vietnamese culture has displayed strong vitality. As a result, the Vietnamese have been able to maintain their cultural and spiritual values. The Chinese were unable to assimilate the Vietnamese, even though they dominated us for 1,000 years. The French were unable to assimilate the Vietnamese even though they ruled us for 100 years.

Ordinarily, a lower culture is assimilated by a higher culture. The Mongols won military victory over the Chinese and ruled them for hundreds of years but, in the end, the Chinese assimilated the Mongols and the majority of Mongolia fell into the hands of the Chinese. This was because the Chinese had a more highly developed culture than the Mongols. The Man also won military victory over the Chinese and ruled them for hundreds of years but, in the end, the Chinese assimilated the Man and their country fell into the hands of the Chinese. This was because the Chinese had a more highly developed culture than the Man.

An opposite phenomenon occurred in Vietnam. The Chinese dominated the Vietnamese for thousands of years but were unable to assimilate us; the Vietnamese retained their character and ultimately drove the Chinese off and restored their nation. This proves that the Vietnamese have a highly developed culture. The Vietnamese possess high cultural and spiritual values, consequently, the Chinese were unable to assimilate the Vietnamese.

The cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam are the crystallization of the achievements recorded over many thousands of years of the development of Vietnamese society. They are the essence of the achievements of the Vietnamese over many thousands of years of struggling with nature and waging the social struggle in order to survive and develop.

The cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam possess strong vitality. They are an affirmation of their own existence. They have survived and developed in the face of every challenge. This is because the nation of Vietnam possesses strong vitality. The nation of Vietnam has a highly developed culture. The nation of Vietnam possesses high cultural and spiritual values.

The cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam are real. They are an affirmation of their own existence among the values of the other nations of the world.

Together with our precious values, the past has also left us with severe "anti-values." Our values have survived and developed in the struggle against the "anti-values." The struggle between values and "anti-values" is a never ending struggle. The Vietnamese people have survived and developed through this struggle between values and "anti-values." For more than one-half century, our people, under the leadership of the party founded and forged by President Ho, have been carrying out a great and glorious undertaking. Why have we Vietnamese been able to carry out such a great undertaking? What capabilities, what cultural and spiritual values do we Vietnamese possess that have enabled us to carry out such a glorious undertaking? These are questions that must be accurately answered.

The purpose of understanding the precious values that we have is not to boast about them, but to understand ourselves, understand what we have that is precious, respect and preserve these assets of ours, develop upon them and advance to win even larger victories for our people's revolutionary undertaking.

The fact that we have won large victories proves that we possess certain values and capabilities. However, we do not have a very clear understanding of what these values and capabilities are. For this reason, we must try to learn what these values and capabilities are. This involves a process of becoming aware, of developing from the spontaneous to the self-conscious, from a "thing in and of itself"(chose en soi) to a "thing for itself"(chose pour soi), developing from awareness of feeling to awareness of reason.

In my opinion, the cultural and spiritual values mentioned above are the spiritual face of the Vietnamese in the present age; they are the character of we Vietnamese. They are related to culture but not synonymous with it. They are related to tradition but synonymous with tradition. They are things that we have now, things that have been developed down through the ages and now reached a pinnacle of development.(Those things that are part of national tradition). They are things that we have only had for about one-half century, ever since President Ho brought Marxism-Leninism to our country, ever since the founding of our party.(These are revolutionary traditions). There are things that we have only recently acquired, have only acquired since our country entered the stage of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. In summary, they are all of the things that we now have, all of the most basic attributes of we Vietnamese. We must know how to summarize what we have, must achieve a very high level of generalization in order to determine what these things are. This is not a simple matter. It will involve scientific research. All scientific work requires a serious, cautious attitude, a scientific attitude. This is truly a matter of science; it demands to be treated as a science.

By meeting here to discuss the matter of cultural and spiritual values at a time when the country is facing pressing economic problems and pressing

problems in everyday life, have we accomplished something practical? What is the practical significance of the matter at hand?

Our entire country has entered the stage of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Having entered the new stage of the revolution, we must "recheck our packs": we must discard that which is no longer suitable and keep that which we can still use; we must develop upon that which has been perfected; we must cultivate and strengthen that which is still weak; we must develop that which we lack. We must rearrange our set of cultural and spiritual values on the basis of the requirements of the tasks of the revolution in the new stage.

The 4th Congress and the 5th Congress of our party stressed the importance of the ideological and cultural revolution together with the task of building the new culture and molding the new, socialist Vietnamese man. The new Vietnamese is the master of the Vietnamese revolution. The new Vietnamese is the creator of the Vietnamese revolution and, at the same time, is a result of the Vietnamese revolution. Only by researching the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam can we gain a clear understanding of the Vietnamese man and do a good job of molding the new, socialist Vietnamese. For this reason, our discussion has had the practical purpose of helping to implement the resolutions of our party's 5th Congress.

President Ho taught: "To build socialism, we must have socialists." What kind of person is the socialist in Vietnam? On the basis of which "capital assets" must we carry out the molding of the socialist Vietnamese man? To answer these questions, we must study the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam. Studying these values involves researching the very essence of what is involved in molding the new, socialist Vietnamese man. By researching the cultural and spiritual values of Vietnam, we will make a positive contribution to molding the new, socialist Vietnamese man.

#### FOOTNOTES

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## A LOOK AT THE WORLD IN 1982

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 83 pp 64-70

[Unattributed article]

[Text] In 1982, there were many very important changes in the world. The full significance of these changes cannot be seen if we separate them from the process of development of the world situation in recent years.

Since 1973, the capitalist world has been experiencing a pervasive economic crisis; since 1978, two recessions have occurred, one after the other. The economic situation of the capitalist countries at this time is the worst since the 1930's. Of special importance is the fact that the economic position and the political leadership role of the United States within the capitalist world have constantly declined.

In a vain attempt to extricate themselves from the crisis and stop the continuous erosion of U.S. leadership within the capitalist world, the U.S. imperialists, beginning in late 1978, launched a new arms race, revived the cold war against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and intensified the counter-attack against the national independence and national liberation movements.

The counter-attack of a global nature being waged by the U.S. imperialists comes at a time when China has experienced 20 years of chaos and faces economic disaster. Against the background, the post-Mao authorities in China, who are pursuing a policy of expansionism and hegemony, have taken advantage of the weakness of imperialism and openly declared their alliance with imperialism and their opposition to the Soviet Union and the world revolution in a vain attempt to acquire capital and technology from the imperialists in order to rapidly carry out the four modernizations plan and make China the number one superpower by the end of the century.

The counter-attack by the imperialist and reactionary forces and Sino-American collaboration are the two factors that have caused the situation to constantly be tense, have threatened world peace and the security of nations in the late 1970's and the early 1980's. The relaxation of international tensions, which

was an achievement recorded by all nations in the 1970's, has, as a result, been seriously harmed.

Against this background, the international events that have occurred in recent years reflect, on the one hand, the increasingly decisive and complex nature of the class struggle on a worldwide scale and show, on the other hand, that no force, regardless of how reactionary or bellicose it might be, can reverse the wheels of history. This is quite evident in the following characteristics of the world situation in 1982:

The imperialist countries continue to be deeply mired in a pervasive crisis from which there is no escape. The two largest reactionary powers, the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, suffered a serious defeat. The internal antagonisms of the imperialists and the reactionaries developed into sharp antagonisms.

Having taken office at a time when the United States continues to suffer from recession and crisis during the post-Vietnam period, the Reagan administration has implemented extremely reactionary domestic and foreign policies and taken decisive steps to quickly extricate the United States from the crisis, restore the internal strength of the United States, win military superiority over the Soviet Union, re-establish U.S. leadership in the capitalist world and stop the world revolutionary movement. However, the Reagan administration revealed its ineffectiveness and limitations within only a few months after taking power and, after 2 years in power, it had met with serious setbacks. In July, 1981, that is, after 12 months of recovery, the United States found itself in a new economic recession. This recession has been the longest recession ever and its end is still not in sight. Unemployment has reached the highest level since the great depression of 1929-1933. Although inflation has declined, the budget deficit is larger than ever. Although he has not lessened his demands for an increased war budget, Reagan has been forced to reduce war expenditures by 13 billion dollars for the 3 years 1982, 1983, and 1984 and is under very heavy pressure to cut military expenditures. Clearly, Reagan will continue to pursue the arms race but this race has its limits. Moreover, this effort, instead of bringing military superiority to the United States, will only place a heavy burden upon the U.S. economy. At the very same time that the United States is promoting the arms race stronger than ever before, the U.S. economy finds itself in its worst recession ever, the socio-economic antagonisms within the United States have become more profound and the ability of the United States to compete economically with the other capitalist countries is becoming increasingly worse. Clearly, in the "post-Vietnam" period, in contrast to the 1950's and the 1960's, the arms race and the cold war are not measures by which the imperialists can temporarily resolve their crises, rather, they only serve to exacerbate their crises.

The scheme of the Reagan administration to restore U.S. control over its allies has also met with defeat. Both the United States and its allies want to stop the Soviet Union and the world revolution; however, the interests of the United States and the interests of its allies are not the same. Consequently, although the United States has brought pressure to bear and has succeeded in persuading its allies concerning a number of matters, the antagonisms between the United States and its allies have become increasingly

deep. The high interest rate policy and the protectionist trade policy of the United States have actually resulted in an economic war between the United States and its allies in western Europe and, to a lesser degree, with Japan. The allies of the United States are not only opposed to the economic policies of the United States, they are also opposed to a number of the foreign policies of the United States, primarily those concerning relations with the Soviet Union and the third world. In the face of this situation, the Reagan administration has been forced to begin negotiating with the Soviet Union again, cancel the embargo on the delivery of equipment for the natural gas pipeline, etc. However, the antagonisms between the United States and its allies continue to exist and are becoming sharper with each passing day. The United States has also had to deal with additional cracks in the NATO alliance caused by the attitudes of Greece and Spain following the victory at the poles of the socialist parties of these two countries.

The Reagan administration has continued to play the China card against the Soviet Union and the world revolution. However, in contrast to the Carter administration, under Reagan, the China card has not had the value desired by the United States. In addition, the Reagan group has many interests in relations with Taiwan. As a result, Reagan's policy of playing the China card met with problems during the very first months of his administration. Reagan had to spend nearly 1 year patching up relations with China in order to avoid a worse situation.

The bellicose policy of the Reagan administration, although it has posed additional difficulties and complications to the struggle being waged by nations, has caused an anti-American movement to be launched on all continents. The United States has never been as isolated as it is today. To reverse the situation, the Reagan administration is finding it necessary to readjust, in a patchwork manner, its strategic measures.

Meanwhile, the countries of western Europe and Japan are also experiencing an economic recession. Political setbacks and economic-financial difficulties are the main reasons for the internal collapse and crisis within numerous capitalist countries, which have caused the political and social situations within these countries to always be unstable. High unemployment has become a very serious social problem. The people are dissatisfied. The victories of the socialist parties in France in 1981 and in Sweden, Greece and Spain in 1982 show that the people want a change. Opposition by the people is one reason why the governments of the western European countries must be cautious when it comes to establishing relations with the United States that are too close.

The singlemost important event in the Chinese situation in 1982 was the 12th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, which marked a defeat for the policy of relying entirely upon the United States and the West to achieve the four modernizations in order to make an economic leap forward. China has had to revise its four modernizations plan down to one-third of what it was when it was proposed in March, 1978. Despite this, the thinking of making a great leap forward is still starkly evident in the plan for raising total industrial and agricultural output value four times by the end of the century.

In foreign affairs, Sino-American collaboration has encountered difficulties and limitations with regard to certain issues, especially the Taiwan issue. China has been forced to reopen negotiations with the Soviet Union; it has also been forced to talk about peace and the relaxation of tensions and to give the appearance of being concerned with the "third world" countries.

The tricks mentioned above have not concealed the comprehensive and serious defeats suffered by China. China has been collaborating with the United States in order to set the United States and the Soviet Union against one another, undermine detente in Europe, cause world "rebellion" and create security for China itself. However, the opposite situation occurred: the trend toward detente in Europe has continued to develop. The United States has been forced to negotiate with the Soviet Union. The influence of the Soviet Union has been strengthened and expanded. Meanwhile, the Chinese authorities have had to deal with the tense situation that they, themselves, have created on virtually all of their borders. In international relations, China is in its weakest position ever. China is collaborating with the United States to oppose the Soviet Union and the world revolution but cannot prevent the revolution from winning victory in areas bordering China or at places where Sino-American collaboration is the closest. As a result of taking the side of the United States in opposing Vietnam and the Soviet Union, the prestige of China has declined strongly in the third world. Never before has China been as isolated as it has in recent years. The situation during the past 3 years has proven that the extreme measures taken by Mao of practicing "self-reliance" and making politics commander-in-chief as well as Deng's policy of relying entirely upon the West and openly betraying the revolution in order to make "a leap forward" have been tragic failures. Chinese society is in chaos and has lost its direction.

Defeated and frustrated, China has had to display a more moderate attitude with a view toward deceiving public opinion, making every effort to take advantage of the antagonisms between the United States and the Soviet Union, win over the third world and divide the socialist countries and the communist movement. The internal struggle within China continues to be a very sharp struggle. The struggle of the Chinese people against the reactionary policies of the Chinese authorities will surely cause the expansionism and big-country hegemony of China to suffer even larger defeats.

Although still complicated, the situation in Southeast Asia in 1982 developed much better than during the years from 1979 to 1981. During the past 4 years, despite insane enemy attacks, the revolutions of the three countries of Indochina have constantly developed. The peoples of the three countries of Indochina have continued to win new victories in their work of building and defending their countries. With the Kampuchean situation improving with each passing day and through the 5th Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party and the 3rd Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the world has clearly seen that although difficulties still exist, the situation in the three countries of Indochina is stable and strong. The militant alliance and the special relations among Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and the solidarity and comprehensive cooperation between these three countries and the Soviet Union are being strengthened with each passing day. Public opinion is becoming increasingly aware of the threat posed by China to the countries of Indochina

and Southeast Asia, of the policy of peace of the three countries of Indochina and of the important role being played by these three countries in the maintenance of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

During the past 4 years, the policy of China of setting the ASEAN countries against the three countries of Indochina has met with defeat. The ASEAN countries are frustrated and divided over their policy toward Indochina. The antagonisms between these countries and China are clearly evident, especially with regard to the peace and stability of the region. In the face of the new changes that have occurred in international relations, especially at a time when Sino-American relations are deteriorating and Sino-Soviet relations have become less tense, some circles within the administrations of the ASEAN countries have expressed concern because their policy is still based on Sino-American collaboration and on taking advantage of the antagonisms between the Soviet Union and China in order to oppose the three countries of Indochina. This situation forces them to give consideration to negotiating with the Indochinese countries.

The United States must deal with the crisis at home and many crises in the world, in regions of very vital importance to the United States. To maintain U.S. interests in Southeast Asia, the United States is continuing to play the China card even though this involves many limitations. The United States has strengthened the military role of Japan and is, at the same time, supporting ASEAN's use of the so called Kampuchean issue to weaken the countries of Indochina. On the other hand, the United States maintains that the war being waged against the Kampuchean people by the remnant Pol Pot army on the Kampuchean-Thai border will have a negative influence upon the countries of Southeast Asia and could easily cause an explosion in this region, cause the ASEAN countries to lose their stability and directly threaten the bases of the United States in Southeast Asia; consequently, the United States also conditionally supports the resumption of negotiations with the countries of Indochina by ASEAN.

The strong growth of the three countries of Indochina and the defeats of China and the United States have caused the western countries to want, to one degree or another, to gradually separate themselves from the policy of China in Southeast Asia. The year 1982 witnessed an improvement between these countries and Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea.

However, the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles have not abandoned their hostile policy toward the three countries of Indochina. They are continuing to collaborate with the United States and the ASEAN countries, continuing to wage a multi-faceted war of sabotage against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in even more cunning ways. Denounced by world opinion, they do not dare talk about teaching a second lesson to Vietnam but are continuing to engage in acts of armed provocation along the border between the two countries and are intensifying the psychological war as well as their acts of political and economic sabotage. On the other hand, in foreign affairs, they are making every effort to distort the actual situation and give the impression that China is ready to improve relations with Vietnam, that the only obstacle is "Vietnam's continued occupation of Kampuchea," in order to isolate Vietnam in the world. However, all of these tricks have been

resolutely opposed by our people and the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea and exposed by world opinion.

In the world, the three revolutionary currents of our times have partially defeated the global counter-attack by the imperialist and reactionary powers, are continuing to grow and are constantly on the offensive.

The economic crisis of capitalism, although it has had a negative impact upon the economies of the socialist countries, does show the superiority of the socialist economy. At a time when the capitalist economy is becoming increasingly mired in recession, the socialist economy has continued to develop in a stable, steady manner, although at a slower rate. The socialist countries are continuing to perfect the structure of their national economies and their economic management mechanism, improve their planning, bring their economies into a new stage of development, gradually overcome their difficulties and weaknesses and limit, to the maximum degree possible, the impact of the crisis of the capitalist economy.

Today, with the tremendous economic potential that it possesses, the Soviet Union has been able to set forth a plan for virtually resolving the agricultural production problem, thereby meeting the grain and food needs of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community during this very decade.

By means of intensifying the arms race, the Reagan administration plans to force the Soviet Union to make a choice: either to allow the United States to gain military superiority or increase its national defense expenditures and leave its economic plans unfinished. However, it is clear that this scheme has met with defeat. The economic potentials of the Soviet Union today not only permit it to endure the arms race imposed by the imperialists and maintain the military strategic balance, but also permit the Soviet Union to continue to carry out its plans for building the material bases of communism and improving the material and spiritual lives of its people. As a result, the Soviet Union is always the strong citadel of peace and the dependable base of support of the world revolution.

The combined strength of the socialist community is a factor that has inspired the people and the government of Poland to defeat, by means of their own efforts, the scheme of the reactionaries aided by foreign imperialists to bring about peaceful change in Poland. As a result, Poland has protected the proletarian government, firmly maintained the achievements of socialism and gradually extricated itself from crisis. The plan of the imperialists to use the Polish issue to oppose the Soviet Union and undermine detente in Europe has been dealt a serious defeat.

The counter-attack by the imperialist and reactionary powers and the policy of the imperialist countries of placing the heavy burden of the economic crisis upon the peoples of the developing countries have posed more than a few difficulties to the struggle being waged by the peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. At some places, the movement has been temporarily defeated. Generally speaking, however, the struggle in these regions is very intense and widespread and is characterized by a very high



anti-American spirit. The solidarity between the national independence movement and the forces of revolution and peace has been strengthened.

Of significance is the popular movement in the countries of Central America and the Caribbean. The acts of intervention of the United States have not crushed the fight being waged by the patriotic forces of El Salvador; meanwhile, the struggle by the peoples of Guatemala, Honduras and so forth has continued to develop. Although facing difficulties, Cuba and Nicaragua remain strong; meanwhile, the ranks of the imperialists and the reactionary forces in Latin America have been divided. Many positive events are occurring in Surinam, Bolivia and so forth.

The Malvinas crisis that occurred between April and August of 1982 upset the strategy of the United States in South America. U.S. support of Great Britain against Argentina generated a strong anti-American movement in Latin America and dealt a serious blow to the plan of the United States to form a South Atlantic alliance. The development of the revolution in Latin America shows that the ability of the United States to intervene is limited. The Vietnam lesson has forced the United States to carefully reconsider military intervention against the revolution in Latin America.

In the Middle East, the struggle by the peoples of the Arab countries and the Palestinian Arabs has gone through a very arduous and complex stage. Israeli aggression against Lebanon has been denounced by the people of the entire world and has exacerbated the antagonisms between the Arab nations and the United States and Israel while stimulating the anti-American movement among the Arab peoples. The Arab countries have rejected Reagan's 8-point plan. Conversely, all of these countries welcome, to various degrees, the 6-point proposal made by the Soviet Union concerning the Middle East. The trend among the Arab countries to want to improve relations with the Soviet Union is increasing with each passing day.

In South Africa, the struggle by the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO and the struggle by the people of South Africa under the leadership of ANC are being maintained and developed with the unity and direct assistance of the frontline countries, despite suppression and counter-attacks by the racist South African regime, which has the assistance and encouragement of the U.S. imperialists. The plan of the U.S. imperialists to closely link the granting of independence to Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola has been denounced by progressive public opinion in Africa and the world. Never before has the support of the world for the struggle to abolish the apartheid system and abolish the last stronghold of old style colonialism in South Africa been as strong or as widespread as it is today.

The year 1982 was a year of very important significance to the movement of non-aligned countries. The resolutions of the 6th High Level Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana in 1979 are the most progressive resolutions adopted since the inception of this movement. As a result, the imperialist powers, especially the United States, which is collaborating with China, have, through their representatives within the movement, made every effort to oppose the implementation of the resolutions of the 6th High Level Conference and the role played by the president of Cuba. They have fabricated the Kampuchean and

Afghanistan issues in order to push the non-aligned countries into opposing the Soviet Union and Vietnam and isolate Cuba; they are using the Camp David Agreement to divide the Arab countries and using the Iran-Iraq war to sow divisions within the non-aligned movement. The schemes of the imperialists and the international reactionaries have made the struggle within the non-aligned movement more complex but they cannot reverse the trend of development of the movement. The persistent economic crisis, the defeats of the Reagan administration and the strain in Sino-American collaboration have hastened the defeat of the reactionaries within the movement. Having overcome the sternest of challenges during the past year, the movement has continued to develop and strongly display a spirit of unity against imperialism by adopting many very strong anti-American resolutions. The selection of New Delhi as the site for the 7th High Level Conference in March, 1983, has created favorable conditions for the continued wholesome development of the movement.

The struggle of the working class and laboring people of the imperialist countries has reached a new stage of development. In 1981 and 1982, we witnessed unprecedented strong development by the strike movement in numerous developed capitalist countries. Strikes developed from strikes at individual enterprises into struggles of a comprehensive nature within a production sector, a segment of the economy or a number of countries and spread throughout the world.

The widespread movement to struggle against the threat of war and safeguard peace is intense in western Europe, North America and Japan.

In summary, as a result of the new victories of the three revolutionary currents, the comprehensive defeats of the United States and China and the continuing effort of the western European countries to maintain detente with the Soviet Union, major changes in international relations occurred in 1982, changes in the favor of peace and the relaxation of tensions. At a time when Sino-American relations are encountering more and more difficulties and limitations, both the United States and China are being forced to negotiate with the Soviet Union. The position of strength and initiative of the Soviet Union is better than ever before. The forces of peace and revolution, which have overcome many difficulties and challenges, are strengthening their solidarity with each passing day; at the same time, the internal antagonisms of the imperialists and reactionaries are becoming increasingly sharp. The struggle by the peoples of all countries to prevent war and safeguard world peace faces fine prospects.

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