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TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 849

Hoc TAP, No. 11, 1970



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Complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party published in Hanoi.

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PROTECTION OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY AND CITIZENS' PRIVATE PROPERTY

[Editorial; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 11, November 1970, pp 1-7]

Recently, the national assembly standing committee approved and the president signed orders to promulgate two decrees punishing persons violating socialist property and citizens' private property. This is a new development in socialist law in North Vietnam.

Laws in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam represent the will of the working class and the laboring people in our country, socialist law in North Vietnam is one of the essential means that the working class and our people have used to build and protect socialism in North Vietnam and to struggle against imperialism and other reactionary forms.

The basis of our regime is socialist ownership under the all-people and collective systems. For our working class and people, socialist ownership is sacred and inviolable. To tolerate violations of the socialist property -- the property of the state or of cooperatives -- is to tolerate the sabotage of our socialist regime. Therefore, the struggle to protect the socialist property is one of the basic tasks of our entire party and all our people.

This is consistent with the socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

Socialist property, including the property belonging to the state (that is, to all people) and the property, owned by cooperatives and other legal organizations of the people (that is, collective ownership), is the material base of socialism, the source of wealth and of a life of plenty and happiness of our people, and the source of material strength for our army. Only by satisfactorily protecting socialist property can the economic and military potentials of our country be strengthened, can socialist culture be developed, can our people's living standards be improved, and can our people successfully achieve socialist construction and win complete victory in the resistance against America for national salvation. The protection of the socialist property in the all-people ownership area as well as in the collective ownership area requires that socialist law be strengthened, that new economic financial, civil, and penal laws be enacted, and that measures be taken to insure the strict implementation of these laws.

It is clearly stipulated in Article 40 of our country's constitution that "the public property of the DRV is sacred and inviolable," and that "citizens are duty-bound to respect and protect public property." The more socialist construction in our country is accelerated, the greater the socialist property will be, and the more imperative our duty to protect that property will become. Speaking of the protection of public property, President Ho taught: "Our laboring people have toiled painstakingly in order to contribute toward acquiring public property -- the property of the state and the community. This public property is the material foundation of the socialist regime and the main source for improving our people's livelihood. Everyone has the duty to protect public property. The public property of the state and the community is inviolable. To steal public property is to violate the common interests of the people and to be an enemy of the people. Therefore, resolutely struggling against corruption is the common responsibility of our entire army and all our people."¹

Our people have developed ardent patriotism. Under the party's leadership, our people have heroically fought for the fatherland's independence and freedom and have selflessly labored to build the country. As a result of being educated for a long time by the party, our people have heightened their political enlightenment and are conscious of the responsibility for protecting public property. Nevertheless, North Vietnam is in the first stage of the transition to socialism. All exploiting classes have been basically eliminated but the old exploiting elements have not yet been completely reformed and the remaining old vestiges from the past regime are affecting our present new regime. The aftermath of the U. S. war of destruction left behind a number of negative phenomena in the social field. As a result, in recent years, there have been violations of socialist property and of the principles, policies, systems and regulations of economic and financial management. Thus, strengthening the protection of the socialist property is now one of the most important tasks of our entire party and all our people.

Our state not only protects the property belonging to all people and the community, but also the private property of citizens. Citizens' private property under state protection includes the property acquired by the people through their labor, the property which they have earned legally and through economizing, such as money, food, clothing, houses, domestic animals, vehicles, jewelry, cultural items, and other personal belongings. This shows our state's concern about the legitimate rights of citizens. Under our regime, a citizen is protected by the state in terms of lives and property.

Every violation of a citizen's private property must be promptly discovered and seriously judged. Protection of citizens' private property by the state is aimed at insuring that citizens enjoy the results of their labor. It satisfies the people's earnest aspirations. It creates favorable conditions for the people to participate in building socialism and in the resistance against America for national salvation.

With the spirit of responsibility for the people, our state pays attention to their material and moral life. Our state severely punishes thieves and robbers whose acts cause losses to the people's private property.

State personnel whose activities are directly connected with the people's interests (such as selling goods, distributing agricultural products and goods and so on must accurately count, weigh, and measure the goods and strictly supervise these operations so as to protect the masses' interests.

Each citizen must work actively in order to improve his own living conditions and contribute to the task of building the country. His legal property must be respected and any infringement on this property is a criminal action that is forbidden and punished by the law. The promulgation of the decree punishing infringements upon the citizen's private property contributes to maintaining security and order, setting the citizen's mind at ease, and engaging productive labor. Free from the fear that his property may be harmed, everyone will strengthen solidarity and unity, actively engage in productive labor, and produce more material riches to enrich the country and improve his living conditions.

The promulgation of the decree punishing the infringements upon the socialist property and the decree punishing the infringements upon the citizen's private property reflects the superiority of our regime and the determination of our party and state to construct socialism and undertake the resistance against America for national salvation. These two decrees reflect the will and aspirations of our working class and all our people.

The promulgation of these two decrees is aimed at punishing and preventing any infringement upon the socialist property and citizen's private property, demonstrating the importance of respecting and protecting the socialist property and citizen's private property and the importance of labor, and heightening the cadres' and people's sense of responsibility toward the common property of the state and community and the private property of each citizen.

The implementation of these two decrees will develop the sense of collective ownership among cadres and people and make positive contributions to maintaining security and order, upholding socialist ethics, preserving good morals and customs, and building new men.

The general principle of these two decrees is to severely punish the professional hooligans, organized criminals, ringleaders, those who take advantage of their positions and power to commit crimes, and those who cause serious damages, and to give light sentences to or exonerate those who voluntarily confess their crimes, those who sincerely repent, those who denounce their accomplices, or those who voluntarily indemnify their victims.

All party members, troops, and people warmly welcome these two decrees and will struggle for their strict implementation.

The struggle to protect socialist property is a complex and long revolutionary struggle. It is an integral part of the class struggle during the

transition phase to settle the "who will triumph over whom" dispute between the socialist path and capitalist path. The main targets of this struggle are the professional hooligans and those old exploiters who have been accustomed to living at the expense of other people's sweat and tears and who have refused to repent. These people will do serious harm if they succeed in infiltrating the state machinery. They are the enemies of the socialist regime. Lenin said: "Rich people and thieves are the two sides of a coin. They are the two main parasites nourished by capitalism. They are the main enemies of socialism.

These enemies should be placed under the special control of all the people. They must be severely punished each time they violate the laws and regulations of the socialist society. Any weakness, hesitation, or pity toward them is a monstrous crime against socialism."²

The regressive persons are not the targets of the revolution. However their corrupt actions and their stealing of public property cause serious damages to socialist property, undermine the socialist management system, cause state organs to lose their prestige, and exert a negative influence upon the views and morality of cadres. Thus they must be severely punished.

To carry out their wicked deeds, those who steal public property usually take advantage of the weaknesses of other people who were small and individual producers who have just been become familiar with collective and socialist work methods and consequently have not eliminated their old reactionary views. The development of men's consciousness is always slower than that of the realistic conditions among which they live. Professional hooligans and old exploiters have taken advantage of this consciousness of private property -- which is still lingering in our society -- to steal public property. Thus, the struggle against those who steal public property will succeed only if it is carried out along with a wide realization of the socialist conscience in our society.

In the fierce and long struggle against thieves in order to protect socialist property, administrative measures applied by state organs from top to bottom must be closely linked with the struggle movement of the masses from bottom to top. Lenin said: "Only when workers and peasants participate voluntarily, in a conscious way, and with revolutionary enthusiasm in controlling the rich, thieves, parasites, and hooligans is it possible to eliminate these cursed vestiges of the capitalist society, these dregs of mankind, these very corrupt and rotten elements of the society, and these ills, plagues, and cancers left behind by capitalism."³

The most effective way to struggle against those who steal public property is not purely an administrative measure, but a revolutionary measure of using the compulsory means of the people's democratic state while fulfilling the duties of the dictatorship of the proletariat and mobilizing the masses to actively participate in the struggle. Stalin said: "This measure consists of mobilizing the masses to hate these thieves and boycott them morally. The measure calls for a movement among the workers and farmers creating

an atmosphere in which the acts of thievery cannot exist, making it impossible for the thieves and corrupt elements, whether they operate in a "satisfactory" or "unsatisfactory" method, to exist.⁴

The struggle against thievery to protect socialist property is a fierce revolutionary struggle. The spirit we display during this struggle is the yardstick for measuring our revolutionary enthusiasm and socialist awareness. We can wage this struggle correctly only after heightening our revolutionary awareness and abandoning an indifferent attitude before any act of thievery.

In promulgating the decree punishing all infringements upon socialist property and the decree punishing all infringements upon the citizen's private property, the party and state provide our people with sharp weapons with which we can protect their property, firmly holding these weapons, we are determined to struggle against thieves to protect our common property as well as our private property.

Let us develop our spirit of collective ownership, endeavor to protect our socialist property, and discover and struggle against any infringement upon this property.

Heightening our patriotism and socialist awareness, we are determined to strictly and thoroughly implement the two newly-promulgated decrees in order to protect the socialist property and the citizens' private property, contribute to strengthening our economic and military potentialities, and insure the total victory of socialist construction and the anti-U. S. national salvation resistance.

FOOTNOTES

1. Excerpt from a speech delivered at a conference of top state and party cadres on 24 July 1962, Hoc Tap, No 9, 1962.
2. Lenin, "How to Organize the Emulation Movement," Collected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, Volume 26, page 463.
3. Ibid., page 462.
4. Stalin, "On the Soviet Economic Situation and Party Policies, 13 April 1926," Complete Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964, Volume 8, page 145.

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DECREE ON PUNISHMENT OF INFRINGEMENTS ON SOCIALIST PROPERTY

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 11, November 1970, pp 8-13]

As we announced earlier, on 19, 20, 21, and 22 October 1970, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly held its regular sessions, presided over by National Assembly Standing Committee Chairman Truong Chinh. The Standing Committee of the National Assembly discussed and passed two decrees: The decree on punishment for crimes of infringement on socialist property and the decree on punishment for crimes of infringement on the citizens' private property.

On 23 October 1970, DRV President Ton Duc Thang signed order number 149 LCT promulgating a decree on punishment for crimes of infringement on socialist property and order number 150 LCT promulgating a decree on punishment for crimes of infringement on the citizens' private property.

In our today's topical news broadcast, you will hear the text or order number 149 LCT of the DRV President and the text of the decree on punishment for crimes of infringement on socialist property.

Order of the President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

In accordance with Article 63 of the DRV Constitution and in accordance with the 21 October 1970 resolution of the DRV National Assembly Standing Committee, is hereby promulgated the decree on punishment for crimes of infringement on socialist property.

[Signed] Ton Duc Thang, President of the DRV

Decree on punishment for crimes of infringement on socialist property

In accordance with articles 12, 13, and 40 of the Constitution, of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in order to protect socialist property, to contribute to the strengthening of economic and national defense potentialities;

to safeguard the national culture; to raise the people's living standard, to insure complete victory for the cause of socialist construction and for the resistance against America for national salvation; to develop the sense of collective ownership of the cadres, workers, civil servants, troops, and all other strata of the people; to uphold socialist ethics and the notion of respect for and protection of socialist property; and to mobilize everyone to endeavor to combat any act of infringement on this property, this decree provides for the punishment of crimes of infringement on socialist property.

Chapter 1

General Principles

Article 1: Socialist property includes property belonging to the state (namely belonging to all the people) and property belonging to the cooperatives and other legal organizations of the people (namely belonging to the collectivity).

Article 2: Socialist property is sacred and absolutely inviolable. Everyone is duty-bound to respect and protect it. Any act of infringement on socialist property must be discovered in time and dealt with properly. Any act of harboring criminals is strictly prohibited.

Article 3: The principle of punishment for crimes of infringement on socialist property is as follows: Severe punishment of professional crooks, habitual violators, organized criminals, ringleaders, criminals abusing power and high offices, or criminals whose acts result in serious damage to socialist property; light sentences or acquittal for whoever confesses, sincerely repents, denounces his accomplices, or volunteers to indemnify the damage caused.

Chapter 2

Crimes and Punishments

Article 4: Crime of appropriation of socialist property

1--Whoever appropriates socialist property by violence will be sentenced to from 5 to 15 years imprisonment.

2--Crimes committed under the following circumstances:

- A) In a professional or dangerously recidivist way;
- B) In an organized way;
- C) With weapons or any other dangerous means;
- D) By causing severe injury or death;
- E) By appropriating a great deal of property or by causing other serious consequences; will be sentenced to from 12 to 20 years imprisonment, life imprisonment, or death.

Article 5: Crime of seizure of socialist property

1--Whoever steals socialist property will be sentenced to from 1 to 7 years imprisonment.

2--Crimes committed under the following circumstances:

- A) In a professional or dangerously recidivist way;
- B) In an organized way;
- C) By resorting to violence in order to flee; will be sentenced to from 5 to 15 years imprisonment.

Article 6: Crime of deliberate destruction or damaging of socialist property

1--Whoever deliberately destroys or damages socialist property will be sentenced to from 2 to 10 years imprisonment.

2--Crimes committed under the following circumstances:

- A) Arson or other dangerous acts;
- B) By destroying or damaging a great deal of property or particularly valuable property;
- C) By harming security or national defense;
- D) By endangering the people's lives or health or causing other serious consequences;
- E) For covering up other crimes; will be sentenced to from 7 to 15 years imprisonment.

3--Whoever commits crimes in particularly serious circumstances will be sentenced to from 12 to 20 years imprisonment, life imprisonment, or death.

Article 7: Crimes of theft of socialist property

1--Whoever steals socialist property will be sentenced to from 6 months to 5 years imprisonment.

2--Crimes committed under the following circumstances:

- A) In a professional or dangerously recidivist way;
- B) In an organized way;
- C) With accomplices;
- D) By resorting to perfidious and dangerous acts;
- E) By stealing a great quantity of property or particularly valuable property;
- F) By using stolen property in business enterprise, exploitation, hoarding, or in other criminal enterprises; will be sentenced to from 3 years to 15 years imprisonment.

3--Whoever commits crimes in circumstances whereby the quantity of stolen property is very great or whereby many important details or particularly serious consequences are involved will be sentenced to from 10 to 20 years imprisonment, or death.

Article 8: Crimes of embezzlement of socialist property

1--Whoever uses his position or power to appropriate socialist property will be sentenced to from 6 months to 7 years imprisonment.

2--Crimes committed under the following circumstances:

- A) In a dangerous recidivist way;
- B) In an organized way;
- C) With accomplices;
- D) By resorting to perfidious and dangerous acts;
- E) By embezzling a great quantity of property or particularly valuable property;
- F) By using the embezzled property in business enterprise, exploitation, hoarding, bribery, or in other criminal enterprises; will be sentenced to from 5 to 15 years imprisonment.

3--Whoever commits crimes in circumstances whereby the quantity of embezzled property is very great or whereby many important details or particularly serious consequences are involved will be sentenced to from 12 to 20 years imprisonment, life imprisonment, or death.

Article 9: Crimes of forcible seizure of socialist property

1--Whoever threatens to use force or other means to intimidate those responsible for socialist property with a view to seizing it will be sentenced to from 1 to 7 years imprisonment.

2--Crimes committed under the following circumstances:

- A) In a professional or dangerous recidivist way;
- B) By abusing one's position and power;
- C) By seizing a great quantity of property or particularly valuable property; will be sentenced to from 5 to 15 years imprisonment.

Article 10: Crime of fraud to appropriate socialist property

1--Whoever uses faked and fraudulent documents in distributing, rationing, measuring, counting, calculating, or any other fraudulent means to appropriate socialist property will be sentenced to from 6 months to 5 years imprisonment.

2--Whoever commits crimes under the following circumstances;

- A) In a professional or recidivist way;
- B) In an organized way;
- C) With accomplices;
- D) By assuming or abusing the authority of state organs or enterprises, army units, mass organizations, cooperatives, or by resorting to any other dangerous means.

- E) By appropriating a great quantity of property or particularly valuable property;
- F) By using the property seized in business enterprise, exploitation, hoarding, bribery or in other criminal enterprises; will be sentenced to from 3 to 12 years imprisonment.

3--Whoever commits crimes in circumstances whereby the quantity of appropriated property is very great or whereby many important details or particularly serious consequences are involved will be sentenced from 10 to 20 years imprisonment, life imprisonment, or to death.

Article 11: Crimes of abusing confidence to appropriate socialist property

1--Whoever receives socialist property to keep, transport, process, repair, or to perform any other work and abuses confidence to appropriate, to remove parts of, or to exchange this property will be sentenced to from 6 months to 5 years imprisonment.

2--Whoever commits crimes under the following circumstances:

- A) In a dangerous recidivist way;
- B) In an organized way;
- C) With accomplices;
- D) By resorting to fraudulent and dangerous acts;
- E) By appropriating a great quantity of property or particularly valuable property;
- F) By using appropriated property in business enterprise, exploitation, hoarding, bribery, or in other criminal enterprises; will be sentenced to from 3 to 12 years imprisonment.

3--Whoever commits crimes in circumstances whereby the quantity of appropriated property is very great or whereby many important details or particularly serious consequences are involved will be sentenced to from 10 to 20 years imprisonment.

Article 12: Crime of deliberately infringing on the principles, policy, regime, and regulations on economy and finance, causing damage to socialist property

1--Whoever abuses his function and power to infringe on the principles, policy, regime, and regulations on economy and finance, causing damage to socialist property, will be sentenced to from 6 months to 7 years imprisonment.

2--Whoever commits crimes under the following circumstances:

- A) In an organized way;
- B) With accomplices;
- C) By deliberately helping organizations or individuals to conduct business enterprise, exploitation, hoarding, or other criminal acts;
- D) By resorting to fraudulent and dangerous acts;
- E) By causing serious damage to socialist property or causing other serious consequences; will be sentenced to from 5 to 15 years imprisonment.

3--Whoever commits crimes in circumstances resulting in particularly serious consequences will be sentenced to from 12 to 20 years imprisonment.

Article 13: Crime of infringing on the stamp and bond system used in the repartition of socialist property.

1--Whoever steals, counterfeits, or distributes stamps and bonds in contradiction with the policy, regime, and regulations or perpetrates any other acts infringing on the stamp and bond system, documents, accounts, impairing the plan for the repartition of state goods and material supplies, and seriously affecting the production and livelihood of the people, will be sentenced to from 6 months to 7 years imprisonment.

2--Whoever commits crimes in circumstances resulting in particularly serious consequences will be sentenced to from 5 to 15 years imprisonment.

Article 14: Crime of lack of the sense of responsibility, causing serious damage to socialist property

1--Whoever is directly responsible for the management of socialist property, but for lack of a sense of responsibility, does not carry out or erroneously carries out the principles, policy, regime, or regulations, resulting in the loss, deteriorating, waste, or serious damage of socialist property, will be sentenced to from 6 months to 7 years imprisonment.

2--Whoever commits crimes in circumstances resulting in particularly serious damage will be sentenced to from 5 to 15 years imprisonment.

Article 15: Crime of illegal use of socialist property.

1--Whoever from selfish motives illegally uses socialist property will be sentenced to from 3 months to 3 years imprisonment.

2--Crimes committed under the following circumstances:

- A) In a dangerous recidivist way;
- B) In an organized way;
- C) With accomplices;
- D) With serious consequences, will be sentenced to from 2 to 10 years imprisonment.

Article 16: Crime of illegal holding socialist property

1--Whoever deliberately holds socialist property which has been misdelivered or deliberately keep socialist property which he has found, discovered, or dug up, knowing that it is socialist property but without giving it back to the responsible organ will be sentenced to from 3 months to 3 years imprisonment.

2--Whoever deliberately and illegally hold socialist property that has a special value will be sentenced to from 2 to 7 years imprisonment.

3--Whoever deliberately and illegally keeps socialist property with special value and gives it away or barter it will be sentenced to from 5 to 10 years imprisonment.

Article 17: Crime of harboring or consuming stolen socialist property

1--Whoever is well aware of stolen socialist property but harbors or consumes it will be sentenced to from 6 months to 5 years imprisonment.

2--Crimes committed under the following circumstances:

- A) In a professional or dangerously recidivist way;
- B) In an organized way;
- C) By harboring or consuming socialist property in great quantity or with special value;
- D) Disposes of harbored property in business enterprise, exploitation, hoarding, bribery, or any other criminal acts; will be sentenced to from 3 to 13 years imprisonment.

Article 18: Crime of deliberately causing serious damage to socialist property

1--Whoever inadvertently destroys or impairs socialist property causing great damage, will be sentenced to from 3 months to 3 years imprisonment.

2--Whoever commits crimes resulting in particularly serious consequences will be sentenced to from 2 to 7 years imprisonment.

Article 19: Crime of protecting the infringers on socialist property

1--Whoever knows the existence of crime or infringement on socialist property but abuses his function or power to deliberately hinder the discovery, inquiry, and trial of the infringer will be sentenced to from 3 months to 3 years imprisonment.

2--Whoever commits crimes in circumstances of repressing and retaliating against those who strive for the discovery of crimes and criminals will be sentenced to from 2 to 7 years imprisonment.

Chapter 3

General Provisions

Article 20: Supplementary Punishments

Whoever commits crimes stipulated in Chapter 2, besides the main crimes mentioned in each article, may be given additional punishments as follows:

1--Whoever commits any of the crimes stipulated in article 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, and 19 may be forbidden to assume functions directly concerned with socialist property from 2 to 5 years.

2--Whoever commits any of the crimes stipulated in article 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 17, in circumstances of a professional character, may be subject to control, compulsory domicile, or forbidden to reside in a certain number of areas from 1 to 5 years.

3--Acts committed counter to any of the provisions stipulated in articles 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, and 17, according to the seriousness of the offense or the source of illegal revenue, are punishable by a fine from 50 to 5,000 piasters or by confiscation of part or all of their property.

Article 21: Return and compensation of violated socialist properties

Offenders of socialist properties must return these properties to the state or the collective ownership. If violated properties are lost or damaged, the offender must make compensation for these.

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Offenders of socialist properties must return these properties to the state or the collective ownership. If violated properties are lost or damaged, the offender must make compensation for these.

Article 22: Cases of heavy punishment

Acts committed counter to the provisions of Chapter 2 belonging to one or more of the following cases shall be heavily punished:

1--Causing direct damage to production, the people's life, or the national security and defense.

2--Taking advantage of war conditions, military actions, natural disasters, or other confused situations to commit crime.

3--Falsifying or making deliberate error of the figures of the achievements of economic plans or work plans to conceal offense.

4--Heading a conspiracy of offense or actively participating in it.

5--Commission of the same offense or culprit.

Article 23: Cases of lenient punishment or dismissal of the charge

Acts committed counter to the provisions of Chapter 2 belonging to one or more the following cases shall be leniently punished or dismissed:

1--Before the discovery of the offense, the offender sincerely confesses to the authorities and truthfully reports his activities and those of the accomplices.

2--The offender, prior to discovery, takes measures to prevent or reduce the damaging effects of the offense.

3--Before the trial, the offender voluntarily makes compensation or repairs the damage done.

4--The offense is not serious.

Article 24: Applications of similar principles

1--As regards acts committed against socialist properties which are not yet stipulated in this decree, articles on similar offenses stipulated in this decree shall be applied.

2--Acts committed against other countries' properties within the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the provisions of this decree shall be applied.

Article 25: Enforcement of the decree

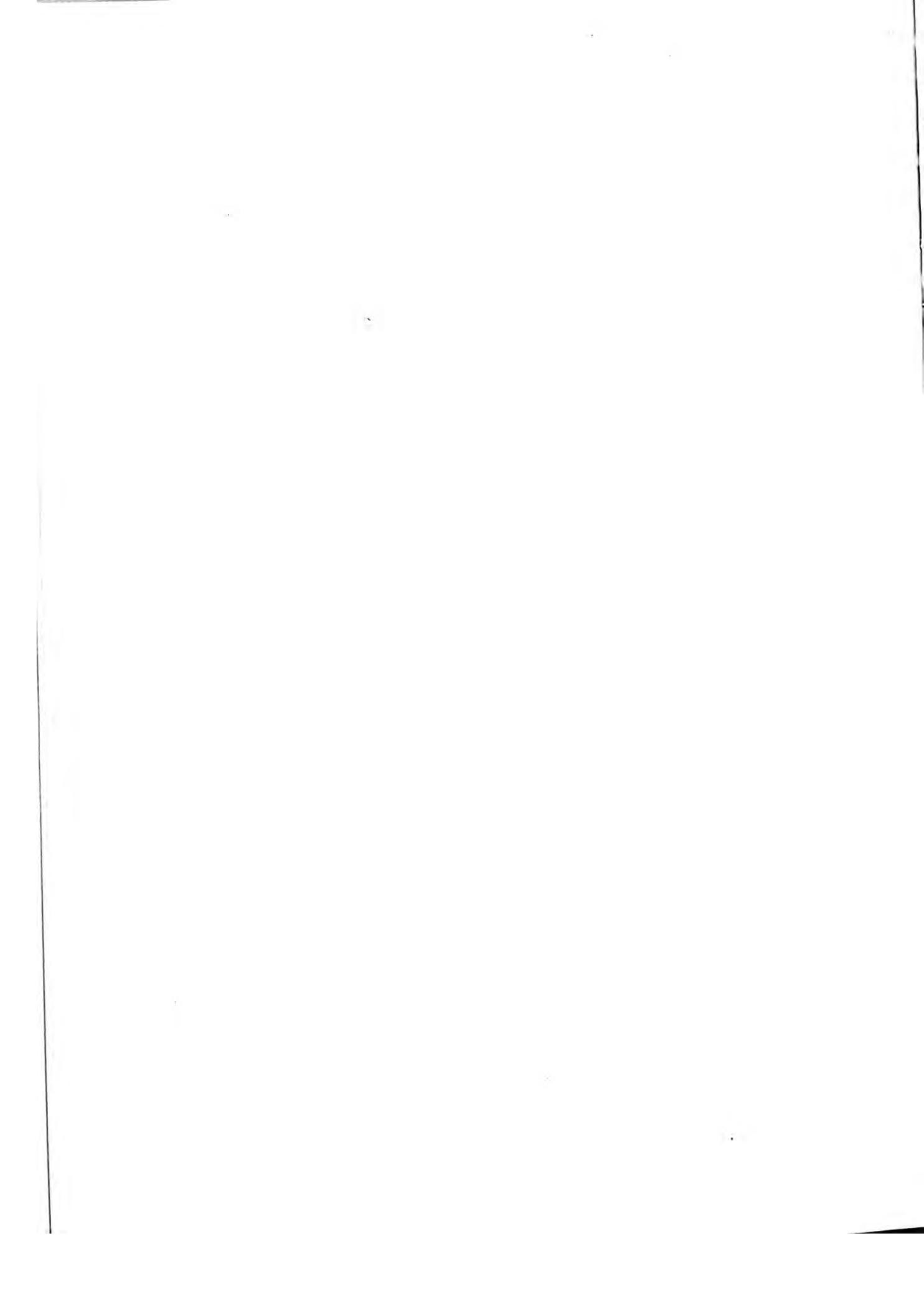
1--Acts committed against socialist properties prior to the promulgation of this decree which are not yet judged, the provisions of this decree shall be applied.

2--Previous provisions contradicting this decree shall be annulled.

This decree was adopted by the Standing Committee of the National Assembly in Hanoi on 21 October 1970.

[Signed] The Standing Committee of the DRV National Assembly, Chairman Truong Chinh

CSO: 3909-W



DECREE ON PUNISHMENT OF INFRINGEMENTS ON CITIZENS PROPERTY

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 11, November 1970, pp 14-18]

Based on Article 18 of the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam:

To defend the citizens' private property, preserve law and order, and create favorable conditions for everybody to take part in socialist construction and in the struggle against U. S. aggression for national salvation.

To uphold socialist ethics and combat acts of infringement on the citizens' property.

The present decree ordains hereunder the punishment of infringements on the citizens' private property.

Chapter One

General Principles

Article 1

Citizens' private property, defended by the state, comprises property acquired by the labor of citizens, property legally acquired or savings such as money, food, clothing, houses, domestic animals, vehicles, jewelry, cultural articles, and other personal belongings.

Any act of infringement on citizens' property must be timely denounced and duly punished.

Article 2

Punishment of infringement on citizens' private property is based on the following principle:

Severe punishment of professional crooks, recidivists, organized criminals, criminals abusing positions and power, or criminals whose acts result in serious damage to the life of their victims:

Mild penalties to or acquittal of those who avow their offences, sincerely repent, denounce their accomplices, or willingly pay for the damage done.

Chapter Two

Offences and Penalties

Article 3

Stealing of Citizens' Private Property

1. Anyone who resorts to violence to take citizens' private property is liable to from 2 to 12 years imprisonment.

2. Anyone who commits the following offences:

A. Robbery of a professional or grave recidivous character;

B. Organized robbery;

C. Robbery committed with weapons or other dangerous means;

D. Robbery accompanied with acts causing serious wounds or death;

E. Robbery of a considerable amount of property or resulting in other serious consequences; will be punished by from 10 to 20 years imprisonment, life imprisonment, or death.

Article 4

Robbing of Citizens' Private Property

1. Is liable to prison terms ranging from 3 months to 3 years anyone who robs citizens' property.

2. Prison terms ranging from 2 to 10 years shall be pronounced for the following cases:

A. Robbing of a professional or grave recidivous character;

B. Organized robbing;

C. Robbing with use of violence to assure flight from the scene.

Article 5

Intentional Destruction or Damaging of Citizens' Private Property

1. Is liable to prison terms ranging from 6 months to 5 years anyone who intentionally destroys or damages citizens' private property.

2. Prison terms ranging from 3 to 12 years shall be pronounced for the following cases:

- A. Arson or use of other dangerous methods;
- B. Offences committed through abuse of position or power;
- C. Offences entailing grave consequences to the life of the victim or other grave consequences;
- D. Offences intended to conceal those of others;
- E. Offences committed to conceal another offense;

3. Prison terms ranging from 10 to 20 years shall be pronounced for particularly serious cases.

Article 6

Theft of Private Property

1. Private property is liable to from 3 months to 3 years imprisonment.

2. Prison terms ranging from 2 to 10 years shall be pronounced for the following cases:

- A. Theft of a professional or grave recidivous character;
- B. Organized theft;
- C. Theft with recourse to cunning, dangerous acts;
- D. Theft that entails serious consequences to the life of the victim or other serious consequences;

3. Prison terms ranging from 7 to 15 years shall be pronounced for particularly serious cases.

Article 7

Forcible Seizure Citizens' Private Property by Use of Threat or Violence

1. Anyone who threatens to use violence or other means of intimidation against any citizen with intent to grab his property will be punished by from 3 months to 3 years imprisonment.

2. Prison terms ranging from 2 to 10 years shall be pronounced for the following cases:

A. Forcible seizure of a professional or grave recidivous character;

B. Forcible seizure of large amounts of property or causing serious consequences.

Article 8

Seizure of Citizens' Private Property Through Abuse of Position or Power

1. Anyone who abuses his function or power to seize citizens' property will be punished by from 6 months to 5 years imprisonment.

2. Prison terms ranging from 3 to 12 years shall be pronounced for the following cases:

A. Organized seizure;

B. Organized taking by cheating;

C. Fraudulent use or abuse of the name of a public service, state enterprise, army unit, mass organization or cooperative or any other cunning, dangerous methods;

D. Cases entailing serious consequences to the life of the victim or other serious consequences;

Article 10

Taking by Fraud

1. Anyone who during commercial transactions, uses fraudulent methods of weighing, measurement, counting or calculation; who does not comply with the price policy of the state; who fraudulently substitutes a merchandise for another; who impairs the quality of the merchandise; or resorts to other methods to grab citizens' private property, is liable to prison terms ranging from 3 months to 3 years.

2. Prison terms ranging from 2 to 10 years shall be pronounced for the following cases:

A. Grave recidivism;

B. Organized grabbing by fraud;

C. Offences entailing serious consequences to the life of the people or other serious consequences.

Article 11

Taking by Abuse of Trust

1. Anyone who, trusted with citizens' private property for custody, transport, processing, repair, or utilization for a set purpose, abuses this confidence to grab such property, partially or totally, or who fraudulently substitutes it by others is liable to from 3 months to 2 years imprisonment.

2. Prison terms ranging from 1 to 7 years shall be pronounced for the following cases:

A. Abuse of the name of a public service, state enterprise, army unit, mass organization or co-operative, or recourse to other cunning, dangerous methods;

B. Offences entailing serious consequences to the life of the victim or other serious consequences.

Article 12

Illegal Detention of Citizens' Property

1. Anyone who intentionally keeps for his own use private property which is delivered them by mistake or which he finds, recuperates or digs up without returning it to the responsible authorities or to the owner is liable to prison terms ranging from 3 months to 2 years.

Article 13

Harbouring or Disposal of Appropriated Private Property

1. Anyone who intentionally harbours or disposes of appropriated private property of citizens is liable to a prison term ranging from 3 months to 3 years.

2. Prison terms ranging from 2 to 10 years shall be pronounced for the following cases:

- A. Offence of a professional or grave recidivous character;
- B. Organized offence;
- C. Harboursing or disposal of a larger amount of property;

Article 14

Serious Damage or Harm Caused to Private Property Through Negligence

1. Anyone who, by negligence, destroys or damages citizens' private property by fire, electricity, inflammable substances, explosives or noxious substances, thus causing serious losses is liable to prison terms ranging from 3 months to 2 years.

2. Prison terms ranging from 1 to 5 years shall be pronounced for particularly serious cases.

Article 15

Harboursing or Protection of Offenders

1. Anyone who, though aware of infringements on citizens' private property, abuses his position or power to intentionally prevent the detection, investigation, and trial of the offenders, or take repressive or retaliatory measures against persons denouncing the offences or the offenders is liable to prison terms ranging from 3 months to 3 years.

Chapter Three

General Provisions

Article 16

Accessory Penalties

1. Those guilty of offences defined in Chapter two, in addition to the main penalties provided for therein, are liable to the following accessory penalties:

2. Anyone who commits one of the offences defined in Articles 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, and 15 shall be banned for a period of from 2 to 5 years from jobs directly related to the management of socialist property.

3. Anyone who commits in a professional way one of the offences defined in Articles 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 13 shall be put under judiciary surveillance, in forced residence or banned from residence in certain localities for a period of 1 to 5 years. - 20 -

4. Anyone who commits one of the offences defined in Articles 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 13, depending on the degree of seriousness of their offences or the value of his illegal possession shall be liable to fines ranging from 50 to 3,000 dong or partial or complete confiscation of property.

Article 17

Restitution and Compensation of Appropriated Citizens' Private Property

Persons guilty of infringements on citizens' private property must return it to its owner. In case the property has been disposed of or damaged, he must pay compensations.

Article 18

Circumstances Entailing Heavy Penalties

Heavy penalties shall be pronounced against persons committing offences defined in chapter two and in one or several of the following circumstances:

1. Taking advantage of the war circumstances or the particular circumstances of war zones or areas struck by natural disasters or other difficulties.
2. Committing offences as ringleader or an active participant.
3. A recidivist or element with a bad record.
4. The offence results in serious damage or losses.

Article 19

Circumstances Allowing Mild Penalties or Acquittal

Mild penalties or acquittal shall be administered to persons committing offences defined in Chapter Two but in one or several of the following circumstances:

1. Having sincerely avowed their offences to the competent authorities or denounced their accomplices before the offences are discovered.
2. The offender takes measures to prevent or reduce the damaging effects of the offense.
3. Having, before being brought to trial, willingly paid for or repaired the damage done.
4. The offence has caused no serious damage.

Article 20

Application by Analogy

1. Regarding other infringements on citizens' private property not yet defined in the present decree, the articles of the present decree related to analogous offences shall be applied.
2. Penalties defined in the present decree shall be applied to offences related to the illegal disposal of citizens' ration cards and tickets used by the state as a means of distribution of goods.
3. Articles of the present decree shall be applied with regard to infringements on property of non-socialist organizations.
4. Articles of the present decree shall be applied to infringements on private property of foreigners.

Article 21

Effect of the Decree

1. Infringement on citizens' private property perpetrated prior to the promulgation of the present decree and not yet tried shall be tried according to the present decree.
2. All previous judiciary provisions not in keeping with the present decree are annulled.

This decree is adopted by the standing committee of the national assembly of the democratic republic of Vietnam on 21 October 1970 in Hanoi.

The Standing Committee of the
National Assembly of the Democratic Republic
of Vietnam

Chairman

[Signed] Truong Chinh

CSO: 3909-W

REVIEW AND STUDY THE DEVELOPMENT OF VIETNAMESE MILITARY SCIENCE TO DEFEAT
THE AMERICAN AGGRESSOR

[Speech by Gen Vo Nguyen Giap ¹ ; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 11,
November 1970, pp 19-37]

Comrades, we are meeting here today to discuss the organization of the implementation of the Central Military Party Committee's resolution on the tasks related to military science. On behalf of the Central Military Party Committee, I warmly welcome you, comrades, who have come from various armed services and branches, from various agencies of the High Command, from the military institutes and schools, from the military zones, from the provinces, and from various battlefields to attend this conference.

As pointed out in the resolution, in the recent past the Central Military Party Committee, as well as the responsible agencies and units, have paid attention to the recapitulation and study tasks and have scored many achievements. Thereby, these agencies and units have positively contributed toward enabling the Party Central Committee to firmly grasp the rules governing the revolutionary war in our country, to exert leadership over the armed struggle, the building of the armed forces, and the consolidation of national defense in such a way that increasingly great successes have been achieved, and, at the same time, to make our military science constantly develop and encompass rich and creative content.

Nevertheless, shortcomings still remain in the recapitulation and study tasks. Many activities have not yet expeditiously and fully met the urgent requirements arising from the performance of combat and construction tasks on the battlefields. We have not yet succeeded in establishing a perfect and unified documentary system which fully reflects the realities emerging from the very inspiring and creative struggle of our armed forces and people. These shortcomings have partially affected efforts to heighten the organizational and command standards and the theoretical knowledge of the cadres at various echelons, and the improvement of the troops' combat strength.

1. Speech delivered at the All-Army Military Science Conference in September 1970.

Therefore, while all our people are persevering in and accelerating the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, the Central Military Party Committee deems it "necessary to further intensify the recapitulation and study tasks in order to directly support leadership over combat and construction in the immediate future and, at the same time, to support the building of the armed forces and the consolidation of national defense in the long run and to contribute toward further enriching the treasure of military theories of Marxism-Leninism.

In this spirit, the Central Military Party Committee has decided to establish a military science organ and a military science council. Recently, the Central Military Party Committee issued a resolution on the tasks related to military science for the years ahead.

These resolutions bespeak the Central Military Party Committee's concern for the tasks related to military science, demonstrate the importance of the tasks related to military science, and at the same time, clearly define our responsibility to endeavor to further accelerate the performance of tasks related to military science in order to meet in time and fully the requirements arising from the situation and the military task of our entire party and of our armed forces and people in the present revolutionary period. The study of military science does not merely involve theoretical, desk discussions, but is aimed at directly supporting combat and the maintenance of combat-readiness. The present struggle to liberate the south raised striking and complicated problems, which must be solved in time in order to frustrate the enemy's new schemes and tricks and to advance toward winning final victory. The present task of protecting the north also has raised new problems, which must be studied in time so that they can serve as a basis for determining the trend of our efforts to intensively build the people's armed forces and to consolidate the all-people's national defense in coordination with economic construction, in order to insure that the northern armed forces and people stand constantly ready to fight and to frustrate all aggressive schemes and acts of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The war has now spread throughout Indochina. This requires an increasingly close combat coordination among the armed forces and people of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. This new situation also has raised new problems for the tasks related to military science.

Therefore, it should not be assumed that we can put off the study of military science until after the anti-U.S. struggle is over. The study of military science is aimed at expeditiously recapitulating the experiences acquired and at finding out the rules governing leadership over the war in order to avoid moving along a circular path and to vigorously advance the war toward victory, instead of compiling volumes of documentary data. We are waging the greatest and most arduous and most resolute war of liberation in our national history. We have the duty to prepare ourselves so that, in case the enemy adventurously unleashes a war of aggression against the north, our armed forces and people can readily defeat and resolutely annihilate him. Before our eyes are the U.S. imperialists, the extremely insidious

and cruel archimperialists. Despite their repeated defeats, they still are very stubborn and crafty. They are concocting, day and night, new schemes and tricks to oppose our people's resistance. They have spent billions of dollars, have set up hundreds of companies and agencies specializing in studying the Vietnam war, have arduously developed their economic and military strength, and have devoted modern science and technology and all psychological warfare tricks to massacring and deceiving our people in the hope of retrieving themselves from the danger of complete defeat. Therefore, it is more necessary than ever before to firmly grasp the laws governing the war, to firmly grasp the enemy's schemes and maneuvers and the laws governing his activities, and to firmly grasp the procedures for and the methods of preparing for and waging our war in order to serve national salvation and national defense. This represents the heavy, yet glorious, responsibility of all of us in performing the tasks related to military science. It is now necessary to intensify the tasks related to military science because the recapitulative and study undertakings will be tested by realities so that they can be constantly supplemented and developed. By gaining this awareness we can clearly see that our policy of intensifying the tasks related to military science is designed to enable us to fulfill our duties most satisfactorily, with the highest efficiency and quality, and on the basis of fully recapitulating past experiences and intensively studying the new problems constantly arising from the actual performance of combat and other tasks.

Therefore, despite the fact that all of us are busy with many tasks, the Central Military Party Committee advocated holding this conference on military science to discuss in time the organization of the implementation of the resolution adopted by the Central Military Party Committee.

The tasks related to military science are not newly-initiated tasks, but they have been carried out for dozens of years. It is reasonable to say that not only the comrade leaders and the specialized agencies, but also all of our comrades, since they joined the army, have been engaged to varying degrees in carrying out the tasks related to military science. However, some comrades have not carried out these tasks in a self-conscious fashion. These comrades are like some people who assume that they would not be able to practice writing literary compositions until after they have attended cultural classes. These people are unaware of the fact that they regularly compose prose in their daily speech and conversations. I cite this example so that we can realize that military science is not something beyond our reach, but is closely associated with the actual performance of our daily combat and other tasks. In the performance of combat and other tasks, we have paid attention, in varying degrees, to drawing experience and finding the laws for determining the direction of our action, despite the fact that some of us might not have used the syntax or might not be able to fully define the syntax. During the past decades, on the basis of firmly grasping the laws governing the revolution, armed uprisings, and revolutionary war in our country, the party Central Committee and President Ho set forth correct political and military lines, leading our armed forces and people

first one victory after another. For many years now, in exerting strategic leadership, in leading various campaigns, as well as in executing command, we have frequently urged each other to firmly and comprehensively grasp our situation and that of the enemy, to find out the rules governing the enemy's activities, and, on the basis of these rules, to determine the pattern of our own actions. While telling me of their combat experiences, the comrade militia girls in Quang Binh also spoke of the "laws" governing the enemy's air operations. They also said that they had analyzed the enemy's strong-points and weakpoints in order to adopt accurate firing patterns. This showed that, in fact, these militia girls also performed the tasks related to military science because the tasks related to military science consist of establishing and correctly applying the laws in order to achieve victories.

In a talk with high-ranking officers, Comrade Le Duan said: "Military science is the science of using power, including moral and material power, to defeat the enemy." He also said: "To build up one's power, one must have a correct political line and a correct military science." He has often reminded us of the necessity of building a Vietnamese military science.

Under our party leadership, we have for a long time carried out the military science task. As a result we have contributed to building a Vietnamese military science with a rich content. However, it is necessary to say that this is the first time that we have held a national conference specializing in the discussion of our military science task. The objective of this conference is to enable us, in the near future, to carry out this task systematically, according to a plan, in a better organizational way, and with a higher consciousness and sense of responsibility. Thus, before the comrade head of the military science organ reads its program of action and its plan on assigning tasks with a view to carrying out the military science task throughout the army, I would like to talk to you comrades about Vietnamese military science.

Part 1 -- Some Features of the Shaping and Development of Proletarian Military Science.

Military Science Is a Branch of Social Science

Science in general is a system of knowledge about nature, society, and thinking and about the laws of the objective development of nature, society, and thinking. This system of knowledge has taken shape throughout history and has continually developed in accordance with social realities.

Speaking of science, we must speak of laws. Laws are the fundamental relationships among events. These relationships create the substance of the forms of evolution and the development of things. Lenin said: "Laws reflect the most essential points of the evolution of the world." Laws reflect the objective and inherent characteristics of things. They are not created by human imagination in a subjective way. So men cannot change

them. Men can study and apply them, but cannot change, reject, or invent them. In other words, if we can keep a firm hold on them, we can apply them in order to promote our interests. If we disregard them, they will disregard us.

The objective of science is to go deeply into complex events in the objective world in order to discover and study the objective laws of the world and, at the same time, to use this knowledge and these laws to guide human activities. Keeping a firm hold on these laws is the foundation of all scientific prediction. Basing ourselves on knowledge of these laws, we can predict the trend and the outcome of the inevitable development of things. We can base ourselves on this prediction to guide our activities along the right trend in order to transform nature or our society.

The laws of our society as well as those of nature survive in an objective way. But one important characteristic of the laws of our society is the fact that their emergence is closely linked with the activities of men, the masses, and the classes. Developed in human society and in a certain historic phase, the laws of society have developed and evolved in accordance with the various phases of society's development.

As a social science, military science is the system of knowledge about the laws governing uprisings and warfare and the methods for preparing for and conducting uprisings and warfare under definite historic circumstances. The laws governing uprisings and warfare make their appearance and operate independently, without being influenced by the will power of human beings. But, just as in the development of society in general, the conscious activities of human beings play an extremely important role in uprisings and warfare. If these activities are based on a certain knowledge and correctly applied objective laws, they will exert a great influence and a decisive effect on the process and the outcome of uprisings and warfare. This reflects the important significance of military science.

Like social science in general, military science is a science of class struggle. This is a science that creates the strength to defeat the class enemy through acts of violence. The mission of military science is to deeply study the complex phenomena and events of uprisings and warfare in order to find out and study their objective laws; using this knowledge and these laws we can determine the methods and aims for preparing for and conducting uprisings and warfare in order to win victories.

Like all other sciences, military science represents one aspect of social consciousness and belongs in the realm of the superstructure. Military science has come into being and has derived its practical basis from uprisings and warfare. It is a process of constantly and ever more deeply understanding the laws governing uprisings and warfare. It has developed in accordance with the development of uprisings and warfare through various social systems.

In the history of development of the society of mankind, the content of military ideology and science has changed in accordance with changes in production formulas, the socio-economic and political systems, and the objectives and nature of warfare.

In ancient times, after society had been broken down into classes, wars became commonplace phenomena. But due to the fact that, at that time, weapons were rudimentary and the organization of armed forces and the forms of war were very simple, military knowledge was poor. Such knowledge was unable to become an independent branch of human knowledge.

Along with the progression from slavery to feudalism and capitalism and the constant development of the production forces and the development of an increasingly more fierce class struggle in the society of those times, military activities became more and more complex, were carried out on an increasingly large scale, and required a specialized military knowledge. Military theories became more and more elaborate and gradually became an independent domain embracing many branches.

During this process, military theories -- which were founded on the concrete realities of uprisings and just struggles, consistent with the laws of social development -- had a progressive content and, to a certain extent, faithfully reflected the objective truth. However, due to the restrictions of historic conditions and of the classes directing warfare, these theories could not be developed fully. They could not correctly explain all the laws of objective development of uprisings and warfare. Thus, they could not become a military science, in the strict sense of the word.

Moreover, these military theories -- founded on the realities of unjust wars -- had a reactionary and unscientific content. Conceived with the aim of serving the interests of reactionary classes which ran counter to the evolution of history, these military theories ignored the laws of the objective development of warfare and grossly distorted the truth.

Such is the present so-called military science of the bourgeois class and of imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, it reflects the idealist and metaphysical viewpoints of bourgeois military thinkers. They deny that there are laws on the development of war or allege that these laws are imperceptible. They view warfare as a period of intricate, accidental actions and exaggerate the individual roles of generals or the role of technological equipment. They study war in an subjective and one-sided manner and seek keys to success on the basis of unchanged military principles. Thus they restrict the content of their military science to purely military problems or they turn their military science into a mere matter of military art.

In the history of the development of society, it was only after the birth of Marxism that a real social science could be created and that a

real military science, the military science of the proletariat, could gradually take shape.

Marx and Engels established the basis for scientific theories on war and armies as well as on military art. According to Marx and Engels, the science of warfare is a product of the social regime. Laws of war and of military art are determined by political, economic, and social conditions that are the starting points for military science.

Exchanging views on the Crimean war, Marx and Engels talked about the "internal laws of war." In many of his military writings, Engels clearly pointed out that these laws are those of armed struggle and that they determine the characteristics and the principles of strategies and tactics, of supplies and equipment of the organizing, training, and educating of troops, and so forth. Engels also dealt with "the laws of strategy." Even in 1851, Engels was predicting that after the success of the proletarian revolution, there would certainly be a new military science, that of the proletariat. "The new military science will be a necessary product of the new social relationships just as the military science of the revolution (French bourgeois revolution) and of Napoleon was the inescapable outcome of the new relationship created by the revolution." ^{1/}

Creatively applying and developing the military views of Marx and Engels in accordance with new historic conditions, Lenin and later Stalin made important contributions to the building and development of proletarian military science. The first typical contributions was to Soviet military science. The preparations for and carrying out of the 1905 and 1917 armed uprisings by the Russian proletariat laid the foundation for the theory and practice of a new military science. Starting from this foundation, the military science of the Soviet state took shape and developed during the founding of the new regime while the war to safeguard the socialist fatherland was developing in the Soviet Union.

The success of the Great Russian Socialist October Revolution, of the civil war and of the struggle against foreign armed intervention, and of the struggle for national defense of the Soviet Union as well as the great success of revolutions in China, Vietnam, and other countries under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties have reflected the superiority of the proletarian military science.

In this process, proletarian military science has been constantly developed on the basis of the increasingly inspiring, practical conditions of the uprisings and wars led by the proletariat in various countries. In addition to Soviet Military science, new China's military science emerged from the experiences gained during decades of protracted, victorious revolutionary war against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism.

1. (Engels: The Capabilities and Prospects of the War of the Holy anti-French alliance in 1852. In: Engels, Lenin, and Stalin on People's War. Su That publishing house, Hanoi, 1970, pp 59-60)

At the same time, our Vietnamese military science also came into existence and has been developed in the new era. This is a proletarian military science which has been built on a practical basis through nearly 30 years of continuous uprisings and victorious war led by the political party of the working class.

In terms of basic theories and methodology, as well as content, the proletariat's military science is a completely new military science, which is qualitatively different from the previous military theories of military science. The proletariat's military science reflects in a truly scientific manner the laws governing the development of uprisings and war during the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution. In this period, there is a distinction between unjust war and just war and a distinction among imperialist wars, civil wars, wars of national liberation, and wars to protect the socialist fatherland.

It should be added that on the basis of the stand, viewpoint, and methods of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian military science does not eliminate, but rather absorbs the essence of achievements accumulated by the former military ideology or military science, proletarian military science uses, further develops, and improves upon the essence of the former military ideology or military science under modern conditions. Marxism-Leninism, in general, and proletarian military science, in particular, never negates the advanced experience of other peoples. Soviet military science carried forward the advanced traditions of Russia's military science. Our country's present military science also inherits the valuable military heritage of our forefathers. This is a necessity and is consonant with the laws governing the development of history, especially regarding a people who like our own people, have a history of and an extremely rich experience in armed struggle, waged for thousands of years, and who have developed a system of military knowledge and outstanding military art.

In the process of formulation and development, proletarian military science also absorbs in a discriminating manner the worthwhile essence of bourgeois military knowledge, adjusts this military knowledge to the nature of the proletariat and, at the same time, resolutely exposes and criticizes the reactionary nature and content of bourgeois military knowledge.

Part 2 -- The Shaping and Developing of Vietnamese Military Science

1. Present day Vietnamese military science is a military science of the proletariat and of Marxism-Leninism applied to the concrete conditions of our country.

As mentioned above, contemporary Vietnamese military science is a military science of the proletariat. Like the military science of fraternal socialist countries, the ideological basis of Vietnamese military science is Marxism-Leninist science and its methodology is dialectic materialism and historical materialism.

However, military science is not something abstract or general but is a concrete product of certain historical circumstances. Our military science is that of the proletariat and of Marxism-Leninism applied to the concrete conditions of Vietnam. It was shaped and has developed on the practical basis of the uprisings and wars which have been waged by our people, under our party's leadership, and in our country during recent decades. Therefore, along with the general laws of armed uprisings and revolutionary wars, our military science reflects the particular laws of armed uprisings and revolutionary wars in Vietnam which have been led by the party of the Vietnamese working class. During recent decades, these uprisings and wars have been essentially national liberation uprisings and wars. This is the continuation of our people's thousands-of-years struggle for national liberation and defense. Therefore, our military science possesses both a class character and a national character that reflect the characteristics of Vietnam and of the Vietnamese people in the modern era.

2. The present day Vietnamese military science is not separated from the nation's generations-old military tradition and heritage.

Since the founding of our country, due to its important position in Southeast Asia, our people have almost unremittingly struggled against aggression. Therefore, the history of our people is that of very glorious uprisings and wars for national liberation and defense. The history of our people is also marked by many revolutionary uprisings and wars by our peasants against internal reactionary, feudal powers.

In this continual process of armed struggle, our people have not only forged a stalwart spirit of militant solidarity but also have accumulated the experience for fighting aggressors which fits the concrete conditions of our country. In spite of certain limitations due to historical conditions, these experiences have been progressively generalized into a systematic knowledge on uprisings and wars and of ways to prepare and wage uprisings and wars, based on the past concrete conditions of our country.

Our forefathers' and fathers' glorious feats-of-arms in their fight against the oppressive and aggressive armed forces that were 10 times more numerous and stronger than them reflects the heroic bearing and outstanding military ability of our nation and people and the boundlessly precious value of the military legacies bequeathed to us by our forefathers and fathers.

For nearly 100 years, now in order to maintain their ruling yoke, imperialism and the lackey feudalist clique have sought by every means possible to stifle our people's gallantry and to obliterate the valuable military traditions and legacies of our nation, but the spirit of these traditions and legacies will live forever with our people and country, because it has deeply penetrated the subconscious of the majority of the masses and all the Vietnamese patriots and only needs an opportunity to be turned into a new strength.

Since its emergence, shouldering the historic mission of struggling for national liberation and class liberation and, since our party has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete circumstances in our country, has inherited and developed the valuable military traditions and legacies of our nation to a new degree and a new quality, and has gradually built and developed the modern military branch of our country with increasingly improved contents, our party has, therefore, led our people's revolutionary undertaking and revolutionary armed struggle to increasingly greater victories.

3. The present Vietnamese military science has taken shape and developed on the basis of the vivid realities of the uprisings and wars that have been conducted by our people under the party's leadership.

Since its emergence, our party has scientifically used Marxism-Leninism to study the laws governing the Vietnamese semifeudal, colonial society and to set forth correct revolutionary lines in order to lead our working class and people to struggle for their liberation. The party pointed out: The revolution in our country must be a people's national, democratic revolution that leads to a socialist revolution, bypassing the phase of capitalist development, and the revolution in our country must clearly indicate that the path of struggle to seize the administration for the people must be the revolutionary path through violence.

During World War II, when the problem of preparing for armed uprisings became the immediate, necessary task of the revolution, our party, headed by the respected and beloved President Ho, paid extreme attention to studying military matters. Applying the military science of Marxism-Leninism to the Vietnamese concrete circumstances through the practical experiences of Soviet-Nghe Tinh and the Bac Son and Nam Ky uprisings, our party has gradually found and correctly applied the laws governing the armed uprisings in our country, which consists of beginning with phased uprisings and the guerrilla warfare in the rural areas and of advancing therefrom, under the domestic and international historic circumstances at that time, toward conducting general uprisings in both the rural areas and the cities, when conditions permitted. Our party, therefore, led the August revolution to brilliant success.

During the resistance against the French imperialists and U.S. interventionists, our party has striven to study and firmly grasp the laws governing the revolutionary war in our country. Our party has, therefore, successfully led a protracted people's war, from guerrilla warfare to gradually advancing toward a conventional war and to closely combining guerrilla warfare with the contentional war in order to win victories.

After the north was completely liberated, our party successfully solved the problem of national defense consolidation, in coordination with economic building, with developing and strengthening the militia and self-defense forces, and with widely arming the masses, along with building the people's army and with turning it into a regular and modern army under the

circumstances in which the north has been advancing toward socialism. We have, on this basis, advanced toward completely defeating the U.S. imperialists' destructive war, while fulfilling the duty of the vast rear toward the vast frontline.

In the south, firmly grasping the laws governing the people's war against various forms of the neocolonialist aggressive war waged by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, our people have, under the NFLSV's leadership, combined to a high degree the armed struggle with the political struggle and the troop-proselyting and enemy-proselyting tasks. Our people have combined the masses' uprisings with the armed forces' coordinated combat throughout the 3 strategic zones. With their extremely creative combat methods, the southern armed forces and people have proceeded from phased uprisings and offensive toward general offensives and concerted uprisings in the early Mau Than spring and are now developing the impetus of continuous and comprehensive offensive in order to advance toward complete victory.

It is on the basis of these vivid realities that the party's military lines have taken shape and developed, thus establishing a base for the building and development of the modern military science in our country. After waging continuous armed struggle for 30 years under leadership of the Party, we have developed an essentially complete understanding of the system of laws concerning uprisings and warfare and the methodology for preparation and initiation of uprisings and warfare in a colonial and semi-feudal country which is large but underpopulated and with an undeveloped economy. We have developed this knowledge in order to defeat old and new forms of colonialism and imperialism and its puppet lackeys.

We must acknowledge that, to date, our military science has been built mainly on the realities of uprisings and national liberation wars. We must continue to develop our military science to a higher level in order to completely defeat U.S. aggression and liberate our country. Simultaneously, we must pay special attention to studying new problems raised by the present task of defending the socialist north and the future task of defending an independent and unified Vietnam. Only by so doing will we be able to further improve the content of our military science, enabling it to satisfy not only the immediate requirements but also the long-range requirements and to serve not only the national salvation task but also the national defense task.

Part 3 -- Characteristics of the Vietnamese Military Science

1. Vietnamese military science is a progressive military science which serves just objectives and the supreme interests of the working class and the people of various nationalities living in our country.

Vietnamese military science has taken shape and developed on the basis of uprisings and wars waged by our people, under party leadership, to achieve national independence, people's democracy, and socialism, to liberate

our nation and working class, and to safeguard our fatherland's independence and not on the basis of wars of foreign aggression. The Vietnamese military science is the science that guides our people in fighting the enemy right on our territory so as to safeguard the interests of our nation and people. As such it can take advantage of favorable weather, terrain, and popular support and develop our people's absolute superiority in the political and moral fields and material power in order to defeat the enemy who enjoys only superiority in the field of military and technical equipment.

The just cause of the uprisings and wars waged by our people under the leadership of our party -- the vanguard body of the Vietnamese working class -- and the objective of serving the task of liberating our nation and working class and defending our socialist fatherland have turned our military science into a progressive military science consistent with the rules governing the objective development of our society and consistent with the truth, into a science in accordance with the true meaning of this word. This is the origin of the power of Vietnamese military science.

Conversely, the so-called military science of today's imperialism is a reactionary military science. In fact, it is antiscientific because it serves the objective of enslaving and invading other countries and is aimed at hindering the development of society. It is based on idealism and metaphysics. It contains many subjective and one-sided views. This is the remote origin of the failure of the imperialists and the bankruptcy of their military science.

2. Vietnamese military science is the military science of a relatively small country which has successively defeated big and powerful imperialist countries.

Vietnamese military science is the military science of a country whose territory is small, whose population is scarce, and whose economy is underdeveloped and which has had to continually resist the oppression and aggression from big countries having much greater economic and military potentialities. It is the military science of a brave, intelligent, staunch, and resourceful people having the glorious traditions of resisting foreign aggressions and using a small army to defeat a bigger one and now having the correct leadership of a genuinely Marxist-Leninist party and of a leader of genius, President Ho.

Under these circumstances, Vietnamese military science has striven to develop our basic strongpoints and overcome our temporary weakpoints, while restricting the temporary strongpoints and aggravating the basic weakpoints of the enemy, in order to creatively settle problems relating to uprisings and war in general, as well as to the application of strategies and to the art of conducting military campaigns and applying military tactics of fighting the enemy, so as to be consistent with the practical conditions in our country.

To settle this problem, how can many relatively small and economically underdeveloped countries defeat the aggression by great imperialist countries with modern industry? Under the favorable conditions of the present era, our military science does not principally rely on the regular military strength and on the material and technical bases in order to provide for a source of strength, but primarily and essentially on the advantageous position of a people who unanimously fight the enemy with courage, heroism, stalwartness, intelligence, and creativeness. From this advantageous position, we can thoroughly exploit all potentialities of our countries, while at the same relying on the potentialities of the socialist camp in order to defeat the common enemy -- aggressive imperialism.

Our military science does not treat lightly the material and technical factors, but it pays great attention to the moral and political factors. Our military science does not treat lightly the problem of quantity, but it attaches great importance to the problem of quality and combat efficiency. Our military science not only pays attention to developing the strength of each force, of each form of struggle, and of each separate combat form, but it also pays great attention to developing the combined strength of all forces and forms of struggle which are closely related to each other. All this is aimed at considerably augmenting the strength of our troops and people in order to defeat those enemies who have greater armies and more modern military equipment than ours, but who are politically weak and whose fighting spirit is low.

3. Vietnamese military science is the military science of a nation which wages an all-out war against the enemy, a science which is developed to an increasingly high degree.

To develop to the highest degree a politically and morally advantageous position and to develop the strength of a people who are enlightened about the purpose and the just cause of uprisings and war in which a small unit -- in terms of military strength and equipment -- is to be used to fight and defeat a larger one, our military science directs not only the pure military struggle, but also the military struggle in close coordination with other struggle aspects: political, economic, cultural, and diplomatic; it directs the armed struggle in coordination with the political struggle and the troop-proselyting task; it coordinates uprisings with war, the uprisings by the masses with the combat activities of the armed forces, and the conventional fighting methods with guerrilla fighting methods on a strategic scale as well as in military campaigns and in attacks.

With regard to the building of forces for staging uprisings and waging a guerrilla war, Vietnamese military science has skilfully coordinated the building of the armed forces with the building of political forces, and has coordinated the arming of the people with the building of the people's army. It has also coordinated the building of the 3 troop categories as a core force for an all-out war against the enemy.

Concerning the building of a prop for staging uprisings and waging war, our military science has skilfully coordinated the building of political bases with the building of base areas and of the rear which rely on the real revolutionary forces in both rural and urban areas with a firm, steady foothold being maintained in the rural areas. It has also coordinated the on-the-spot rear in all places with the common rear of the entire country, and the rear of our country with the vast rear of the socialist camp.

In short, our military science has created an all-people strength to fight the enemy in all respects, everywhere, with all force, with all forms of struggle, and by all means, thus turning our 31 million compatriots into heroic enemy-annihilating, national salvation fighters.

4. On the basis of objective conditions and rules, Vietnamese military science has developed to a high degree the role of man's revolutionary offensive spirit, initiative, and creativeness in armed uprisings and in revolutionary war.

Applying Marxist-Leninism's dialectical materialist and historical materialist methods, our military science holds that uprisings, as well as war, have intrinsic rules, and that the process and the outcome of uprisings and war depend on the objective and subjective conditions of the 2 belligerent sides. To achieve victory, it is necessary to have certain objective conditions. Objective conditions only create possible, and not real, conditions for victory or defeat. Ultimately victory or defeat in a war depends to a large extent on the subjective endeavor of man. This subjective endeavor is reflected in the leadership over and conduct of the war.

In exerting leadership over and conducting a war, man must try to understand the rules and must act in accord with these rules. This does not mean that one can slacken subjective endeavor and let the rules evolve by themselves. On the other hand, it is necessary to take the initiative in applying the rules in order to defeat the enemy in the most advantageous way and with minimum losses. Analyzing the Marxist attitude in analyzing the rules of history, Lenin said: "Marxism is different from all other social theories in that it outstandingly combines the extremely strictly scientific analysis of the objective phenomena of things and the objective process of natural evolution with an unreserved recognition of the importance of revolutionary energy, of revolutionary creativeness, and of the revolutionary initiative of the masses and, naturally, of a number of personalities, groups, organizations, and political parties capable of finding and upholding their relationship with one class or another." 1/

Our war is a revolutionary, just war. Therefore, our military science has adequate conditions for developing to a high degree the role of subjective

1. (Lenin, Complete Works, Volume 13, Russian version, 4th Edition, page 21-22)

endeavor -- that is, the role of the revolutionary energy, initiative, and creativeness of the leaders, the masses of cadres and combatants, and the masses of people in winning victory for the war. In a situation where a small strength is used to defeat a bigger strength, subjective endeavor is of particularly important significance. For this reason, in the revolutionary war, our armed forces and people have not only heightened their courageous, stalwart spirit, but also have arduously developed their activeness, initiative, skillfulness, and creativeness, have constantly trained themselves, and have acquired the ability to control the war situation and to make it develop to our favor. As a result, for decades now, our armed forces and people have succeeded in overcoming the difficulties that seemed insurmountable, have scored unexcelled achievements, and have successively defeated the big imperialists possessing material and technical means tremendously superior to ours.

The strategic offensive concept is a vivid manifestation of the Vietnamese people's revolutionary energy, initiative, and creativeness in the present people's war in our country. Based on the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class and on the indomitability of the Vietnamese people, the strategic offensive concept represents an outstanding characteristic of modern Vietnamese military science.

Deeply imbued with this spirit, our military science has been able to accurately assess the balance of forces between us and the enemy, has constantly developed our strongpoints and our most effective fighting methods has rendered the enemy unable to develop his strongpoints and his most effective fighting methods, has deepened and struck accurately at the enemy's weakpoints, and has annihilated him with all forces at our disposal, through a multisided struggle, with all fighting methods, and with all appropriate means in order to drive him into a situation where he is attacked relentlessly and everywhere, his material resources are annihilated more and more extensively, his morale becomes increasingly low, and he will be ultimately defeated.

Part 4 -- Some Ideas Concerning the Content and Scope of Vietnamese Military Science

As mentioned above, military science is a systematic knowledge of the laws of uprisings and wars and on the methods to prepare and wage uprisings and wars under certain historical circumstances.

There are laws of wars, in general, and laws of revolutionary wars, in particular.

On the one hand, revolutionary armed uprisings and wars in all countries comply with their general laws. On the other hand, revolutionary armed uprisings and wars in each particular country possess the particular characteristics and comply with the particular laws which are determined by the concrete conditions of each country.

Vietnam's military science possesses an extremely rich and original content. What are the questions upon which it focuses? And how to classify them? These are important problems that must be studied in depth and on the basis of realities before they can be resolved. Following are a number of ideas that I advance for common study:

1. The general theory of the party on uprising and war, on armed struggle, on building of the armed forces, and on consolidating national defense is the most important part -- the fundamental part -- of contemporary Vietnamese military science.

Military science is a science that studies uprising and war and, thus, is a product of class struggle in human society. Any uprising or war is waged by this or that class. Therefore, military science possesses a very clear class character. In any country, military science serves the interests of a certain class and originates in the standpoint and the ideology of this class.

The modern day uprisings and war in our country have been led by the party of the Vietnamese working class. Therefore, contemporary Vietnamese military science complies with the party's political lines, which are based on a thorough knowledge of working class viewpoints and ideology. The first objective of its study is the party's military line.

Based on the party's political line, on the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on uprising and war, on the nation's military tradition, on the concrete characteristics of the enemy, of ourselves, of international conditions, and so forth, the military line determines the guidelines, and fundamental principles which govern uprising and war, the building of forces, bases, and the rear, and the methods to carry out war and the military art, in order to fulfill the party's military tasks in the immediate phases of struggles. Because the laws of uprising and war are being constantly developed, the party's military line has constantly developed also.

Vietnam's military science must study the party's general theory on uprising and war, on armed struggle, on building of the armed forces, and on the consolidation of national defense in our country. It must study the theory on the party's leadership over uprising and war, in general, and over the people's armed forces, in particular, and the theory on the party task and political task, and must properly solve every dialectical relationship between the military and the political, between the military and technology, between the military and the economy, between the army and the rear -- that is, the problem of coordinating national defense and the economy -- between armed struggle and political struggle, between the recruiting tasks of our forces and those of the enemy, between revolutionary war and armed uprisings, and between the armed forces and the political forces. Concerning the armed forces, it is necessary to study the theories

on organization, allotment, and equipment, and to determine the positions of and every relationship between the three troop categories, military branches and services, and the aspects of building political, military, material, and technological bases.

2. Military art, a very important part of military science, includes military strategic technology, operational technology, and tactics technology. It studies questions concerning the concrete methods for carrying out military activities in uprising and war.

Due to the all-people and comprehensive character of the revolutionary struggle in our country, our military art is not only a simple art of guiding armed struggle but also is an art to guide the close coordination between armed struggle and political struggle, between revolutionary war and armed uprising, and between military attack and mass uprising, in the strategic as well as the operational and combat aspects.

Military art has important effects upon the success of uprising and war. However, it cannot develop its effects by itself, and cannot be separated from our economic and spiritual forces, from the consideration of the enemy's economic and spiritual forces. Like other segments of military science, it cannot possess proper direction and content or succeed without being fundamentally guided by the proper military line.

3. Military technology which is also part of military science is playing an ever more important role in modern warfare.

It is responsible for the study of the scientific and technical achievements of the national economy and applying them in the military field and for inventing, improving, and using weapons and military equipment in a way suitable to the topographic and climatic conditions and to our situation and to that of the enemy on the battlefield. It is also responsible for studying the trend to modernize our armed forces' equipment -- including fighting, command, and maintenance material -- and for studying the enemy's technical equipment in order to cope with him, to counterattack, and so forth, thus satisfying the requirements of tactics and of the art of conducting military operations and applying military strategies.

4. Our military science must solve a series of other problems such as political tasks, tasks referring to staffing and logistics (including military medical science), military management, military pedagogy, military geography, military terminology, and so forth.

5. Military historical science is also a part of military science. It is responsible for the study of experience on uprisings and wars in the history of our nation and people in order to contribute to building our country's modern military science and teaching its traditions to our people and militarymen.

To build and develop our modern military science in accordance with the above-mentioned fundamentals, we must review all our people's experience on armed struggle and army building and, simultaneously, continue to study new problems raised by the present anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking and the future task of building our armed forces and consolidating our national defense.

Moreover, we must pay special attention to studying the fraternal countries' military science, selecting and studying their progressive experience, and creatively applying this experience to the concrete conditions of our country.

We must also pay attention to studying the military ideology and to the trends in the development of the military art and technology of imperialist countries -- especially the U.S. imperialists -- in order to thoroughly understand the enemy and to serve the building of our own military science.

In short, our military science embraces all problems concerning uprisings and wars, military struggle and armed struggle. Here it is necessary to assert that concerning other struggles such as political struggle, diplomatic struggle, economic struggle, cultural struggle, and so on and other forms of struggle by unarmed masses such as strikes, the closing of markets and schools, meetings, demonstrations all of which we have generally call political struggle in the narrow sense of this expression, our military science only studies them in their relationship to military and armed struggle. It does not carefully study the art and scope of these forms of struggle.

Part 5 -- Points Which We Should Thoroughly Understand in Our Military Science Tasks

1. Thoroughly understand both the Party character and the scientific character of our military science tasks.

As said above, our present military science serves the revolutionary armed struggle of our working class and people under our Party's leadership. Our Party is a Marxist-Leninist Party. Therefore our Vietnamese military science uses scientific Marxism-Leninism as its theoretical foundation and uses dialectical materialism and historical materialism as its reasoning methods.

Our Party has cleverly linked the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete realities of our revolution and confirmed the correctness and creativeness of its political and military lines. That is why it has led our people's revolution and revolutionary armed struggle from success to success. Our military science must reflect these correct military and political lines. It must be imbued with the Party's views and positions.

In carrying out military science tasks, we must constantly follow the Party's habits -- the habits of linking theory with practice, of following the mass lines, and of practicing criticism and self-criticism.

While recapitulating past experience as well as studying the present new problems, we must adopt a search-for-the-truth attitude, absolutely respect objective realities, words indistinct avoid rationalization for the convenience of our subjective desires, look at things in a comprehensive way without paying more attention to one aspect to the detriment of others, and simultaneously determine which aspect is the main one, analyze carefully the specific situation according to historical, developing, and dialectical viewpoints, do not deviate from definite historical conditions when analyzing problems, and recognize the developing tendencies of things without resorting to utilization of outmoded formulas.

Only by so doing can we complete realistic recapitulative and research projects, serve the armed forces' fighting and building tasks, follow and foresee the development of the war.

2. Coordinate the development of collective comprehension by the majority of the masses with intensive study and recapitulation by the leading and specialized organs.

The military science task is an all-army task, a collective work. Our military must be based on a recapitulation of practical experiences and on a development of collective comprehension of the masses -- including officers and soldiers, militarymen and people. This way of doing things alone is consistent with the objective truth and has a rich and creative content because experiences are criteria for measuring the truth, and the masses have many lively experiences.

But who are the most qualified for recapitulating the masses' experiences, carefully studying them, and advancing solutions to new problems created by the realities of combat and tasks? They are first of all leaders of the masses -- party committees and organ heads at all echelons. Party committees and organ heads at all echelons alone can thoroughly understand the intentions, policies, and plans of higher echelons and their own echelons as well as the various aspects of the situation in their own unit or operational theater in order to carefully and comprehensively fulfill their intensive study and recapitulation tasks. Therefore party committees and organ heads at all echelons must devote proper time and energy to recapitulating past experiences and studying the present and future tasks within their sphere of competency, and they should not view only present tasks and devote all their time to fulfilling administrative tasks. Only by so doing can they improve their work and combat efficiency and the quality of their leadership.

However, due to the necessity to comprehensively fulfill their tasks and focus their efforts on fulfilling present and urgent tasks, party committees and organ heads must perform a division of labor. When need exists,

specialized cadres and organs can fulfill these tasks.

The scope of military science is immense, embracing many major and complex problems. No specialized organs can study and solve all these problems. Therefore it is necessary to carry out this study and recapitulation task on a permanent basis and draw up plans for organs, field command posts, military services and branches, military zones, provincial command headquarters, and so forth.

On the other hand, an organ must be set up to help the Central Military Party Committee recapitulate experiences and study general problems. Moreover, it must help the Central Military Party Committee in leading the military science task in the entire army and organizing a distribution of labor, coordination, and an exchange of experiences among the various branches and echelons. These are the duties of the military science organ. To satisfactorily fulfill these duties, the military science organ must be streamlined. The comrade members of the military science organ must endeavor to improve their work efficiency and attain the cooperation and assistance of various organs and units.

3. Coordinate the study of immediate problems with the study of long-term problems.

As said above, the main objective of the present military science task is to directly serve the leadership over combat and the present building task in order to completely defeat U.S. aggression, liberate the south, defend the north, and advance toward national unification.

Thus, it is necessary to closely follow combat and building realities and timely recapitulate the recent experiences in order to disseminate them in the entire army. It is necessary to study in time the problems newly created by the liberation of the south and the defense of the north in order to frustrate the enemy's new plots and tricks, thus contributing to steadily accelerating the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle.

Along with studying immediate problems, we must gradually study the fundamental and long-term problems. Only by so doing can we correctly solve the immediate problems and make good preparations for satisfying the requirements of the armed struggle, the army building task, the consolidation of national defense, and the consolidation of the country.

4. Raise high the spirit of independence in our studies and, at the same time, to select and assimilate the military scientific achievements of our brotherly countries.

The Vietnamese people are highly conscious of the sense of independence, which also applies to the military field. That is why they have long been building a system of unique military formulas. The success of our people's

revolutionary undertaking and revolutionary armed struggle in the past few decades is the success of our party's independent political and military lines.

Through defeating the military science of U.S. imperialism -- the top imperialist whose economic and military potentialities are the biggest in the imperialist camp -- Vietnamese military science has demonstrated its superiority and invincible power. It has made important contributions to the development of the military science of Marxism-Leninism.

We must heighten our national pride and our spirit of independence and self-governing and of daring thinking, acting, and creating things in order to resolutely and deeply study and to strive to develop our national military science.

When upholding our spirit of independence and self-government we must pay extreme attention to assimilating the valuable experiences from the brotherly parties and countries. These experiences, especially those of the USSR and China, are very valuable for us, because they have been gained from the realities of combat in diversified aspects and filled with the glorious achievements of the people and people's armed forces in various countries in their revolutionary struggles against domestic enemies and foreign aggressors and against the common enemy -- the aggressive imperialism and its lackeys. We must strive to adequately base our policies on the concrete characteristics in our country in order to selectively assimilate these experiences and to appropriately and creatively use them, along with combating pure, mechanical imitation.

5. Strengthen the leadership of the party committees and unit commanders of all echelons over the military science task.

The Central Military Party Committee has issued a resolution on the military science task of the entire and armed forces, including the duties of various branches, military zones, army branches, armed services, and so forth.

In order to insure that the Central Military Party Committee's resolution is adequately fulfilled and to step up the military science task so as to enable it to catch up with the requirements of the present revolutionary situation and task, a problem of decisive character consists of strengthening the leadership of the party committees and unit commanders of all echelons over the military science task.

It is necessary to base ourselves on the resolution of the Central Military Party Committee on the military science task of the entire armed forces to concretely affirm the recapitulative and study tasks and plans in our branch and echelon so as to have precise trends for agencies and units to carry out their task.

It is necessary to firmly grasp the main tasks and to fulfill them at all costs within definite periods of time, along with meeting concrete requirements. It is necessary to streamline the present agencies charged with carrying out the recapitulative and study task, to clearly determine their responsibilities and relationships with related organs, and to create conditions for the military science organs to follow the situation and to study necessary materials.

In the long run, it is necessary to have plans to improve the cadres charged with carrying out the military science task in order to meet the ever-growing requirements of the recapitulative and research tasks.

It is necessary to approve in time the recapitulative and research projects in order to develop their influence in time vis-a-vis the armed forces' combat and building tasks.

Dear comrades, I have expressed a number of views on modern military science in our country and various points to be firmly grasped in the military science task. In the history of development of social science, the military science of the proletariat in general, as well as the military science in our country in particular, are still very new. Therefore, there still are many problems that we must continue to study. However, we can assert that, under the leadership of the party and respected and beloved President Ho, our armed forces and people have built a superior military science with brilliant features that reflect the laws governing the armed uprisings and the revolutionary war in our country.

Vietnamese military science is obviously invincible, because it has undergone many challenges in the realities of our people's protracted and fierce struggle against the big and powerful for decades. Our military science has defeated the military science of the U.S. imperialists -- the craftiest and cruelest enemy of mankind. Our military science has completely bankrupted the outmoded ideas of the imperialists concerning the decisive role of their armed forces' strength, their modern equipment and weaponry, their modern air force, and so forth, in the war, and has inflicted shameful defeats on their modern armed forces on the battlefield.

The circumstances of our people's continuous and fierce struggle against one imperialist after another possessing far stronger material and technical bases, especially against the U.S. imperialists -- who possess large economic and military potentialities and who have concocted many wicked and cruel schemes and tricks -- constitute objective conditions that require that the Vietnamese military science develop constantly and be always creative. To date, the Vietnamese military science is, together with the military sciences in brotherly countries, standing in the leading position of the military sciences of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples who are struggling for their liberation.

This conference marks a new step in the military science task of our entire army. I have great hope that you will thoroughly study the resolution

of the Central Military Standing Committee, and will contribute ideas toward establishment of an organization for implementation of the resolution presented by military science agencies. I also hope that, when you return to your agencies and units, there will be concrete and active procedures for fulfillment of individual tasks.

We will strive to struggle in order to further develop the Vietnamese military science, thus enriching its contents further and further and making it acquire an increasingly greater combat strength. To do this means to contribute positively toward stepping up the combat and building task of the people's armed forces, as well as the revolutionary struggle of our entire people, toward winning complete victory in the sacred anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking, while contributing toward serving the national defense undertaking on a permanent basis. This is a heavy and great task which we must be determined to fulfill and will certainly and successfully fulfill.

CSO: 3909-W



PUNISHING VIOLATORS OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY AND CITIZENS' PRIVATE PROPERTY

[Article by Tran Hieu; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 11, November 1970, pp 38-42, 75]

Our Party and state, while paying constant attention to protecting the property of the state and the community and the people's private property, have not stopped struggling against violations of this property, our Party has launched in organs, industrial enterprises, and cooperatives and among the people many campaigns to raise the sense of responsibility and the spirit of practicing thrift and honesty, of protecting public property, and of opposing corruption, waste, and bureaucracy, our state also has promulgated decrees and laws punishing persons who destroy or damage the property of the state, the community, and the people. It has set forth systems and regulations on economic and financial management so as to protect this property.

However, in order to serve more effectively the revolutionary undertaking, to meet the demands of the struggle to protect the socialist property and the people's private property, and to strengthen socialist law. Recently, our state promulgated a decree punishing violations of citizens' private property.

Everyone knows that we are carrying out two strategic tasks -- fighting U.S. aggression for national salvation and building socialism. To fulfill these two heavy tasks, there must be enormous material wealth which must be managed most closely, profitably, and economically, because this wealth is the material and technical basis of socialism and is a source of material and technical basis of socialism and is a source of material strength for our army and our regime. Therefore, closely protecting and managing the socialist property in the northern part of our country is a very important task.

Protection and management of the socialist property is very consistent with the actual situation of our economic and financial management and our state management which require that we overcome the situation wherein

economic and financial policies, systems, and regulations and the socialist property are violated. Many laws and regulations, which the state had previously promulgated to protect the socialist property and citizens' private property, are no longer consistent with the evolution of the violations of the socialist property and citizens' private property, nor can they satisfy the demands for strengthening economic management by the state. Therefore, there must be new laws and regulations to strongly develop the roles of the masses and authoritarian organs in taking precautionary measures against and opposing the infringements of these laws and regulations.

The promulgation of the two new decrees is aimed at strengthening authority vis-a-vis the saboteurs, at protecting and developing the masses' right to collective ownership, especially in the economic field, and at effectively supporting the campaign to strengthen the people's system of collective ownership which is being achieved throughout the rural areas. These decrees reflect the superiority of our regime and the desires and aspirations of our working class and our people in the struggle to protect socialist property, to build the material and technical bases for socialism, to strengthen the economic and national defense potential, to consolidate the great rear base, and to fulfill the duty to the southern compatriots who are defeating the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

The promulgation of the decree punishing the violations of citizens' private property at the same time as the decree punishing the violations of socialist property shows that our Party and state have paid attention to the protection of the citizens' vital, legitimate rights. It contributes to maintaining order and security and provides an opportunity for everyone to participate in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle and in socialist construction.

The newly promulgated decrees are the result of the recapitulation of experiences gained over 15 years in the struggle to protect socialist property and citizens' private property. The provisions stipulated in the decrees are based on the evolutions, tricks, schemes, and dangerous character of the infringements on socialist and private property. The decree punishing persons who commit violations against socialist property clearly outlines two categories of socialist property: the state property (that is the property owned by all people) and the property belonging to cooperatives and other legal popular organizations (that is the property of the community). The socialist property also includes national cultural works and relics. With regard to violations of socialist property, besides direct offenses, the decree outlines four other offenses that are quite common, these are the offensive of intentionally countering principles, policies, systems, and regulations; the lack of a sense of responsibility, which has caused serious losses to socialist property; violations of the stamps and bonds system and the system of allotting semifinished materials; and the offense of tolerating violators of the socialist property. These bad acts have caused considerable losses to the property of the state and the community and have exerted an

adverse effect on many aspects of our economic management. The phenomenon of tolerating offenses has caused difficulties in the implementation of laws and in the mobilization of the masses to struggle against violations of public property.

The entire decree punishing the violations of socialist property is imbued with the fundamental principle that socialist property is sacred and should not be violated by anyone in any case, everyone is duty bound to respect and protect it. Our Party and state are determined to protect it. Anyone who violates it must be discovered in time and punished correctly. This is the fundamental spirit and main content of this decree. The line to follow for punishment of those who violate socialist property is to severely punish the professional hooligans, recidivists, organized criminals, ringleaders, and those who take advantage of their position and power to commit crimes and cause serious damage, because they are dangerous peoples' and to inflict slight punishment upon or acquit those who voluntarily confess their crimes, denounce their accomplices, or voluntarily indemnify their victims. This is aimed at encouraging the culprits to give themselves up to the authorities. Voluntarily indemnify for the lost or damaged property, and denounce their accomplices, on the other hand, punishments are carefully studied and determined according to the severity of each violation.

In addition to resolutely protecting socialist property, our Party and state are concerned with protecting the citizen's private property. This protection is recorded in our constitution.

The newly-promulgated decree punishing the violations of the citizen's private property clearly stipulates that the citizen's private property, which falls under the protection of the state, is composed of the wealth which he has amassed through his labor, which he has legally earned, or which he has accumulated through saving -- such as money, good, clothes, houses, domestic animals, vehicles, jewelry, cultural articles, and other personal belongings. In addition to the crimes similar to those described in the decree punishing the violations of socialist property. This decree also foresees heavy punishments for those who take advantage of their position or power or use deceitful measures to deprive other people of their private property, because these actions exert a bad influence upon our people and cause them to complain.

Our Party's and state's policy toward the violations of the citizen's private property consists of discovering them in time and punishing them correctly. On the one hand, it consists of severely punishing the professional hooligans, recidivists, organized criminals, those who take advantage of their position or power to commit crimes, and those who cause serious consequences to their victims' life. On the other hand, it consists of inflicting slight punishment upon or acquitting those who voluntarily confess their crimes, sincerely repent, denounce their accomplices, or voluntarily indemnify their victims. However, because of the nature

of this property, the punishments are less severe, compared to the punishments foreseen for the violations of the category against socialist property.

These two decrees have not only set forth all the crimes and appropriate punishments in accordance with the present requirements of the revolution, but also demonstrated their accurate, scientific, and flexible character which is imbued with the spirit of resolutely punishing the violations of socialist property and the citizen's property. The punishments cited in the two decrees have reflected the principle of associating severe punishments with clemency and rationality.

It is obvious that these two decrees have fully reflected our Party and government policy and line concerning the struggle to protect socialist property and citizen's private property. At the same time, they have reflected the necessity to disseminate new ethics among our cadres, party members, and people.

To strongly develop their effects, we must broadly disseminate the above two decrees and educate everyone from all branches, echelons, army units, industries, construction sites, state farms, and cooperatives and from all walks of life so that he may be thoroughly imbued with the significance and contents of the decrees. To protect the property of the state and the community and citizens' private property is a duty of the masses of people. The effects of the decrees can be developed only when the majority of the masses hold firmly to and know how to use them correctly.

To strongly develop the masses' role, we must make them raise the spirit of being masters of the community and their responsibility for protecting public property. We must make the masses boldly and unhesitatingly struggle against violators, no matter who they are. President Ho said: "corruption and waste of the property of the state, the community, and the people are acts of stealing and robbery that are hated by everyone and which must be overcome by everyone." "Our people must strive to protect more effectively the property of the state and cooperatives, our people must be educated so that they may understand that the property of the state and cooperatives is their own and that they must strive to see to it that it neither be lost nor damaged." "Everyone is dutybound to take care of public property." 1/

Educated by the Party and President Ho, during the recent fierce war of destruction, despite difficulties and privations, the people in many places still uphold the following slogan that shone with the spirit of honesty: "The poor have their integrity; refuse to accept anything that is offered to us; do not ask for anything from anyone; take care of public property; return lost things to their owners."

1. (Ho Chi Minh: Protect Public Property, Practice Thrift, and Oppose Corruption, Waste, and Bureaucracy; the Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, pp 34, 45, 70-71.)

At present, the Party and the state are launching a campaign to strengthen the system of collective ownership in the rural areas and are paying attention to developing democracy and strengthening management in industrial enterprises. This gives an opportunity to the masses to have a firm hold of and develop the effects of the decrees. Facts prove that socialist property can be satisfactorily protected only when the majority of the masses actually participate in protecting it. In a situation wherein our Party is in power, the role of cadres and Party members in this problem is very important, because many of our cadres and Party members have position and power, are entrusted with the management and use of the property of the state and the community, and have the duty to enforce state plans. Their breaches of laws may produce great adverse effects in many respects, and the higher their positions, the greater the adverse effects will be, not only do their breaches of laws cause serious losses to public property, but they jeopardize the implementation of the Party's lines and policies and of state laws, violate the people's democratic freedoms, and exert a bad influence on the source of strength of our regime, which is the people's confidence in and support for the Party and the state. These infringements of laws are contrary to the revolutionary qualities and ethics, cause internal disunity, and provide an opportunity for bad elements to take advantage of our weaknesses to carry out acts of sabotage.

Thus, along with severely punishing regressive elements in state organs who have caused serious losses to socialist property and have exerted a negative effect in many respects. We must intensively educate cadres and Party members so that they may be conscious of their responsibility for protecting this property and that they may abstain from violating it, no matter whether it is a needle or a thread, we must correctly implement and supervise the correct implementation by others of the Party and state's policies, principles, and systems on the management of public property. This struggle, as President Ho says, "is of two great significances:

"It makes everyone raise the sense of responsibility. The spirit of being masters, and the spirit of protecting public property, and of enthusiastically emulating with each other in increasing production and practicing thrift in order to build the country and improve the people's living standards.

"It helps our cadres and Party members maintain their revolutionary qualities: thrift, honesty, rightness, and impartiality, and wholeheartedly serve the people and the revolution. Thus our people, who are united, become more and more united, and our forces, who are strong and valiant, become ever stronger and more valiant." 2/

2. (Ho Chi Minh: Protect Public Property, Practice Thrift, and Oppose Corruption, Waste, and Bureaucracy; the Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, p 50)

In the recent past, besides a great number of our cadres and party members who have firmly maintained their revolutionary qualities and ethics, who have properly implemented Party and state policies, systems, and regulations, and who have therefore been trusted, loved, and admired by the masses, a small number of cadres and Party members have committed errors and have shortcomings. This is partly due to the fact that the thoughts and qualities of these cadres and Party members have not been adequately developed and improved. Therefore, faced with weaknesses in management and with the appeal of money and goods, vestiges of bad thoughts have come back to them and plunged them into corruption. In view of this, along with educating cadres and Party members to understand Party and state policies, lines, principles, and systems on the management of public property and along with improving their professional and specialized standards, it is necessary to pay great attention to raising their sense of responsibility, their sense of organization and discipline, and their revolutionary qualities and ethics. Particularly with regard to cadres and Party members employed in various branches and units in charge of managing a great quantity of semi-finished materials and goods, besides improving their political qualities, they must train themselves to become honest, righteous, impartial, and thrifty. They must seriously and thoroughly implement Party and state policies, systems, and regulations. In judging cadres and party members who violate state laws, systems, and regulations, it is necessary to avoid the tendency to cover up their offenses out of respect for their positions.

To heighten the effects of the decrees, authoritative organs must also be strengthened. On the one hand, these organs must thoroughly understand the Party's viewpoint on proletarian dictatorship; have a firm hold of the Party's and state's lines, policies, systems, and regulations; closely coordinate actions among themselves and with other economic and financial managerial branches; and carry out these decrees effectively and resolutely. On the other hand, they must rely on the masses and urge them to participate in the struggle.

Another important problem is that we must properly strengthen the control and inspection system, and perfect inspection organizations in various branches in order to promptly discover and correctly judge violations. This task must be carried out continuously. We must control not only the implementation of plans, but also the implementation of the Party's and state's policies, systems, and regulations. In emphasizing the role of control, Lenin said: "If the state does not check and control both the production and distribution of goods, the development of the laboring people and their freedom will be far from being maintained and they will surely submit again to the capitalist yoke. Failure to institute a check and control system will lead to the annihilation of socialist seeds." 3/

3. (Lenin: The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Administration. The Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, pp 29-30)

To satisfactorily carry out the check and control system, it is necessary to insure a positive participation by the masses of people. Along with controls, we must revise and set forth systems of responsibility in all fields of state management, especially in economic management. With regard to managerial cadres, it is necessary to resolutely oppose bureaucracy because it is "the cause for haste and corruption..where bureaucracy exists, waste and corruption surely take place; where bureaucracy is serious, waste and corruption are pernicious." 4/

To insure correct and successful implementation of the decrees, the strengthening of the Party echelons' leadership is very necessary to develop the role of mass organizations, especially the role of trade unions, youth, and women, and to promote a broad movement among the people to severely condemn infringements of decrees.

The promulgation of the decrees punishing persons who violate socialist property and the private property of citizens is very consistent with the demands of the revolution at the present time and is a new development in the struggle to protect this property, with the solicitude and close leadership of Party echelons, with serious implementation by state organs and the majority of the masses of people, and with the skillful use by authoritative organs, these two decrees will certainly and strongly develop, thereby effectively serving socialist construction and the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle.

4. (Ho Chi Ming: Protect Public Property, Practice Thrift, and Oppose Waste, Corruption, and Bureaucracy. The Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, p 47)

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ENGELS: TEACHER OF WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND SCHOLAR

[Article by Le Ngoc; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 11, November 1970, pp 43-52]

One hundred fifty years ago, Friedrich Engels, one of the creators of scientific socialism and fellow combatant and close friend of Karl Marx, was born.

Engels' fame and works rank with the fame and works of Karl Marx. And, like Marx, Engels became a symbol for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism and a symbol of the time when the proletariat class will become the helmsman of history, a time when the suffering people will not have to search for a road to liberation but can serve as a foundation for history.

Friedrich Engels was born on 28 November 1820 in Barmen of Rhenish Prussia, the most developed industrial area in Germany. As a youth, Engels gained fame as an extremely intelligent person with a probing, tireless nature and an ability to speak several languages.

Under the influence of the July 1830 revolution in France, the bourgeoisie revolution in Germany was developing strongly. Differing with the leftist disciples of Hegel who limited the struggle against the aristocracy and the landholders to a form of opposition to religion, Engels used the theory of education and organizing the masses, believing that when the people rise up "the throne will topple" and "the old world will fall."

In the spring of 1841, Engels had to go to Berlin on a military mission. In his leisure time, he studied warfare and took part in philosophical debates. At 22 he published a pamphlet entitled Schelling and Discovery and many other pamphlets tracing the attempts of Schelling to reconcile science with religion and preserving the advances in socialism made by Hegel but disregarded by Schelling. At the same time, he clarified some points in Hegel's philosophy. Schelling, a man with a worldwide

reputation, did not suspect that his worthy rival was an ordinary soldier who concealed his real name and used the pseudonym, F. Otsvan [? Vietnamese phonetics].

On 8 October 1842, having completed his military mission, Engels returned to Barmen. His father forced him to go to England to study business in an effort to remove him from the revolutionary atmosphere that was fermenting. Even though he had to go to Manchester to do a "good-for-nothing" job, this was an advantageous location for his scientific research.

His philosophical research carried him further and further. Participation in the Chartist movement and the search to understand the bourgeoisie society and the extremely difficult lives of the English working class awakened a new world viewpoint in Engels and matured him quickly. The fruits of his research were published in two big works: Critique of Political Economy published in 1844 and showed the beginnings of his genius; and The Conditions of the Working Class in England, published in 1845, one of the brilliant works on the study of world socialism. In these two works, Engels began to build the basic viewpoints of historical materialism. According to Engels, the economic facts that his contemporary economists considered secondary were the "foundations for the building of class opposition at the present time; and this opposition...time after time becomes the basis for the formation of political parties; of the struggles of party factions; and, therefore, of all political history." He discovered some of the developmental laws of capitalism such as the law of periodic economic crisis. And, he showed clearly that the bourgeoisie class "does not stand at the head of historical development"¹ and that the proletariat class in England, a product of the industrial revolution, had "substituted" in the historic position of the capitalist class. Although he had not yet met Marx, Engels had already arrived at many of the same conclusions as Marx. With the aforementioned viewpoints, Engels changed from a democratic revolutionist to a great leader of the proletariat revolution.

At the end of August 1844, on his way back to Germany, Engels stopped in Paris to meet Marx. Previously they had communicated by letter. During 10 days of discussion, Marx and Engels "completely agreed with each other on all theoretical subjects" although they had never met previously. This meeting between Engels and Marx contributed to the awakening of Marx "to decide to study economics and politics, a science including the works of Marx that caused a revolution."² This was the beginning of a struggle friendship "that surpassed the most moving story told of ancient times."³ The cooperation and aid exchanged between these two geniuses resulted in many lasting works. Sacred Family or Criticism of Criticism Which Is Critical in Nature (1845), German Ideology (1845), The Poverty of Philosophy (1847), and The Communist Manifesto (1848) marked the conclusion of the building and completion of the foundation of scientific socialism.

Returning to Germany at a time when the reactionary aristocratic clique, benefitting from an agreement with the capitalist class and the hesitant nature of the petty bourgeoisie class, were again suppressing the revolutionary masses, the two devoted their wholehearted efforts to leading the masses in resistance. Engels guided the uprising and carried a gun into battle with a marked fervor.

If, during the 1840's, Marxism was only one of the many socialist waves, during the 1850's and 1860's scientific socialism became the banner leading the wide revolutionary movement in Europe, especially in Germany. Marxism was further defined in the following works: The Appeal of the Central Executive Committee to the Communist League (1850); Class Struggle in France, 1848-1850 (1850); The Peasant War in Germany (1850); Der Achtzehnte Brumaire de Louis Napoleon Bonaparte [Eighteen Brumaire of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte] (1852); and Revolution and Counterrevolution in Germany (1852). Summarizing the rich experiences gained in the 1848-1849 revolutionary movement, Marx and Engels outlined their views on the following subject: the relationship between the bourgeoisie revolution and the proletariat revolution; unceasing revolutionary thinking; farmers -- the strong and natural ally of the proletariat class; and nationalities, especially the development and specific blending of national theories. A special contribution of Engels was the application of dialectic materialism and historical materialism in the solution of the subject of armed rebellion, a subject that was looked on as an "art." Engels forwarded the principles that "one should never delve into rebellion unless one is determined to go to the very end...when the rebellion has started, actions must be wholeheartedly decisive and transformed into attacks"; that defense is the extinction of every armed rebellion...new victories must be gained every day, even if they are not large ones; that "an advantageous position vis-a-vis morale must be maintained, this position will bring back to us the initial victorious mobility of the rebels...in summary, there must be activities that follow the words of Danton, a great teacher who earlier taught a revolutionary strategy of 'courage, courage, and more courage.'"⁴ Although the aforementioned principles were gained from the rebellions of the time in Frankfurt, the Bavarian Palatinate, Baden, and so on, the principles are still valuable today.

The revolution in southwest Germany was a failure. Marx and Engels left for England where they, especially Marx, encountered many terrible difficulties. If he had not received help from Engels, poverty might have early buried the political and theoretical genius of Marx.

The two lived at some distance from each other for 20 years. However, also because of this prolonged separation, each of them received a rich inheritance of ideas on many subjects, revealed in the 1,386 letters exchanged between the two.

During this period of time, there was a clear division of labor between Marx and Engels. Marx specialized in the study of economics and

politics. In 1867, Volume I of Das Kapital was presented to the world. Das Kapital, the result of a gigantic scientific undertaking over a period of 25 years, is an unprecedented work since the emergence of the bourgeoisie class and the proletariat class. Engels went daily deeper and deeper into the military subject in which he had experience during the fighting in Baden. Engels' military theoretical work mentions the class problem of warfare and the army, the laws of warfare and rebellion, and military scientific history. His military theory is a part of scientific socialism.

Relying on the principles of historic materialism, he explained warfare as only appearing with the birth of a system of private ownership vis-a-vis the means of production and with the division of society into opposing classes. From an inspection of every relationship between politics and economics; between individuals and weapons; and between the masses, classes, and talented individuals in specific conditions of economic forms and economy, Engels formed laws for every social system that has a separate military science. Engels wrote: "Every new military science will be a required work for the new social relationship."⁵ From this position, he believed that any military science reflects a progressive social system that would surely be victorious over a military science joined with an outmoded social system. Because the strength of the military is the result of a combination of better weapons and the change in social position of the combatant, the birth of this important factor originates from the change of the means of production which produces material wealth. In these circumstances it is not the "independent creative genius" of the commander that is decisive. The commander's role "many times is only to use the combat means that is suited to the new weapons and the new combatants."⁶

When the proletariat class is carrying out the new revolution, the new revolution has "the new combat ways and means" and a "new warfare system," which is in truth the "people's war." Compared to this system, Napoleon's system was "outmoded and ineffective." Appraising the strategy of a people's war, Engels wrote, "Systematically wearing down the forces of the enemy, the waves of people's warfare, in time, can gnaw away at and destroy an army that is larger and stronger."⁷ Engels based his opinion on a new strategic viewpoint and on the study and analysis of many wars. Examining the struggle of the Piedmontese, Engels saw that the reason for their defeat was that they used old methods of warfare methods of the bourgeoisie class.

He showed clearly that with regard to the Piedmontese, the road to victory lay in the destruction of the satellite army system in their country and the waging of a true people's war. He wrote, "A people who want to liberate themselves should not limit themselves to ordinary means to carry out the war. Mass uprisings, revolutionary warfare, guerrilla units in every location -- these are the modern methods that a small nation must depend on if they are to be victorious over a larger nation and if a smaller army is to contend against a larger and better organized army."⁸

Engels' innate military thinking was extremely great. He consolidated the experiences gathered during his time. Engels was the foremost military mind of the proletariat class and it was not by accident that Marx always called Engels "the War Ministry of Manchester."

Marx and Engels worried about building up their philosophy and also about guiding the workers' movements in various countries. In nearly 50 years of realistic action, they constantly viewed the struggle to establish the party as a matter of primary importance. In an effort to carry out this work, they had to go up against many opposing viewpoints. While still in England, Engels was opposed to some of the leaders of the Chartist movement who were influenced by Robert Owens who was determined to steer the workers down a road of moderate struggle. The struggle against "real socialism" of Wilhelm Weitling, Karl Grun, and Hermann Krieger/Kritscher [? Vietnamese phonetics] helped many people to gradually abandon the theories of petty-bourgeois thinking and accept Marxism; arrive at the important conclusions that the League of the Just had become the Communist League; and that action is not to the appeal that "all men are brothers" but to the slogan "Proletariat of the world, unite!" Thanks to the activities of the "Communist League," the ideology of socialism made deeper inroads into the masses and created ripe conditions for the birth of the International Workingmen's Association in 1864.

One very important problem that arose was to find a way to unite all the different workers' movements in the various countries. Thanks to the determined struggle and methods of Marx and Engels in opposing the tendencies toward petty-bourgeois practices, the rank-and-file of the association gradually overcame the influence of Proudhonism and Lassalleism especially the German working class that established the Eisenach faction in 1869.

Engels helped Marx carry out many tasks that were outlined before the central congress. He was the Secretary in Belgium, then in Spain. In August 1871, he became Secretary in Italy and, later, in Denmark and Portugal.

On 19 July 1870, the Franco-Prussian War erupted. Engels educated the proletariat class in the special just characteristics and unjust aspects of the war. He called on the German working class to stop the defensive war from becoming a war of theft by Prussia. And, when the nature of the war was changed by Bismarck's demand that Alsace-Lorraine become part of Germany, the working class had to expose the war as a war of theft with regard to France.

When the changes in the war caused contradictions within France causing the 18 March 1871 revolution, Marx and Engels employed all their energies to motivate the world working class to support the French workers, protect the Paris Commune, and praise the brave proletariat of Paris who was "ready to reach the sky." However, the guidance and encouragement

of Marx and Engels was not enough to compensate for the shortcomings of the French working class which did not have a vanguard party.

Engels made important contributions to the struggle against Bakunin's anarchist policies through the publication and dissemination of the rich experiences gained by the Paris Commune. In the preface of The Communist Manifesto written in 1872, Engels pointed out Marx's remark, "The working class cannot simply hold on to the state apparatus that they already have and use them to achieve their goals"⁹ as the most important part of the first principle of Marxism.

After the defeat of the Paris Commune and the dissolution of the First Internationale, the task of leading the worker movements in the various countries did not become easier. Instead, it became harder. In keeping with the division of tasks between the two, Engels assumed responsibility for almost all the work of leading the worker movements in several countries and leading the struggle against the hidden enemy and for publicly proclaiming Marxism so that "Marx could have time to complete his primary work."

Engels paid special attention to leading the German workers' movement. He helped the Eisenach faction correct their errors in politics and theory and he revealed the ill-fated results if the Eisenach faction united "in any regard" with the Lassalle faction. He severely criticized the compromises in theory made by Lassalle such as the acceptance of the "free people's state" concept.

Just as Engels predicted, the unprincipled agreement between the Eisenach faction and the Lassalle faction signed in Gotha seriously increased the opportunistic tendencies within the party, dissenting from the excellent character vis-a-vis theory of the German proletariat class at that time, especially since Bismarck issued a law against socialists. Engels was determined to oppose Milberger [? Vietnamese phonetics], who wanted to transform every member of the proletariat class into a lord of a manor and plot of land, "with an outstanding era in Germany." And, he was determined to oppose the petty bourgeoisie socialism of Eugen Karl Duhring that was poisoning many young party members who were intelligent.

With regard to the proletarian soldiers in France, Engels repeatedly told them that they must quickly overcome the important shortcomings in the revolutionary movement which was the abandonment of the struggle in the cities and in the countryside -- one of the causes for the failure of the Paris Commune. He guided and supported the internal struggle against the viewpoint that denied the class characteristics of the party and viewing the party as an instrument to win ballots in elections.

In England, the establishment of the party encountered many more difficulties than were experienced in France and Germany. Engels showed the English proletarian soldiers the important factors which caused the

absence of a proletariat, although the English workers' movement previously had presented a model political movement to the world. Engels wrote many educational articles for the English proletariat on the necessity to establish a party and on the significance of a political struggle to win political power. He pointed out to them that the struggle to demand increased wages and reduced working hours is necessary but only for those purposes and can never take the position of the "hired slave."

From practical experience gained during the establishment of the proletariat party, Engels early saw that the opportunist tendencies were not accidental but were rooted in economics and in the society. According to Engels, a part of the English worker's class "daily became more and more bourgeois" because England had a bourgeois class that exploited every part of the world. He affirmed the struggle between the revolutionary tendency and opportunist tendency "commensurate with the law of dialectical development, generally speaking" is an essential law of the development of every worker movement. Engels presented a brilliant model for the realization of that principle. During the time of concentrating on the struggle against right-wing opportunist tendencies, Engels did not ignore the "left-wing" opportunist tendencies represented by J. Mott [? Vietnamese phonetics] who refused legitimate struggle when favorable conditions existed. He clearly pointed out that policies of adventure and slogans were ineffective if not appropriate with the overall situation. The natural result of such practices was to lead the party into the traps laid by the enemy.

While refusing no sacrifice in order that the genius of Marx could develop, Engels made valuable contributions in practical activities -- teaching Marxism to the proletariat masses, maintaining the purity of the revolutionary theory, struggling to set up the party, training leadership cadres for the different countries, helping them outline policy, and making decisions on policy and strategy.

While Marx devoted nearly all his time to writing Volume II of Das Kapital and other great works such as Critique of the Gotha Programme, Engels was also writing many works including several scholarly works on philosophy including Discussions on Authority (1872), The Housing Problem (1872-1873), Anti-Duehring (1878), Dialectics of Nature (1873-1883), The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State (1884), and Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy (1888). These works were written with a view toward the struggle against muddled viewpoints, spreading Marxism, secure the achievements of social and natural science, and consolidate and develop the material base of the Marxist world.

In these works, Engels united criticism of the proletariat ideological system with the exhibition of the basic laws and categories of dialectic materialism and historic materialism. He clearly showed the conflict between the laws of dialectics and laws of metaphysics.

The struggle between materialism and idealism had been strong for centuries. Materialism prior to Marx had defeated idealism on one point after another but, because of its limitations, the old materialism could not completely defeat idealism. Along with Marx, Engels studied classic German philosophy and was heir to the progressive, revolutionary, and critical aspects -- disregarding the reactionary aspects -- of Hegel. They abandoned the restricting aspects of Ludwig Feuerbach materialism and built dialectic and historic materialism, perfecting their philosophy to the highest form of materialism. They completely defeated idealism, driving it entirely out of the realm of socialism.

Engels humbly acknowledged that the viewpoints of dialectic and historic materialism "were largely built and developed by Marx." In truth, Engels made important contributions to the creation of a Marxist world. He systematically and profoundly introduced the principles of the Marxist philosophy; timely responded to the theoretical subjects that were the most important within the German Social Democratic Party; and dealt decisive blows to tendencies of pretenders who, like Duehring, at their whim, "created systems." Inspecting and studying the achievements of natural science during the first years of the last half of the 19th Century and searching for his own science -- especially with regard to organizing the Roman, Greek, Celtic, and German clans -- were very important in protecting and consolidating the materialistic base of Marx's philosophy. All the basic laws and categories of the philosophy were studied by Engels in light of the new material of the philosophy. For this reason Marxist materialism was not trial and error but developed a stable base, very different from the materialism of the 18th Century. Mediocre materialism and reactionary thinking such as "physiological" idealism, objectiveness, the thermal death of the universe, the beginning and end of the world, the limits of recognition, and so on, were criticized by Engels in the light of science and the Marxist philosophy. Relying firmly on the principles of philosophy and the documents of biology, physics, chemistry, and comparative anatomy, Engels affirmed that materialism is a concept of material with regard to nature that must be combined with material with regard to history, overcoming a great shortcoming of old materialism.

Engels' explanation of how science in the 19th Century could achieve so many advances in spite of the confusion in ideology did much to bolster the positive role of Marxist philosophy with regard to science. According to Engels, mainly the contradictions between the results achieved in science with metaphysical thinking was the cause of the situation. There was a historical reason for the use of metaphysical methods. Metaphysical thinking had helped 18th Century science systemize accumulated materials. By the middle of the 19th Century, the metaphysical methods had become shackles hampering the development of science and leading scientists to one-sided conclusions, dead ends, and into unsolvable contradictions, leaving many gaping holes for the use of materialism. This truth showed that mechanical materialism not only controlled the development of science,

but showed that it was not strong enough to oppose the advance of materialism. It showed that materialism must be combined with dialectics.

Engels showed natural scientists the road out of their confusion -- the road of accepting dialectic materialism and discarding their prejudice of viewing science as a philosophy. Engels pointed out to them that if they looked down on philosophy they must pay the price and they would be only "half scholars." Engels believed that many truths in the history of the development of thinking would help scientists sooner or later to accept dialectic materialism as one of their weapons of knowledge.

The philosophical works of Engels are models of true science. In them, objective characteristics are joined with party characteristics. They are models of creative individual research.

Along with Marx, Engels carried out a great revolution in philosophy and liberated old materialism from the clutches of metaphysics. He liberated dialectic materialism from the mystics of idealism. He combined the task of explaining this to the world with reforming the world and he transformed the class characteristics and social role of philosophy.

On 14 March 1883, Marx died. Sorrow did not cause Engels to cease his work. He replaced Marx in the leading role of the movement. Engels knew his task. He overcame every difficulty caused by a serious ailment and by advanced age to accept the great task of Marx.

In 1889 when the subject of convening the second Internationale arose, Hyndman commenced activities to assure control for himself. For 3 months Engels ceased all other activities to take part in the struggle with the energies of a young man. Thanks to his work in opposing Lassalle, Lafargue, Liebknecht, and especially the English Democratic-Socialist Alliance, Marxism scored a victory at the Paris Conference, the conference held to establish the Second Internationale.

Engels devoted his energies and talents to compiling and publishing Volumes II and III of Das Kapital which Marx had not completed. This work gained an important position among Engels' accomplishments following the death of Marx. He began the work at 63 years of age and was afraid that he might not have enough time to complete it. When he contracted an illness he became more concerned because he knew that he was the only person alive that could fathom Marx's writings and understand his shorthand system. He had to rely on a secretary to help him in the work. He would read and the secretary would write from 1000 hours until 1700 hours daily.

With a strict scientific discipline, Engels "completely used the viewpoints of an author" to rewrite incomplete sections. He relied on drafts of many new sections for insight and to write footnotes explaining why the sections are incomplete. He worked carefully, energetically, and with great interest. His main source of inspiration was that the work

reminded him of his old friend and the importance of the work of which "every word was like gold."

After nearly 10 years, he completed the unfinished work of Marx. It was a "brilliant and incomparable accomplishment." It should be noted for those who will read Volumes II and III that because of the great contribution made by Engels, they are the combined work of Marx and Engels. In completing Das Kapital, "Engels erected a dignified memorial for his genius friend and on it, unsuspectingly, Engels etched his name beside that of Marx in words that will never fade."¹⁰

As the foremost leader of the proletarian class following the death of Marx, Engels turned his attention to following the lead of the new Internationale. He especially criticized the incorrect viewpoints on the matter of land held by the French Workers' Party at the Nantes Congress and the incorrect viewpoints of Vollmas at the Frankfurt Congress. In 1894, Engels wrote The Peasant Problem in France and Germany criticizing those who wanted to form proletarian party principles without thought of the peasants. He pointed out that when it has gained power, the party will lead the peasants in collectivization, not through force, but through setting an example for them and by helping the society. In circumstances where they are not ready to collectivize, the party must let them think about it on their own land. In order to gain their confidence, he emphasized that "Rightly, in this matter, we have sufficient ways and means to show the small farmer the obvious advantages that lay before them."¹¹

When Bismarck used a strategy of courting instead of force in an effort to destroy socialism, the opportunists were given a chance to win power. Vollmas forwarded the viewpoint that "with regard to good will, let us open our hand; with regard to violence, let us again clench our fist." He blatantly announced that a new society had been born as a result of the "development of progress and peace." In the preface that he wrote for Marx's Civil War in France, Engels defeated this opportunist viewpoint. He encouraged everyone to look to the Paris Commune to see the dictatorship of the proletariat. The preface created conditions for the Erfurt [? Vietnamese phonetics] Principle. Although it had serious shortcomings, it had more progressive characteristics than the Gotha Programme.

In 1895 Engels wrote his last preface. It was for Class Struggle in France, 1848-1850. He studied new combat tactics in the streets and outlined the task for the party during the upcoming period of time as winning the masses, including the peasants, with a view toward preparing forces for future combat.

Toward the end of his life, Engels still had the strength to perform ordinary tasks — reading the newspaper, answering every letter that requested his advice, and receiving visitors from many different countries. Although he was a scholar with credentials in many fields — political, military, economic, philosophy, cultural, mathematics, physics, linguistics,

biology -- and many great works to his credit, he always held himself to be "second to Marx." He requested that everyone that held him in high esteem to raise a tomb for Marx.

On 5 August 1895, Engels succumbed to cancer of the throat. A memorial service was held at Waterloo Station on 10 August. Eighty combatants representing worker classes in many countries came to take part in the service. The body was cremated in Woking, a suburb of London. On 27 August 1895, an urn containing his remains was shipped to Eastbourne, a place he had enjoyed visiting while he was alive, and thrown into the sea in accordance with his will.

Engels devoted his life to the work of the proletariat class. From 1844 on, he was certain that the bourgeoisie class stood on sinking ground and "at any time it could cave in -- a cave-in in the near future is as certain as the laws of mathematics or mechanics."¹² Twenty-two years later his prediction came true. The Russian proletariat class under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and Lenin gained political power over one-sixth of the land mass of the world. After 50 years of difficult struggle following the great victory of the October Revolution, the international proletariat class has spread socialism over one-third of the land mass and, from this base, are continuing the attack against the old world.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, combining Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement, building a strong communist party, educating the proletariat class to unceasingly raise the concept of its historic position, and set strategy and tactics in accordance with the final goal and appropriate to the circumstances at the time and place -- all this is the basis for the great victories which the proletariat class has won in the past 100 years.

The great theory of Marx and Engels daily grows stronger and is guiding a victorious struggle of revolutionary forces throughout the world.

The people of Vietnam, under the leadership of the vanguard of the worker class, has won great victories during the past 40 years. Everyone knows that the basic reason for the victories is that our party is always loyal to the theories of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and combining Marxism-Leninism with the specific realities in our country. The party is always mindful of teaching Marxism-Leninism to the entire party, the army, and the people to develop a sense of independence and realize all the revolutionary characteristics and ingenuity of Marxism-Leninism. The party is very interested in summarizing the rich and varied experiences of the revolution in our country and using them to educate the cadres, party members, and the masses to block the effects of rightist and "leftist" ideologies and to continue to raise the theory and thinking levels within the party.

Thankful to our great mentor, we always study his unchallenged theory and follow him — unyielding to the enemy, loyal to friends, and not shirking any sacrifice to bring victory to the proletariat class.

FOOTNOTES

1. F. Engels, The Conditions of the Working Class in England, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume I, p 217.
2. V. Lenin, Marx-Engels-Marxism, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, p 52.
3. Ibid., p 54.
4. F. Engels, V. Lenin, J. Stalin, Discussions on People's Warfare, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, pp 85, 86.
5. Ibid., p 59.
6. F. Engels, Collected Military Theses, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 44.
7. F. Engels, V. Lenin, J. Stalin, Op. Cit., p 195.
8. Ibid., p 27.
9. K. Marx, F. Engels, Collected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume I, p 828.
10. V. Lenin, Op. Cit., p 54.
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LENIN ON POSTWAR ECONOMIC RESTORATION DURING TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

[Article by Nguyen Ngoc Minh; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 11, November 1970, pp 53-65]

After the October Revolution, Soviet Russia entered the period of transition to socialism. The Russian economy at that time had five components:

1. The peasant economy based on the system of family organization which has one head of family, i.e., the natural economy over a broad area.
2. The small goods economy (for the most part, this type of economy consisted of peasants who sold rice and wheat).
3. The private capitalist economy.
4. The state capitalist economy.
5. The socialist economy.

During this period, the most predominant component was the small goods production component. The socialist economic component had not been significantly developed.

Another significant point is that for several years Soviet Russia had been in a wartime environment: simultaneously combating the armed intervention of 14 foreign countries and fighting counter revolutionaries at home. Thus, the economy was ravaged and disabled and, particularly earlier, it was heavily

influenced by World War I which had been started by the imperialists. In 1920, large industrial production was only one-seventh of the pre-war (1913) level, steel production was only one-twentieth, and agriculture was just over a half. The people suffered from every type of deprivation. After defeating the foreign interventionists and smashing the counter revolutionary elements at home, Soviet Russia, in November 1920, entered a period of peace.

On the third anniversary of the great October Revolution (November 1920), Lenin touched on the matter of economic restoration and on the preparation of a major plan for the development of the national economy in order to build the material and technical base for socialism. At the Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviet Communist Party in December 1920, Lenin reported the aforementioned plans and laid down a famous formula: "Communism is Soviet power plus national electrification."

Given the shortages of every type, the Soviet government, in order to guarantee the needs of the armed forces and of the people and the needs of building industry for socialism, had to implement a system of "wartime communism," the main feature of which was that the state requisitioned and purchased all surplus grain from the farmers. Actually, it did not merely purchase excess grain but also purchased some grain necessary for maintaining the lives of the farmers. Furthermore, it bought at low prices and on credit. The Russian farmers were ready to accept the system of "wartime communism" during the war. However, after the war, the situation was not the same.

In early 1921, a major drought occurred, 34 provinces lost their crops and millions of people were hungry. The farmers were unenthusiastic. Some of the workers were also in the same frame of mind (because of the famine, the factories lacked fuel and had to cease operations). Reactionary elements took advantage of the situation to create additional difficulties.

The economic situation was fairly perilous: production was declining, farmers and workers were unenthusiastic, and all economic activities in the country stopped.

The question was how to restore the economy after the war? How would it be possible to make everyone enthusiastic about production? How would it be possible for economic activities to resume? Where should the start be made? What policies were necessary? How would it be possible to promote the development of the material and technical base of socialism within those conditions of deprivation?

The successes of Soviet Russia and the steering ideas of Lenin not only had significance for Russia but also have value as reference materials for many countries in the world in similar situations.

I. Immediately Restoring Agriculture and Correctly Resolving the Relationship with the Farmer

Lenin understood better than anyone else the role of heavy industry. He taught us:

"There is one and only one true base for increasing wealth, and that is large industry."¹

He also said: "Once again, I must emphasize that the only economic base possible for socialism is large mechanized industry. Anyone who forgets that point is not a communist... Large mechanized industry means nothing other than national electrification."²

Thus, within the policy of restoring the economy after the war, Lenin gave priority to the restoration of agriculture. He wrote:

"The proletarian class, because it is the leading and ruling class, must know how to direct its policies toward the immediate resolution of the most urgent and most 'difficult' problem. The most urgent problem at the present time is to employ the necessary measures for restoring the productive power of the farmers' economy immediately."³

The reason for this is that when agriculture stagnates, the workers do not have food and industry does not have raw materials, so that even if you want to build large industry you are unable to do so.

This was the reality in Soviet Russia in the fall and winter of 1920. At that time, a number of important sectors of large industry in Russia had begun operations and everyone was aware of the special concern of the Soviet government for these industrial sectors. However, all of those sectors had to cease operations. The only reason was the "absence of an adequate reserve of food and fuel."⁴ Lenin drew the following conclusion from this:

"Unless the state has a reserve of 400 million bushels of grain (I am only using general figures) which is distributed properly every month, it will be difficult to talk about the successful development of the economy or to talk about the restoration of large industry."⁵

Thus, in order to restore large industry it is necessary to begin by restoring the productive forces of the farmers. In order to do that, "it is first necessary to use immediate and strict" measures. (Lenin). Those measures are the policy of taxing food.

Why did these measures have the effect of promoting the restoration of the productive forces of the farmers? Why, in so doing, do they have the effect of returning the economy to normal operation?

Earlier, they had implemented the system of "wartime communism." The war and the shortages forced them to requisition and to purchase (actually requisition) all excess grain (actually, an essential part of the grain supply) from the farmers. This was the only possible measure. Clearly, it did not encourage the farmers to enthusiastically produce.

The best method is to organize a normal exchange between the workers and the farmers. Normal exchange means that both sides have goods and exchange them on the basis of price parity. As the farmers produce more and more products, they acquire more and more capability for exchanging them with the workers in return for industrial goods. In order for the workers (whose representative is the state) to purchase many farm products, they must have many industrial goods to sell to the farmers, not only materials of production but also materials of life. Lenin said: "The best and most 'rational' policy is to give to the small farmers all of the products which they can use, which have been supplied by large socialist industry, in return for rice, wheat, and raw materials..."⁶

Without large socialist industry, the state does not have industrial goods to exchange with the farmers and, consequently, the most rational measure is to stipulate quotas that the farmers must meet in order to carry out their duty to the state (here, the contribution of food taxes). The farmers must fully understand this. However, after carrying out that duty, the farmers have the right to freely use and to freely bring for sale (that is at a fair purchase and fair sale price) their excess farm products. This is the only way that the farmers will recognize benefits in production. Also -- Lenin criticized -- "prohibit

and restrain to the end all developments of private, non-state exchange, i.e., commercial exchange, i.e., capitalist exchange... and idiotic and suicidal action for a party."⁷

The basic problem here is that the state must use economic measures in order to resolve the relationship between the state and the farmer, making the farmer realize that the more he produces, the more he benefits society and himself. To put it differently, it is using economic measures in order to guide the farmers to serve society. The most perfect measure is to arrange for normal, non-coersive exchange between the state and the farmers. The food tax policy spells out the duty of the farmer to pay taxes to the state, and stipulates that after the farmer completes that duty, he has the right to freely use his excess farm products in order to exchange them for industrial goods. Not all farmers -- just those who have farm products to sell to the state-- are entitled to purchase industrial goods from the state, and the more they sell, the more they can buy. Thus, both the state and the farmer benefits.

Lenin placed very strong emphasis on the significance of arranging for exchange, rather than merely emphasizing real large final income figures for the state. Lenin affirmed that "all things must be utilized in order to stimulate to the utmost all exchanges between industry and agriculture."⁸ It is necessary to give attention to the use of the exchange measures in order to encourage the farmers, and, thereby, to encourage the return of normal economic activities -- the less that fate is relied upon, the better. Lenin compared two methods of operation: one person earns for the state 75 percent from taxes on food and 75 percent from exchange (a total of 150 percent); one person earns 100 percent from the tax on food and another 55 percent from exchange (a total of 155 percent). Lenin gives a higher appraisal to the method of operation of the first person, considering it to be more advantageous to the economy. Lenin viewed the exchange of goods as the criterion for checking whether the relationship between agriculture and industry was normal.⁹ He urged all economic councils and all economic agencies to devote special attention to the exchange of goods.

In setting forth the exchange policy for farmers on the basis of the aforementioned spirit, Lenin was proceeding from a very basic principle. That is the principle of an alliance between the workers and the farmers. He made a very profound analysis:

"In an environment where the farmers represent the vast majority of the population, the main task of policy in general, and of economic policy in particular, is to build certain rela-

tionships between the working class and the farmers. This is very natural. In modern history, we are the first persons to build a social system which does not have an exploiting class but which does have two different classes: the working class and the farming class. In an environment wherein farmers represent the vast majority, that majority cannot but influence our economic policies and overall policies."¹⁰

The principal content of that policy is to define proper relationships between the workers and farmers. In Soviet Russia, the working class only developed a political and military alliance with the farming class at the time of the revolution and at the time of the war against foreign interventionists and domestic reactionary elements -- in 1921. After that, Lenin said, it is necessary to build an economic alliance with the farming class. The success of socialist construction depends to a very important extent on this alliance.

Each country which is on the path of socialist construction should think profoundly about this lesson concerning the worker-farmer alliance (not only a political and military alliance but also an economic alliance).

The economic aspect of the alliance is reflected primarily and essentially in the relationship of the exchange of goods. Only when this exchange relationship is normalized, will the farmers enthusiastically produce and, because of this, will it be more and more possible to enlarge the exchange, helping to promote the development of production throughout the country.

Normalizing the exchange relationship with the farmers means that the workers must endeavor to produce in order to acquire increasingly more industrial goods to exchange with the farmers. It does not allow the workers to only seek one-way gains from the farmers. By the same token, it does not permit the farmers to only seek one-sided purchases from the state. Therefore, the restoration of normal exchange relationships between industry and agriculture means restoring both agricultural production and industrial production. Industry and agriculture are the two basic production sectors in society. The restoration of these two sectors naturally will have a profound impact on all other economic sectors. The normalization of exchange relationships between these two sectors naturally will positively influence all other exchange relationships within the national economy and, in so doing, will restore the normal operations of economic life.

The successes of Soviet Russia proved that the aforementioned arguments of Lenin are completely correct.

II. Relationships Between Industry and Agriculture, and the Position and Rule of Cottage Industry and Handicrafts

The basic task facing Soviet Russia in 1921 was to restore large-scale production (i.e., large industry) following the war. However, in order to restore large industry, Lenin began by restoring agriculture. Not everyone profoundly understood the dialectical relationship between agriculture and industry, and especially the meaning of beginning by restoring agriculture.

Lenin, and later Stalin, thoroughly analyzed that agriculture does not merely supply food to industry, but also supplies raw materials, manpower, markets, and accumulated capital for industry. The development of agriculture means the creation of a stable base for the development of industry. The development of industry will have a vigorous impact on agriculture, and agriculture will increasingly acquire the capability to better support industry. In this way, industry and agriculture will progress together and goad the development of the entire national economy.

Conversely, failure to operate in this fashion will mean numerous difficulties. The first problem will be the problem of food. If the farmers have to worry about not having enough food for themselves, it will be impossible for them to worry about feeding the workers. If they are worried about not having enough to eat, they cannot worry about raw materials for industry nor worry about goods for export. The most beautiful plans will never get off paper.

Lenin's method of operation pointed out clearly for everyone to see the great position and role of agriculture if we know how to exploit it (particularly in countries where agriculture has great latent capabilities), and opened up an escape route for underdeveloped countries. This is a realistic path of learning how to proceed from the actual conditions in one's own country. It is the path of self-reliance. It is the inevitable law for non-industrial countries which want to become industrialized. Along the way, the people also create from the very beginning a balance between agriculture and industry (something which very many developed countries in the world presently have not achieved, -- ordinarily, agriculture develops slowly compared with industry --, in so doing, influencing the entire national economy).

The two-pronged development -- industrial and agricultural -- does not need to wait for any particular stage of development before it can be achieved. It is all the better to achieve it right from the start -- and step by step thereafter. Thus, a stable position is created for the development of the economy.

Something else which some people do not fully take into account is that, right from this first step, without industrial development, it is possible to impact agriculture, in a way consistent with its capability, in order to promote a relatively rapid agriculture development. Lenin himself pointed out this fact. It is a very practical method of operation, "consistent with the capabilities" of under-developed countries. He wrote:

"Thus, for awhile, it is necessary to assist the restoration of cottage industry, a type of industry which does not require machinery nor large state reserves of raw materials, fuels, and foodstuffs, and it is also possible to immediately assist a part of the farmer economy and even to increase the productive forces of that economy."¹¹

Until there is large-industry for supplying many types of machinery to agriculture, cottage industry and handicrafts are very capable of supplying agriculture with many types of improved implements for working the soil, building water conservancy projects, caring for the crops, harvesting, and so forth, or improved vehicles for reducing burdens and increasing the yields in transportation activities. Also, do not leave out local industry which can supply some small machinery for field work or for processing farm products or for processing feed for the livestock.

Until large-industry is fully capable of supplying chemical fertilizers and insecticides and so forth in large volumes for agriculture, cottage industry and handicrafts can supply agriculture some fertilizer and insecticides and so forth, produced on a small scale and using manufacturing methods which do not require high technical levels.

Cottage industry and handicrafts cannot only supply materials of production but can also supply many types of materials of life for the farmers, helping to meet the life needs of the farmers, and, at the same time, to acquire additional goods for exchanging with the farmers.

Cottage industry not only has the ability to help agriculture but also has the ability to immediately help industry itself. Lenin used fuel as an example: until the Donets Coal Mine was restored and until Soviet Russia was able to meet all

of its requirements for petroleum, the people could rely on fire wood, using fire wood as fuel, thus, as Lenin said, "continuing to rely only on that small type of economy."

With such an appraisal of the position and role of cottage industry, Lenin recommended:

"All the fighters of the party and all workers in the Soviet administrative agencies must make the utmost efforts and devote the utmost attention to creating and developing many additional new ideas in the basic installations: in the provinces, furthermore in the sections, and furthermore in the districts and townships, in order to facilitate economic development, particularly with regard to means for immediately restoring the farmer economy -- even if through 'small' means within a narrow area -- by developing local cottage industries to help it. The only economic plan of the state is to seek to make that task the focus of all of our attention and concern, the focus of 'assault' actions."¹²

Linking these matters to the task of restoring large-industry, Lenin said: "By achieving reforms here, close to the 'foundation' and close to the broadest and most far reaching base, we can, within a short period of time, begin the restoration of large-industry with much more energy and success."¹³

Correctly appraising the position and role of cottage industry and handicrafts, the state must have a series of policies for helping these industries to develop, particularly with regard to supplying raw materials. Lenin said: "The worst evil is to permit raw materials to go unused."¹⁴

III. Highlighting Order and Labor Discipline, and Stepping Up the Drive to Increase Labor Productivity

In a country, which is still heavily influenced by small-scale production, moving ahead to socialist construction and living for many years in a war environment, everyone is accustomed to a free, unstructured, and anarchistic life-style, has an inferior sense of collective ownership, a loose sense of labor discipline, lacks management, and an unscientific method of operation. All of these things lead to a situation of confusion, lack of order, and lack of discipline. Correctly appraising the danger of this situation vis-a-vis socialist construction, Lenin urgently appealed:

"First of all, it is necessary to defeat the disorder, disorganization, and un-restraint because, if the anarchy of small-

scale ownership continues, it will pose the greatest and most fearful danger. That danger (unless we defeat it) definitely will cause us to fail."¹⁵

Everyone must obey discipline, particularly discipline in labor. In order to restore production after the war and in order to move ahead to socialism, there is no other way except formidable work, selfless work. Lenin also emphasized the need to maintain daily labor discipline. "This is the most severe task, but it also produces the greatest results, because, only by completing that task, will we be able to establish the socialist system."¹⁶

If socialist awareness has reached the point where everyone voluntarily executes that discipline, the execution of discipline will be very relaxed and "that control will seem like the delicate command of an orchestra director."¹⁷

However, during the period of transition, the situation is not that way. Remnants of the old social system persist, and not a few people continue to regard labor as a kind of servitude, an unavoidable task. They try to avoid it or they are not aggressive in their work, even though they have "a strong physique and are full of vigor." In the case of these people, it is necessary, on the one hand, to continue to educate and persuade them, and, on the other hand, to use coercive measures when necessary, forcing them to work. If one has the strength to work but refuses to work, one definitely cannot eat. Lenin said: "Anyone who mistakenly thinks that the period of transition from capitalism to socialism can be carried out without coercion and dictatorship, will be guilty of the greatest folly and will reveal extremely illogical illusions. A very long time ago, the theory of Marx opposed in an extremely clear way that kind of hodge-podge argument of petty bourgeois democracy and anarchy-ism."¹⁸

In addition to forcing everyone to work, the state must also have ways to control the intensity of the work, as well as the intensity of consumption. Lenin said:

"From now until the high period of communism appears, socialists demand that society and the state very strictly control the level of labor and the level of consumption."¹⁹

Instances of laxity in labor discipline, of working in a haphazard fashion, or of having labor power but refusing to work, all violate the nature of socialism and must be gradually ended.

A key issue in building socialism, which Lenin often emphasized, is that of increasing labor productivity. He said that socialism is "establishing a social system higher than capitalism, i.e., raising labor productivity, and, for that reason, organizing labor in accordance with a high methodology."²⁰

It is necessary to increase labor productivity in agriculture, in industry, and in all sectors of the national economy. For a backward agricultural country where most of the workers are farmers, it is necessary to increase labor productivity in agriculture in order to be able to liberate manpower for industry, communications and transportation, and other sectors of the national economy, creating a new social division of labor.

The construction of the material and technical base for socialism requires great accumulation. Increased labor productivity is itself an important source of accumulation.

The amelioration of life after the war is an urgent need. To accomplish this, there is no other way than to increase labor productivity.

Socialism means the constant expansion of reproduction. Increased labor productivity is the main way to achieve that goal.

Therefore, it can be said that socialist awareness must be reflected in increased labor productivity. Increased labor productivity, from that standpoint, indicates the level of that awareness.

In order to maintain and consolidate labor discipline and in order to promote an increase in labor productivity, it is necessary to develop ways to make everyone be concerned about his work and about increasing labor productivity.

Lenin said: "Attracting everyone to participate in labor -- that is the most important and most difficult problem of socialism."²¹

In order to achieve that goal, Lenin long ago made it clear that it is necessary to simultaneously devote the utmost attention to political education and to learn how to encourage through individual interests. Lenin taught us to reject the base admonition: "Each person take care of himself and only God is concerned about the overall," and to replace it with the statement: "All for one and one for all." Lenin used the most beautiful words to praise the "communist Saturday," encouraging

us to have the spirit of "working in a revolutionary style." At the same time, Lenin also taught us to learn how to use individual interests as incentives. He said: "The difficulty is in creating an individual interest. It is necessary to make each specialist concerned so that each person will benefit from the development of production."²² "It is necessary to build all important sectors of the national economy on concerns of the individual."²³

Lenin urged the "building of small bridges" to reach socialism, not "by directly relying on the spirit of enthusiasm but, given the spirit of enthusiasm begotten by the great revolution, by using appeals to individual interests and by applying the principle of cost accounting."²⁴ And Lenin affirmed: "Unless you work in this way, you will not move ahead to communism and, unless you work in this way, you will not lead tens and tens of millions of people to communism. Real life has clearly indicated to us that this is so. The objective progress of the revolution has clearly indicated to us that this is so."²⁵

Something very important for a country where the agricultural population represents a very large percentage of the overall population is that when speaking about making workers concerned about production, it is primarily necessary to make the farmers concerned about production and concerned about raising labor productivity. In order to do this, it is necessary to devote special attention to the policies relating to farmers: the policy on the procurement of farm products, and policies on prices, on the organization of labor, and on the correct adaptation of the principle of distributing according to work.

IV. Proper Management of the National Economy

The greatest difficulty for a country with small-scale production during the process of socialism is the lack of familiarity with large-scale production management. The Russian working class, after seizing power and eliminating the system of capitalist exploitation, ran into this difficulty. Lenin advised that the study of management be begun, "beginning with the ABC's" and even learning from the bourgeois class which they had just overthrown. Bourgeois specialists at home and from abroad were retained and invited to come work with the Soviet government, and the Soviet government paid high wages to them.

Imbued with the teachings of Lenin, the working class in countries with small-scale production that are moving ahead to socialism must devote the utmost attention to the study of management. Only in this way, can they gradually manage an economy on a national scale.

Wartime conditions make management increasingly complicated. They cause disruptions and, especially, instability in production.

This situation requires the following several urgent tasks during the period of restoration:

-- Carefully reorganize inventory and control work. Management must begin here. In order to effectively manage, we must at least know what we have on hand and what the needs of the people and the country are in order to be able to develop a plan for satisfying those needs.

Lenin used as a base the nature of the socialist system, the management function of the socialist state, and the goals which that state must achieve, in raising the problem of inventory and control. He said: "If the state does not carry out a broad and vast inventory and control operation over the production and distribution of products, it will not be possible to maintain the power of the workers nor their freedom, and definitely they will have to live again under the yoke of capitalism."²⁶ He also said:

"The socialist state can only come to birth under a system of producer and consumer communes which know how to honestly calculate their own production and consumption, which do not waste manpower, and which constantly increase productivity and, in so doing, gradually reduce the working day to seven, six, or fewer hours. Here, the people cannot forsake having all the people conduct the most rigid and broad inventory and control of rice, wheat, and rice and wheat products, and later, of all other essential products."²⁷

He also urged Soviet Russia, which had not previously carried out inventory and control activities because of the war time situation and backward conditions, to rapidly resolve the problem of inventory and control on a national level after the war ended and after subversion was thwarted.

Lenin enunciated an important principle of management, the principle of cost accounting. However, inventory and control activities are indispensable prerequisites to accounting.

They are also indispensable prerequisites to the establishment of labor norms and to the implementation of a system of rewards for productivity.

-- Stabilize production conditions. In order to normalize the exchange relationship between industry and agriculture, and in order to normalize economic activities, it is necessary to stabilize production conditions. In order to overcome problems of order and compel everyone to obey labor discipline, it is also necessary to stabilize production conditions. The stabilization of production conditions requires an intense organizational effort (the organization of transportation, materials, enterprises, production processes, and so forth), a close and rhythmic coordination, and a high sense of responsibility in all aspects and at all echelons.

The stabilization of production conditions is an urgent requirement after war. Unless this is carried out, it is impossible to restore the economy.

-- The performance of the two tasks mentioned above (inventory and control, and stabilization of production conditions) means creating foundations for systematized, national-level management. A socialist state must fully understand this management function and find measures to best carry it out. Lenin said: "During the initial period of bringing materials of production, which were confiscated from the capitalists, under public ownership, the state administration is no longer a parasitical apparatus on top of the production processes. It begins to become an organization which directly carries out the function of managing the national economy."²⁸ Delineating the differences between the socialist system and the capitalist system, Lenin wrote: "In the capitalist system, the work is the concern of the owners and not of the state agencies. For us, the economy is our common undertaking. This is our first political line."²⁹

Lenin criticized the attitude of resisting state intervention and of resisting inventory and control measures as petty bourgeois, and held that it is the duty of the working class to defeat these petty bourgeois notions.

Lenin said: "The petty bourgeois class resists all state intervention, all inventory measures, all controls, whether they are the product of state capitalism or state socialism."³⁰

He affirmed: "When the working class learns how to maintain state order against the anarchism of the small-scale private ownership class, and learns how to organize production on

a large, national scale, based on state capitalism then -- permit me to use this term -- they will hold all the cards in their hands, and the stability of socialism will be guaranteed."31

Thus, Lenin closely linked the stability of the socialist system to skillful management of large, national-level production.

Based on the nature of the socialist system, Lenin set forth very fundamental principles for economic management from the very first days of the October Revolution.

The management of the socialist economy is the management of a concentrated economy. That concentration first of all must be manifested in the state's development of a plan for unified economic development. This plan is the "second principle of the party." It concretely embodies party lines and programs through the use of goals and paces for the development of the national economy during each period and during each stage of the revolution.

Lenin said: "All plans for each production sector must be compatible and interrelated and form a unified economic plan which we urgently need."32

He also said: "Each locality, each party chapter, and each Soviet agency must, on the basis of that long range, unified plan, operate systematically so that, in a relatively short period of time, we will be able to say specifically where we have gone and how we have gotten there, without covering up the immediate difficulties."33

However, concentration is accompanied by democracy. Lenin wrote: "We advocate the system of democratic centralism. However, it must be clearly understood that the system of democratic centralism is, on the one hand, very different from the system of bureaucratic centralism, and, on the other hand, different from anarchism."34

The whole difficulty is in achieving centralism without bureaucracy, and democracy without anarchism. The realities of economic management in socialist countries during the past 30-odd years have proved that the adaptation of this principle of Lenin is certainly not simple. Some areas have diverged from the principle of centralism and fallen into liberalism and anarchism, rejecting the leadership role of the party and state, lowering the role of centralized planning, and excessively highlighting the role of the markets. Some areas have had

excessive concentration and coercion of subordinates, failing to develop the sense of ownership and the creative and initiatory spirit of basic units and localities.

Another basic principle in economic management is to learn how to correctly adapt economic laws and levers. This principle originates from the Marxist-Leninist concept of human society. Lenin wrote:

"Marx viewed social progress as a natural historical process governed by laws. These laws are not dependent upon the will and neither are they dependent upon the awareness or the aspirations of man. On the contrary, they determine the will, the awareness, and the aspirations of man."³⁵

However, man is completely capable of understanding and consciously adapting these laws to serve the interests of human society. The laws mentioned here include both economic laws and natural laws because economic management is not only management of the relationship between men but also management of the relationships between men and nature. Economic management is management of a material process. Tendencies to ignore laws in economic management or to have blind confidence in this area of "automatic regulation" are anti-scientific and contrary to Marxism-Leninism. Economic management is knowing how to adapt economic levers, particularly during the period of transition. Lenin often emphasized the importance of systems of rewards and wage systems. Imbued with that spirit of Lenin, the 18th All-Union Congress of the Soviet Communist (Bolshevik) Party decided: "It is necessary to destroy at the roots the rotten method of averages in the area of wages, and to make the system of piecework and the system of rewards, with higher levels, become the most important levers for raising labor productivity and, in so doing, developing our entire national economy."

Another management principle which Lenin often emphasized but which is often violated under wartime conditions, is the principle of cost accounting. After war, in order to end disruptions and rapidly stabilize production, it is necessary to rapidly restore the system of cost accounting. The objective of this system is to make enterprises completely responsible for their activities. It encourages people to carefully calculate and to work in a profitable way. This is the only way that we can build socialism. Lenin said: "If, after establishing trusts and enterprises based on cost accounting, we fail to learn how to fully guarantee our interests through business methods and the methods of businessmen, we are merely stupid."³⁶

The foregoing are some principles of economic management which must be properly executed in the spirit of Lenin in order to rapidly normalize economic life, and create a proper style of behavior right from the beginning of the period of transition, providing a springboard for economic development.

V. Rearranging the State Apparatus

As the direct manager of the national economy, the proletarian dictatorial state must be developed into an apparatus fully capable of carrying out its task.

In order to rearrange the state apparatus, Lenin gave us the following priceless teachings:

-- Give the utmost attention to quality, and do not base yourself on quantity. His famous thought on this matter is "Better to have few but good."

Be extremely frugal. The socialist state apparatus is not a parasitical apparatus like that of the capitalist state. It must be an extremely lithe and effective apparatus, but also extremely "inexpensive."

How can the quality of the state apparatus be raised?

-- Through study, study, and more study.

-- By making science really pervade the customs and habits and actually become an integral part of our lives.³⁷

In our time, there are many important issues about socialist construction which people must think about and resolve. The problem discussed in this article -- the restoration of the economy after war within conditions of transition of socialism-- is one example.

Naturally, the circumstances of each country are different, and the political, economic, and social conditions are not the same. Therefore, programs and policies set forth for one country, which have succeeded well in that country, cannot be mechanically copied in another country. Soviet Russia also went through the period of transition to socialism, but the degree of backwardness of Soviet Russia at that time was not the same as the degree of backwardness of many countries in the world at the present time. Each country must resolve its relationship with the farmers but the farmers of Soviet Russia

at that time were individual farmers who had not been cooperativized. Soviet Russia had been through many years of war, but the war and the losses which Soviet Russia had endured were not the same as the war and the losses which many countries in the world at the present time have had to endure and so forth. Therefore, countries which seek to adapt the experiences of Soviet Russia must be very cautious.

However, the important things are not the specific tasks and concrete measures. What is important is how the problem is presented, the basic spirit of the policies, and the nature of the path that is followed and the method of operation. Clearly, in regard to these matters, Lenin's ideas offer illumination for many countries in the world. Life has increasingly illuminated the truth of those ideas and their value as a compass for resolving many problems of the times.

Based on its actual conditions and on the illuminating ideas of Marxism-Leninism, each country can think about the problems which it must resolve and, in so doing, find its own unique and creative solutions. At the same time, through these actions, the countries will further enrich the treasury of Marxist-Leninist theory, give Marxism-Leninism increasing vigor and vitality, and constantly keep it young with the times.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin: Ban Ve Cong Nghiep Nang Va Dien Khi Hoa Ca Nuoc ["Discussion About Heavy Industry and National Electrification"], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 202.

2. Ibid, p 219

3. Lenin: "Discussion About Food Taxes," Tuyen Tap ["Selected Works"], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Vol II, Part II, p 499.

4. Lenin: "Discussion About Heavy Industry and National Electrification," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p204

5. Ibid

6. Lenin: "Discussion About Food Taxes," Tuyen Tap, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Vol. II, Part II, p 502

7. Ibid

8. Lenin: "Discussion About Food Taxes," Tuyen Tap, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Vol. II, Part II, p 512
9. Lenin: "Directive of the Labor and National Defense Council for Local Soviets," Toan Tap ["Complete Works"], French-language Edition, Paris Social Publishing House, Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1962, Vol. 32, p 409
10. Lenin: "Discussion About Heavy Industry and National Electrification," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 196
11. Lenin: "Discussion About Food Taxes," Tuyen Tap, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Vol. II, Part II, p 501
12. Lenin: "Discussion About Food Taxes," Tuyen Tap, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Vol. II, Part II, p 511
13. Ibid
14. Ibid, p 524
15. Ibid, p 490
16. Lenin: "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Tuyen Tap, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Vol. II, Part I, p 433
17. Ibid, p 430
18. Lenin: "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Tuyen Tap, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Vol. II, Part I, p 424
19. Lenin: "The State and Revolution," Tuyen Tap, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Vol. II, Part I, p 259
20. Lenin: "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Tuyen Tap, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Vol. II, Part I, p 417
21. Lenin: "Discussion About Heavy Industry and National Electrification," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 185
22. Lenin: "Report to the Second Congress of Educational Agencies on 19 October 1921," Toan Tap, French-language Edition, Paris Social Publishing House, Moscow Foreign

Language Publishing House, 1963, Book 33, pp 63-64

23. Ibid

24. Lenin: "In Order to Commemorate the Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," Tuyen Tap, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Vol. II, Part II, p 557

25. Ibid

26. Lenin: "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Tuyen Tap, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Vol. II, Part I, p 414

27. Ibid, p 415

28. Lenin: Toan Tap, Russian Language Edition, State Political Publishing House, Moscow, 1958, Book 38, p 442

29. Ibid, 1950, Book 32, pp 406, 407

30. Lenin: Toan Tap, French-language Edition, Paris Social Publishing House, Moscow Foreign Language Publishing House, 1962, Book 32, p 351

31. Ibid, p 354

32. Lenin: Toan Tap, Russian Language Edition, State Political Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, Book 32, p 480

33. Lenin: "Discussion About Heavy Industry and National Electrification," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 118

34. Ibid, p 30

35. Lenin: "Who Are The Friends of the People?," Tuyen Tap, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Vol. I, Part I, p 121

36. Lenin: Toan Tap, Russian Language Edition, State Political Publishing House, Moscow, 1950, Book 35, Vol. I, p 468

37. Lenin: "Better To Have Few But Good," Tuyen Tap, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Vol. II, Part II, p 685

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THE ELECTRICAL INDUSTRY IN THE SOVIET ECONOMY

[Article by Vu Anh; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 11, November 1970, pp 66-71]

Fifty years ago, three years after the great October Socialist Revolution had succeeded, Lenin's plan for the electrification of all Russia was ratified by the Eighth All-Union Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. At that congress, Lenin called that plan the "second principle of the party," and he introduced his famous principle: "Communism is Soviet political power plus national electrification."

This plan anticipated that within a space of ten to 15 years the Soviet Union would build 30 electric power plants with a total capacity of 1.75 million kilowatts. However, in 1935, i.e., 15 years after the implementation of the plan, the total electrical output for the Soviet Union was 4.345 million kilowatts, 2.5 times higher. And by 1970, the total electrical output had risen to 166 million kilowatts, 150 times that of 1913, and electrical output had risen to 740 billion kilowatts per hour, 370 times that of 1913. With brilliant success, the people of the Soviet Union carried out Lenin's teaching on electrification.

In looking back over the process of development of the electrical industry in the Soviet Union, we see several significant facts: in economic plans, the party and state always devoted special attention to the development of the electrical industry, assuring that electricity would be one step ahead of the other sectors of the economy. The state invested capital in the electrical sector at a faster rate than in other sectors, and consequently, the pace of increase in electrical output was

faster than the pace of increase in other sectors. While industrial output in the Soviet Union in 1970 rose to 70 times the 1913 level, electrical capacity rose 150 times and electrical output rose 370 times. The fact that electrical measures were one step ahead was very clearly evidenced in the relationship between the level of increase in electrical equipment for labor and the level of increase in labor productivity. The level of electrical equipment supplied to labor is one element determining increased labor productivity. During the first years of implementation of socialist industrialization, it was necessary to increase the level of electrical equipment supplied to labor by two or three in order to achieve an increase in industrial labor productivity of one. Comparing 1968 to 1923, industrial labor productivity increased 15-fold while electrical equipment for labor increased 33-fold. Thus, the fact that the level of supply of electrical equipment to labor must increase at a faster rate than increases in labor productivity is a law of a process of electrification in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has extremely great latent capabilities, rivaled by few countries, in regard to thermoelectricity, hydroelectricity and atomic electricity. As for hydroelectricity, the Soviet Union has 150 thousand rivers whose total length is more than three million kilometers and which annually carry to the sea 4,000 cubic kilometers of water. That volume of water permitted the construction of electrical power plants with a total capacity of 450 million kilowatts, representing less than 10 percent exploitation. In order to develop thermoelectricity, the Soviet Union has a coal supply of approximately 7,400 billion tons. Moreover, the Soviet Union has been and is now discovering very rich supplies of natural gas. The Soviet Union's supply of gas has reached nearly 70,000 billion cubic meters, one-third of the world's supply. In addition to coal and gas, the Soviet Union also has many other types of fuel such as gasoline, oil, peat, and so forth. If all of the electrical output in 1970 were produced from coal, only about two billion tons of coal would be used.

In looking back over the course of development of the electrical sector of the Soviet Union, thermoelectricity has always accounted for more than 80 percent. During the postwar period, the development of hydroelectricity has been carried out at a faster pace and, as a result, between 1945 and 1958, the ratio of hydroelectricity climbed from 11 to 19 percent. In recent years, the Soviet Union has intensified the development of thermoelectricity. The strong point of thermoelectricity is rapid development. In general, thermoelectrical power plants can be built in one-quarter to one-third of the time required for the construction of hydroelectric power

plants of comparable capacity. The cost of building thermo-electrical plants is less than that of building hydroelectric plants: one kilowatt of thermo-electrical capacity costs 1,300 rubles while one kilowatt of hydroelectric capacity costs 4,000 rubles (in the old money). Furthermore, the Soviet Union has considerable inexpensive fuel, and, as a result, the cost of producing one kilowatt hour of thermo-electricity in the Soviet Union is even lower. Among the various types of fuels used for thermo-electricity, the Soviet Union primarily employed coal prior to 1958. However, since 1958, the use of coal has declined and the use of oil and, especially gas, has increased very rapidly. Between 1958 and 1965, coal dropped from 60 percent of the total fuel consumption in electrical production to 43 percent. Other fuels declined from nine percent to six percent, and gas and Diesel fuel rose from 31 percent to 51 percent.

The priority given to the development of thermo-electricity does not mean restricted development of hydroelectricity. Hydroelectricity has advantages which thermo-electricity does not have. Hydroelectricity both supplies electricity and helps in water conservancy projects, in water-borne transportation, in combating water-logging and floods, in fish raising, and so forth. During the production process, hydroelectricity also has various advantages such as not using fuel. As a result, production costs are 70 percent of those for thermo-electricity. The percentage of electricity consumed by hydroelectricity itself is only about one to two percent, while thermo-electricity consumes up to ten or 12 percent of its output. Thermo-electricity is only developed if, in the context of total economic effectiveness, hydroelectricity is not as beneficial as thermo-electricity.

At present, the Soviet Union's Bratsk Hydroelectricity Power Plant, which has a capacity of 4.5 million kilowatts, is the largest hydroelectric power plant in the world. The Soviet Union is preparing to build hydroelectric plants with capacities of five or six million kilowatts or more.

In regard to atomic electricity, the problem that arises is not the fuel source nor the technology, but the economic results. Beginning in 1954, the Soviet Union began operating the first atomic electrical power plant in the world with a capacity of 5,000 kilowatts. In 1969, the Soviet Union had one million kilowatts of atomic electrical power capacity. At present, the Soviet Union is continuing to build large atomic power plants with capacities of millions of kilowatts.

As is the general tendency of other countries with developing economies, the more the Soviet economy grows the faster the requirements for electrical power rise. It is not enough to merely keep "electricity one step ahead" by increasing the ratio of annual investments. In recent years, the Soviet Union has tried to rapidly increase electrical capacity every year, using the capital which has been invested, by increasing the capacity of machine teams and electrical power plants. The realities of the Soviet Union clearly indicate that it is faster, easier, and less expensive to build one power plant with a capacity of 2.4 million kilowatts and four machine teams, each with a capacity of 600,000 kilowatts, than to build four power plants with a total capacity of 2.4 million kilowatts and 24 machine teams, each with a capacity of 100,000 kilowatts. The cost of manufacturing one 300,000 kilowatt machine team is 20 to 25 percent of the cost of manufacturing three machine teams, each with a capacity of 100,000 kilowatts. The larger the machine team, the fewer people are required to manage it, and the lower the cost of fuel and the amount of electricity self-consumed. At present, the Soviet Union has brought into production machine teams of 500,000 and 800,000 kilowatts. Machine teams of 200,000 to 800,000 kilowatts represents 70 percent of the entire electrical capacity of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is manufacturing machine teams with 1.2 million kilowatts. As a result, during the period of 1966 and 1970, the Soviet Union annually brought into production 13 million kilowatts, achieving a fairly high pace.

As for management, the Soviet Union devotes special attention to the centralized management of the electrical supply network. In 1928, the state had under centralized management only 37.5 percent of all electricity used in industry. In 1932, this figure rose to 65 percent. The rest of the electricity is managed and supplied by electrical power plants of individual industrial enterprises. At present, electrical power plants managed by individual enterprises have been reduced to an insignificant number. This is an inevitable tendency of management within the context of the modern technological revolution. In 1967, the entire European section of the Soviet Union formed one unified network controlled by one center. Electrical power plants in the Asiatic section of the Soviet Union are presently being linked together into one network so that, later, that network can be linked to the European network to form one network for the entire Soviet Union. The unification of the management of the electrical supply network provides basic advantages: first of all, this network guarantees centralized management and unified distribution of electricity, reconciliation between areas with small needs and areas with large needs,

the reduction of the management apparatus, and lower production costs. During the period 1958 to 1968, production costs fell ten percent because of unified management. In 1967, the electrical industry in the Soviet Union had 1.5 million cadres, workers, and government employees, and administrative management personnel accounted for seven to nine percent of the total. This percentage will drop even more with the emergence of a large electrical network. Secondly, the unified electrical network will make it possible to utilize increasingly more large-capacity machine teams and power plants and to reduce the number of small machines and small plants that are individually managed. At the same time, the unification of the electrical network will make it possible to develop support among large machine teams and large power plants during peak hours, and to reduce depletions of electrical power. Because of the unification of the electrical networks in the European section of the Soviet Union, it only takes a capacity of 57 million kilowatts on that network to supply a comparable amount of electricity to that produced by the former total capacity of 68.3 million kilowatts. Thirdly, the unification of the electrical network guarantees a constant, safe, and precise supply of electricity. Modern production requires a very high degree of precision, often up to an exactness of one-thousandth of a volt of electrical power and one-thousandth of a hertz or higher in the frequency. Individual electrical generating stations cannot regularly satisfy those requirements.

Based on the high degree of development of the electrical industry, Soviet industry today has attained a high level of electrification. The electrification of industry in the Soviet Union has been carried out in accordance with the following several principles: First, in distributing electricity to the various sectors of the economy, the state has guaranteed a larger supply of electricity to the industrial sector than to all other sectors of the economy. This is because industry is the key production sector in the national economy. The output value of industry during the 1960's accounted for more than 70 percent of the total social production. Moreover, modern industry, compared with other sectors of the economy, has almost all of the equipment conditions and technical requirements for accepting and employing an increasingly larger amount of the electrical energy. The amount of electricity used in industry in 1940 represented 71 percent of the total electrical output; in 1965, the percentage was 69 percent.

Secondly, within the industrial sector itself, priority has been given to the use of electrical energy for the sector which produces materials for production. The following are the ratios of the use of electricity between the sector which pro-

duces materials of production and the sector which produces consumer materials: in 1928, 71 percent compared with 29 percent; in 1940, 85 percent compared with 15 percent; in 1960, 91 percent compared with nine percent.

Within the sector which produces materials for production, primary attention was given to guaranteeing rapid electrification of the machinery manufacturing sector. Because of the electrification of the machinery manufacturing sector, the Soviet Union was able to manufacture highly efficient tool machines such as steel presses with a capacity of 5 million tons per year and iron smelting ovens with a capacity of 1.7 million tons per year; to increase the operations of tool machines by completely automating or semi-automating the chain of production; and to centralize the production process to a high degree. Thanks to these factors, industrial labor productivity in the Soviet Union in 1965 was 15 times that of 1923; in 1970, it was 13,5 percent that of 1965.

Thirdly, throughout the process of industrialization, it is very necessary to devote special attention to reserving a relatively large amount of electricity for those industrial sectors which consume large amounts of electricity, in order to guarantee balanced development within the industrial sector and among the various sectors of the economy. Industrial sectors which use large amounts of electricity are the metallurgical sectors, particularly the iron, steel, and aluminium production industries. At the end of the 19th century, aluminium was as valuable as gold, not because of the shortage of aluminium ore but because of the shortage of electricity. Today, aluminium is being vigorously developed, primarily because of electricity. At present, the level of electrification in the coal industry of the Soviet Union is above 99 percent; in the chemicals industry, it is above 98 percent.

Fourthly, during the initial period of socialist industrialization, electricity was used to a great extent in labor processes requiring large amounts of heavy labor such as lifting, unloading, pulling, pressing, internal transporting, and so forth. Almost 100 percent of the aforementioned activities in the industrial sector and construction sector of the Soviet Union have been mechanized and electrified. However, the high level of electrification is also evidenced in the use of increasingly larger amounts of electricity in technical processes. Gradually, this will become the primary standard for judging the level of electrification. During the period between 1928 and 1965, electricity used for technical requirements rose from two percent to 28 percent of the total amount of electricity used. In absolute figures, the electricity used

for technical requirements increased 1200 times, while the electricity used for heavy labor processes increased 80 times.

The electrification of agriculture in the Soviet Union has several special characteristics: first, the electrification is based on mechanization. For a relatively long period after the October Revolution, Soviet Union concentrated its main forces on developing heavy industry in order to rapidly industrialize the country. Thanks to the developing modern industrial base, the Soviet Union completed the mechanization of agriculture, and presently, has achieved a high level. Prior to World War II, the Soviet Union led the world in agricultural mechanization. In 1957, all plowing, harrowing, and sowing was mechanized. In 1916, livestock provided 99.1 percent of the total tractor power in the countryside. In 1967, they accounted for only 1.3 percent. During the period from 1928 to 1969, the number of agricultural tractors rose from 18,000 to four million, and the number of transportation vehicles in agriculture rose from 700 to one million. This is a pace unprecedented in the history of the world. On the basis of mechanization, the Soviet Union gradually and, at an increasingly higher pace, carried out the electrification of agriculture. If, after 30 years, beginning in 1928, less than one half of the collective farms were electrified, then, in just ten years after that, more than one half of the remaining farms were electrified. In 1924, the amount of electricity used in agriculture was only 13.2 million kilowatts per hour; in 1967, that figure rose to 35 billion kilowatts per hour. In 1966, the Soviet government approved a plan for carrying out a decisive step in the electrification of agriculture. By the end of 1967, all production processes on collective farms and state farms were electrified. In 1970, there were more than three million kilometers of agricultural lines bringing electricity to agricultural installations and to farm families. In 1970, the amount of electricity consumed in agriculture was three times that of 1965. On the average, one hectare of land uses 63 kilowatts per hour of electricity. This is a relatively high figure because we know that, in 1960, for every kilowatt hour of electricity, it was possible to thresh 100 kilograms of rice or wheat, to roll 50 kilograms of steel, to mine 50 kilograms of coal, or to produce 90 kilograms of bread and so forth.

Secondly, the electrification was carried out on the basis of priorities relating to the special characteristics of agriculture in the Soviet Union. During the 1930's, electrification was concentrated in a number of areas and state farms which had the capability for and most needed intensive cultivation. During the period between 1946 and 1948, the Soviet Union

concentrated on distributing electricity to areas of large agricultural production such as the Altai delta area, Krybyshev Ukraine, the edge of the Mediterranean sea, and so forth. Within the agricultural production structure, electricity was first used for technical equipment such as rice and wheat threshers, rice and wheat mills, water pumps, and so forth.

The animal husbandry industry was also electrified to a very high degree because animal husbandry has a large output value in agriculture. Of the 79 billion rubles of agricultural output value in 1969, 9.8 billion rubles of value came from 160 million tons of cereals. The remainder of the value came from animal husbandry products and industrial plant products. Animal husbandry is also a relatively centralized production industry which uses modern equipment; 80 percent of the labor processes in animal husbandry can be electrified. For this reason, the animal husbandry industry uses more than 50 percent of the total electricity supplied to agriculture each year. At present, 70 percent of food processing, 90 percent of the water supplies for livestock, and 80 percent of the milking activities are electrified.

Thirdly, the Soviet Union is constantly increasing the percentage of electricity supplied by the state, within the total amount of electricity used for agriculture. A very important part of the previous agricultural electrical network consisted of electrical production installations funded and built by collective farms and state farms. Especially during the period of the war to protect the fatherland, the Soviet Union emphasized the development of the small electrical generating stations, both hydroelectrical and thermoelectrical. This program was designed to resolve the tense manpower situation and to cope with the subversive activities of German fascism against centralized industrial facilities during the war period. Beginning in 1948, the Soviet Union gradually limited small electrical power plants, accelerated the construction of medium-sized and large electrical power plants in agriculture, and, at the same time, linked the electrical supply network of agriculture with the electrical supply network of the state, rapidly increasing the percentage of electricity supplied by the state to agriculture. At the end of 1965, 55 percent of the collective farms and 41 percent of the state farms were supplied electricity from the state electrical network. In 1970, the state electrical system guaranteed the supply of 85 percent of the electrical needs of agriculture; the remaining 15 percent was handled by state farms and collective farms themselves. Using the state electrical network

to supply electricity to agriculture is the most economically effective supply method. It will create a basis for total electrification of agriculture, including all production processes such as plowing, transplanting, harvesting vegetables and fruits, and so forth.

The electrification of the railroads has been the main activity in the electrification of the communications and transportation industry. The rapid electrification of the railroads has produced high economic results. The use of electric locomotives over long stretches of rail will increase the volume of transportation 75 percent or even 100 or 200 percent over that achieved by using steam-powered locomotives, and the expense for the electrically-powered locomotive will be twice as low as those for the steam-powered locomotive. Therefore, the Soviet Union is carrying out a very rapid program of railroad electrification. In 1958, only 26 percent of all goods were transported by electric and Diesel locomotives. In 1970, that figure rose to 96.7 percent. In the Soviet Union, the amount of electricity annually consumed by the railroads has risen to 40 billion kilowatts per hour. At present, the electrification of railroads in the Soviet Union is regarded as virtually completed. The Soviet Union presently has 35,000 kilometers of electrified rail lines. That figure is larger than in any other country in the world.

In the Soviet Union, the amount of electricity annually used to serve the lives of the people accounts for a very large percentage. In 1965, this figure rose to more than 62 billion kilowatts per hour, 12.2 percent of the total electrical output. This includes food, accommodations, heat, travel, trade, medical treatment, cultural activities and so forth of the working people in the cities and the industrial areas. In the rural areas, each person, in 1970, consumed an average of 280 kilowatts per hour. The importance of the issue lies in the fact that the state is creating the maximum conveniences for the working people, making them capable of concentrating their energies on production and operations and on the production of material and spiritual wealth for society.

The Vietnamese people are extremely elated that during the 53 years under the Soviet government, the Soviet people, enlightened by the thinking of the genius Lenin, have virtually completed national electrification, carrying out the great dream of Lenin to "electrify the entire Russia, both industry and agriculture."¹ This is a decisive victory by the Soviet

people in the work of socialist construction and in the building of a material and technical base for communism.

1. Lenin: "To G. M. Krzhizhanovskiy," Toan Tap ["Complete Works"], Russian-language Edition, the State Political and Cultural Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, Book 40, p 63

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TWENTY-SIX YEARS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN ALBANIA

[Article by Chu Do; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 11, November 1970, pp 72-75]

Living in the beautiful socialist Albania with its increasingly larger and more powerful industry, its completely cooperativized and constantly developing agriculture, and its advanced culture and science, the Albanian people are extremely proud of their progress during the past 26 years.

Albania used to be the most backward agricultural country in Europe: 14 percent of farm families were without land or plow oxen, 80 percent of the population was illiterate, and in the entire country there were only 300 small enterprises and crude shops with less than 15,000 workers. After 25 years of industrious labor, the Albanian people today are taking long steps forward on the path of socialist construction.

The first congress of the Albanian Communist Party (now the Workers' Party) held in 1948 set forth the socialist construction line in Albania, the line on socialist industrialization and national electrification. Since then, with the slogans "self-reliance" and "one hand on the pick and one hand on the gun," the Albanian people completed the economic plans for 1947 and 1948, the two-year plan for 1949-1950, and five-years plans for 1951-1955, 1956-1960, and 1961-1965. Several months ago, Albania announced the completion ahead of schedule of the fourth five-year plan (1966-1970) in regard to total industrial output, capital investment, and construction.

Socialist industrialization is an extremely important task in the socialist construction line in Albania. The Albanian government has always, and particularly during the fourth five-year plan, viewed the vigorous development of socialist industry as one of the primary tasks for changing Albania from a backward agricultural country into an industrial-agricultural country, and, later, an advanced industrial agricultural country. The Albanian government has implemented many positive measures to mobilize the economic capabilities and to motivate the creative working spirit of the people in the work of socialist construction. Even in 1969, industrial output in Albania was eight percent ahead of the levels set by the plan for 1970, and 70 percent of the 1965 levels. Total industrial output has increased very rapidly: it is nearly 60 times that of 1938. One percent of the value of the annual industrial output in the first five-year plan was five million lech; in the second five-year plan, it was 13,8 million; in the third five-year plan, it was 30 million; in 1969, it was 42 million. Industrial output in 1938 only accounted for eight percent of the total industrial-agricultural output; in 1969, it accounted for 61.5 percent. Some provinces such as Phi-e Provincel, which used to mainly live by agriculture, handicrafts, and trade, have now become major Albanian industrial centers. Many large plants such as nitrogenous fertilizer plants, oil filtering plants, and power plants with a capacity of 100,000 kilowatts and so forth have been built in Fier District.

During the course of socialist industrialization, priority has been given to the industrial sector which produces materials of production. The Albanian government views this as indispensable "heavy artillery," which is not only essential for the development of industry but which is also essential for the development of the entire national economy. That line on economic development has made it possible for Albania to fully utilize its material base and the rich source of natural resources of the country. Many previously non-existent or small industrial sectors such as metalurgy, mining, chemicals, machinery, electric power, building materials, and so forth have been built and developed. It is anticipated that by the end of 1970, the production of the industrial sector which produces materials of production will be twice that of 1965. (The industrial sector which produces consumer materials will increase 55 percent).

Taking full advantage of the natural resources in the earth, Albania built a large and powerful mining industry. Today, Albania produces 136 times as much coal, 52 times as

1. In Southwest Albania.

much chromium, and 14 times as much nickel as in 1938. Prior to the war, Albania only had six crude mining bases. It now has 46 mining installations.

In the forthcoming fifth five-year plan, Albania will continue to strengthen the mining industry. It will develop and exploit many plants and underground mines such as chromium, phosphorus, coal, and nickel mines, and especially, will build a joint project capable of refining 800,000 tons of iron and nickel ore per year.

The Albanian electrical power industry has also devoted serious attention to exploiting the energy sources of the country. Because it built a series of hydroelectric and thermoelectric centers, Albania's present electrical output is 100 times that of 1938. Electricity has been brought to the farmers in the remote villages, and to the mountain people in their remote villages. Electricity is used widely not only in industry but also in agriculture. In September 1970, 2,422 villages, i.e., 95 percent of all the villages in Albania, had electricity. It is anticipated that by 1971, Albania will bring into production a large hydroelectric plant with a capacity of 250,000 kilowatts and, later, will build many other hydroelectric centers including plants with a capacity of 400,000 kilowatts. With these projects, Albania will be a high per capita electrical energy production country in comparison with many advanced countries in Europe.

Encouraged by the beautiful prospects of the country, the Albanian people are striving and emulating to achieve the "assault" appellation and to complete and overfulfill the fourth five-year plan. The vast majority of enterprises, underground mines, and plants have completed and overfulfilled the quotas in the plan, and are presently working on the plan for the following years. The Albanian workers completed the fourth five-year plan for the development of oil, the mining of chromium, the production of spare parts and so forth in four years and seven months; for the production of asphalt in four years and six months; for the production of electricity in four years and five months; for the production of phosphorus fertilizer, Diesel engines, and electrical engines in four years and four months and so forth.

Special attention has also been given to intensifying Albanian agriculture, especially in the fourth five-year plan. Because in the realities of Albania, agriculture has an important life-or-death position within the national economy, the Albanian government has always steadfastly pursued a "two-pronged" economic development line, viewing this as an unchang-

ing principle in the process of socialist construction. The significant point is that during the fourth five-year plan, particularly during 1970, Albania concentrated its primary forces on agricultural production in order to create great leaps forward in agriculture. Total agricultural output not only increased over the third five-year plan (by 41 percent) but also increased more rapidly than industry. According to the plan, during 1970, industrial output is only to increase 7.5 percent, while agriculture will increase 17 percent over 1969. Right from the beginning of the year, in response to a resolution of the Ninth Conference of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party (which met in late 1969), a full-blown productive labor movement to serve agriculture in such ways as clearing land, digging ditches, and collecting animal manure, and so forth was launched throughout the country. By 14 February 1970, after only one and a half months, Albania had cleared 19,000 hectares of land, completing and overfulfilling the land clearance plan for the entire year. Because of the movement to clear the land and to improve marshlands, the area of cultivated land is twice the pre-war size. The irrigation network is constantly being strengthened and developed. Albania has provided regular irrigation for one half of its area of cultivation. In addition to clearing land and expanding areas, Albania has also devoted attention to intensive cultivation to increase yields, applying science and technology to agriculture. The mechanization of agriculture has been carried out on a broad basis. By 1969, Albania had 10,500 mechanical tractors (15 horsepower). Field work is 80 percent mechanized. On the average, there is one tractor for every 50 hectares. The chemicals industry supplies increasingly more chemical fertilizers and insecticides to agriculture. Attention has also been given to the matter of hybrids and improvements of breeds in order to achieve high outputs. In 1969, Albania planted 30,000 hectares of hybrid corn (50 percent was the type which has an output of 70 to 80 quintals per hectare). In the next several years, Albania will plant hybrid corn over an area of 60,000 to 70,000 hectares and, in the future, will plant as many as 90,000 hectares with hybrid corn.

With a high degree of determination and aggressive measures, the Albanian people brought total agricultural output to a level more than three times that of 1938. In 1969, total industrial output was 29 percent that of 1965.

In addition to meeting the needs of the people for farm products, Albania has also been able to export various types

of vegetables and fruits and so forth. In 1966, Albania exported 13,000 tons; in 1970, it will export 32,000 tons of vegetables and fruits. Albania is also one of the leading countries in the world in the per capita export of cigarettes.

The relationship of socialist cooperation among cooperatives is constantly being strengthened. Many delta cooperatives have actively assisted mountain area cooperatives with production facilities, livestock and so forth. Cooperative members are becoming more and more closely attached to the cooperative.

As the economy has continued to develop, the lives of the people have continued to improve. In late 1969, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the country, Albania reduced the price of goods, providing a benefit of 170 million lech for the masses every year. At the same time, the government announced the elimination of various types of taxes and increased prices for the procurement of goods from the people. These measures have made the people very enthusiastic and have caused them to become increasingly aggressive in completing the tasks of socialist construction. The real income of the workers, government employees, and cooperative members surpassed the quotas set for the fourth five-year plan in 1969. The health of the people has been guaranteed. No one under medical treatment is deprived of his wages, and there is one physician for every 1200 people. There are hospitals, clinics, and maternity homes everywhere. The longevity of the people is increasing.

The cultural life of the people is also being elevated. During the 1970-1971 school year, Albania had 622 thousand elementary, high school, and college students (approximately 14,000 college students). On the average, there are two people attending school out of every seven people. Albania has adopted a system of eight years of universal education. Measures to reform the educational system have been instituted. By mid-1970, Albania had 288 eight-year on-the-job schools, and 98 on-the-job vocational middle schools. In 1969, Albania built 9,600 cultural and social projects, including 1460 nurseries, 1035 kindergardens, 1200 collective dining rooms, and 1860 parks and so forth. Annually, the budget allocations for cultural and social activities represent 25 percent of the state budget. In the fourth five-year plan, budget allocations for cultural and social activities were six times those of the third five-year plan.

Political and ideological education of the masses, particularly of young people, has received special attention in order to elevate the patriotism, the socialist collective spirit, the spirit of creative labor, the spirit of overcoming difficulties, and the self-reliant determination of the young people. This educational program is closely linked with the effort to bring young people into socialist construction activities, making them realize that a life of plenty and happiness can only be achieved through their own work and energy. In answer to the appeal of the party, a very large number of Albanian young people have volunteered to perform socialist work, to build railroads, to develop the mountain area, to go out to the countryside to help the farmers to produce, and so forth. Between 1966 and 1968, Albanian young people built 54 kilometers of railroad, and they are now building another railroad, approximately 51 kilometers long. In the Capital City of Tirana, workers, youths, and people have built 2,000 homes. At first, these activities were intended to support, within a short time frame, the economic tasks set forth, particularly in the agricultural sector. However, now, these activities are attracting all workers and becoming a method of work in industry, construction, education, and public health.

Elated by the Albanian people's successes, the Vietnamese people are quite confident that the fraternal Albanian people will achieve new and increasingly larger successes in the work of socialist construction in their beautiful country.

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WEST GERMAN IMPERIALISM: A HOTBED OF WAR IN EUROPE

[Article by Quyet Tien; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 11, November 1970, pp 76-84, 89]

More than 20 years after World War II, German imperialism, with the active assistance of the U.S. imperialists, the international gendarmes and the most dangerous enemy of mankind, have restored their forces and are again nourishing insane hopes of aggressive expansion. However, the world situation today is completely different. The forces of the socialist camp and the peace forces are vastly stronger than the forces of the war-mongering imperialist camp led by the United States. Therefore, the struggle of the people of the world and of the people of Europe against the schemes of the U.S. imperialists to use West Germany as their assault forces in their aggressive plan in Europe, and against the revanchist schemes of West German imperialism, actively supported by the U.S. imperialists, is certain of victory, even though it is a decisive and complicated struggle.

The Development of West German Monopolistic Capitalism After the War

Confronted by the emergence and growth of the socialist camp and the typhoon-like development of the revolutionary movement in the world after the war, the imperialist countries occupying West Germany, ignoring the decisions of the Yalta Conference and the Potsdam Conference, brazenly sought to restore West German imperialism in the hope of transforming West Germany into an anti-communist forward post in Europe, and of transforming the West German armed forces into an assault army against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in Europe. In addition to that overall scheme, each imperialist also pursues an independent scheme. The United States seeks to use West Germany to contain the British and French imperialists, and, in so doing, strengthen its control over western Europe. England seeks to restore the power of West Germany in order to maintain a Franco-West German balance beneficial to the British competition on the western European continent. France, on the one hand, never forgets the aggressive wars unleashed by German imperialism, and, on the other hand, in a situation beneficial to the French policy of independence from the

United States, France seeks to use the power of West Germany to carry out its scheme of leading the Western Europe bloc. For its part, West Germany schemes to take advantage of the American, British, and French imperialists in order to restore its forces and then later spread their cause through Europe. Therefore, it is very easy to understand why the western imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, have adopted a unified policy in regard to West Germany: that of using every means to help the West German monopolistic capitalists to restore their forces. For example, the United States gives West Germany 1.5 billion dollars from its aid fund for occupied countries (in accordance with the GARIOA Program), and lends West Germany 1.5 billion dollars in accordance with the Marshall Plan. The United States, Britain, and France reduced and later eliminated West Germany's war indemnities. The United States, Britain, and France not only did not dismantle the enterprises which produced war goods and did not dissolve monopolistic organizations in West Germany as required by the Potsdam Agreement, but actually encouraged and helped the West German capitalists to continue business activities with penetration by U.S., British, and French capital and so forth. The high point in that process was in September 1949 when they brazenly supported and assisted the West German imperialists in establishing a separate state in the hope of perpetuating the division of Germany and of transforming West Germany into a springboard for invading the socialist camp. On 20 September 1949, Adenauer, the first prime minister of the West German government, said: "I cannot imagine that any victorious country could seek to help a defeated country and assist the recovery of that country as the United States has done and is doing for Germany (i.e., West Germany)." And since then, the entire economic and political base of the aggressive, war-mongering policies of West German imperialism has been restored with the following several principal characteristics:

1. Monopolistic organizations are being strengthened more and more.

In 1954, stock companies in West Germany had more than 100 million marks in capital, 32.1 percent of all stock capital; in 1960, that percentage rose to 50.4 percent; and 1967, it rose to 58.3 percent. During that period, the number of stock companies capitalized at more than 300 million marks, increased from five to 15, and later to 31 companies, including four companies capitalized at more than one billion marks. At present, the 100 largest companies in West Germany account for nearly 40 percent of West German industrial trade. Among the key industrial sectors such as coal, steel, chemicals, electronics, and automobiles, there have emerged colossal capitalist groups including groups which provided backing for the Hitler fascists previously such as the Krupp, Farben, Hoechst, Mannesmann groups and so forth. On the basis of the cooperation between industrial capital and banking capital, there have emerged financial groups which control all power in West Germany. For example, the German Bank financial group, one of the three largest financial groups in West Germany, controls approximately one-third of all stock capital in the country.

The following several figures compare the forces of West German monopolistic capitalist groups now and before the war: in 1938 while

German fascism was desperately preparing for World War II, there were only three stock companies in Germany having an initial per-company capitalization of 300 million marks. At present, there are as many as 30 such stock companies, i.e., a tenfold increase.

2. Monopolistic organizations and revanchist militarists tightly control the state apparatus and use it to serve their class interests.

At present, five large, monopolistic capitalist groups have emerged in West Germany with a decisive voice in every area of life in West Germany. They are: the Federation of German Industrialists, the Federation of Private Bankers, the Federation of Industrial and Trade Bureaus, the Federation of Enterprise Owners, and the Association of Wholesale and Foreign Commerce. These monopolistic groups employ many forms to control the state apparatus, such as "helping" the state to draft laws, supplementing and amending government bills, participating in the training of cadres for the state apparatus, controlling the principal positions in the ruling parties, and, in so doing, easily affecting the composition of the government and its policies. For example, between 1950 and 1956, the Federation of German Industrialists sent to the government and to various West German ministries more than 3,000 bills, ideas for supplementing decrees, and recommendations concerning various economic and financial matters. Most of these bills and recommendations were accepted and implemented by the West German government.

The significant point is that the old fascists, the new fascists (grouped together in the German National Democratic Party, NPD), and the war-mongering militarists are occupying the key positions in the government and national assembly of West Germany. The newspaper Neues Deutschland of 15 February 1968 denounced the fact that the West German cabinet had 20 former Nazis, that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had 244, that the armed forces had 189, that the Ministry of Interior had 64, that the Ministry of Economics had 39, that the Ministry of Labor had 21, that the Ministry of Communications had 29, that the Ministry of Foodstuffs had 19, that the Ministry of Finance had 54, and that the bank had 354 and so forth. All of these people hold key positions.

3. The contradiction between great economic latent power and the narrowed spheres of influence of West German imperialism.

In 1948, West Germany was fourth in the capitalist world in regard to industrial output. Ten years later, in 1958, West Germany surpassed France and nearly caught up with England. In 1961, West Germany surpassed England and jumped into second place behind the United States. The following is a chart comparing the forces of West Germany with those of other imperialist countries:

Country	Share of Each Country in the Total Industrial Output of Capitalist World				Share of Each Country in Total Exports of Capitalist World				Share of Each Country in Gold and Foreign Currency Reserves of Capitalist World			
	1948	1958	1961	1965	1948	1958	1961	1965	1948	1958	1961	1965
U.S.	55.8	16.6	44.7	45.1	24.1	18.3	17.8	16.6	46	36.1	29.9	22.1
W. Ger.	4.2	9.5	9.9	9.4	1.3	9.8	10.9	11	.5	10.2	11.4	10.6
Eng.	11.9	9.8	9.2	8.2	12.1	9.4	8.8	8.1	4.3	5.4	5.3	4.8
France	4.5	5	4.8	4.5	3.9	5.7	6.2	6.2	.9	2	5.4	9.1
Italy	2.2	3.1	3.6	3.5	2.1	2.7	3.6	4.4	.9	3.9	6.1	6.3
Common Market Countries	13	9.9	20.6	19.6	12.5	24.9	27.8	29.5	4.9	21.4	29	33

After the war, the German imperialists lost all of their colonies and their spheres of influence, and the U.S., British, and French imperialists seized and occupied West Germany, their last hideout. The glorious victory of the Soviet Army and of the peoples of Eastern Europe liberated forever a vast area of land in Europe, including nearly one half of Germany, from the claws and teeth of imperialism. In speaking about the position of West German imperialism today, Strauss, the former Minister of Finance and famed strategist of West Germany lamented: "We are economic giants but political dwarfs." And Strauss shouted about the need to make West Germany become a "political giant" in the world, and introduced the theory of the "European buffer" with the dream of creating a "Germany extending from the Atlantic to the Bug River," just like the earlier theory of the Hitler fascists on a "large and vast Europe." Thus, more than 20 years after World War II ended, a new hotbed of war is beginning to flame up in the western half of Germany and the lighter of the fire is the remaining element of the capitalist class which rules Germany and which was not punished during World War II in close collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, the international gendarme and the new fascists who are more cruel than the earlier Hitler fascists.

The Aggressive Expansionist Policy of West German Imperialism Is Closely Linked to the Global Strategy of U.S. Imperialism

At the Seventh Congress of the German Socialist Unity Party, Walter Ulbricht, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the German United Socialist Party and the Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, analyzed: "The period between the Sixth Congress and the Seventh Congress of the party (i.e., between 1963 and 1967) was a

period during which West German imperialism completed the restoration of its economic and political forces. West German imperialism entered a new stage, marked by the development of state monopolistic capitalism in concentrating power and strengthening the desire of expansion. This was also a period when the U.S. imperialists, bogged up to their necks in Vietnam, sought to closely collaborate with West German imperialism, on the one hand, in order to use West Germany in their provocative and aggressive schemes in Europe, and, on the other hand, in order to win over the sympathy and assistance of the West German ruling capitalists for the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam. Conversely, the West German imperialists stuck closer and closer to the U.S. imperialists in order to obtain the "support" of the U.S. imperialists, particularly in regard to supplying nuclear weapons for the West German armed forces. This is a collaboration between the fascists and the greatest war criminals in modern history.

The basic contents of the aggressive expansionist policy of West Germany are a policy of revenge, a policy of pursuing the arms race in preparation for war, a neo-colonialist policy, and a "new East" policy.

The Policy of Revenge

The ruling capitalists in West Germany constantly declare that World War II has not ended with the aim of carrying out their revanchist dream of seizing back the vast land areas which they were forced to cede after the war. The revanchist viewpoint has been incorporated into the most fundamental national policy of West German imperialism, and includes two facets:

First, the demand for the sole right to represent all Germany. Closing their eyes to reality and ignoring reason, the ruling capitalists in West Germany deny the existence of the German Democratic Republic, the first worker-peasant state in Germany and a fortress of peace in Europe. Even more insouciantly, they demand to represent the interests of all the German people and they publicly declare their scheme to annex the German Democratic Republic through the use of armed force and they have specific plans for systematically achieving that scheme: provocative activities in West Berlin, intensification of psychological warfare, the dispatching of espionage agents to sabotage the German Democratic Republic, the charting of plans for a "lightening" war in Europe, and so forth.

Secondly, they oppose the status quo in Europe, i.e., they "demand the return of territory in accordance with the borders of 1937" so that they can eventually "demand the return of" the broader and larger borders of 1914. The national anthem of the West German government explicitly states that the Germany which they dream about is a strip of land which runs from a part of French territory to a part of the territory of the Soviet Union, and from a part of the territory of Italy to a part of the territory of Denmark, Strauss publicly announced: "The policy of seeking to maintain the status quo in Europe is basically incompatible with the policy which seeks as its objective the federation of Europe. Each forward step toward the unification of Europe, i.e., toward the consolidation of Europe and

European autonomy, will have the result of changing the status quo and this obviously will benefit the West." To put it another way, Europe must be unified under the rule of West Germany!

From an economic aspect, the establishment of the European Common Market in which West Germany has preeminence (West Germany accounts for one-third of all imports and two-fifths of all exports of this market) is really consistent with the desires of the West German millionaire capitalists and is regarded by them as an image (although imperfect) of a vast Europe of the future under their control. The thing which the West German imperialists are dreaming about is to complete and perfect the European Common Market economically and, at the same time, overcome the contradictions among the various imperialist countries of western Europe, particularly the contradictions between England and France and West Germany, in order to create a political alliance headed by them in western Europe, using it as a springboard for expanding into eastern Europe.

The Policy of Pursuing the Arms Race And Preparing for War

Within the context of the close relationship between the West German imperialists and the U.S. imperialists, and on the basis of the extremely reactionary economics and politics of West German monopolistic capitalism, the policy of pursuing the arms race and preparing for war has become the basic national policy of the West German imperialists. The weekly newspaper Example in West Germany openly stated: "The West German armed forces were not established in order to protect the Federal Republic. Rather, the Federal Republic was born in order to once again have an army which could direct its cannon at the Soviet Union." Beginning in 1956, the West German armed forces became the largest and most powerful armed force in western Europe from the standpoint of troop strength and conventional weapons. The fraudulent tales given out by the imperialists in the hope of making people think that the North Atlantic Bloc can restrain the West German armed forces have been completely demolished. The North Atlantic Bloc does not control the West German armed forces. Rather, West Germany, together with the U.S. imperialists, control the North Atlantic Bloc. A West German general occupies the position of commander-in-chief of North Atlantic forces in central Europe, one of the key positions in this bloc. West German officers also hold many other high ranking positions because West Germany is the country which contributes the most troops to this aggressive military bloc. For example, under the command of NATO headquarters in Europe are five U.S. divisions, three British divisions, two Belgian divisions, two Greek divisions, and twelve West German Army divisions. Actually, for the first time in the history of German imperialism, West Germany, under the direction of the U.S. imperialists, has occupied many military positions in Europe without firing a shot: West Germany has established logistics bases in Belgium, Greece, Denmark, France, Norway, and England. It has established military masses in France, England, and Greece. It has established air force bases in Italy, England, Turkey, Greece, and Belgium. It has established naval bases in France, Holland, Denmark, Portugal, England,

Italy, and Greece. It has established missile bases in England, Italy, and Greece.

With an annual military budget of approximately 23 billion Marks, West Germany is far ahead of western European countries, and only behind the United States, in regard to the arms race. At present, West German military industry has taken care of all of its tasks with regard to providing weapons to the West German armed forces: tanks, modern weapons, jet planes, and even 2500-kilometer missiles. As for nuclear weapons, West Germany is trying to be able by 1970 to produce its own nuclear weapons and to have the right to use and own nuclear weapons, and, to this end, it is employing three tactics: it is actively supporting the United States in order that the United States will give it the right to use and own nuclear weapons, cooperating with western European countries in order to produce nuclear weapons, and striving to develop its own nuclear industry. It is also necessary to take note of the fact that there are presently more than 6,000 nuclear warheads of the United States in West Germany and that many atomic mines are used to form an atomic fence along the border between West Germany and the German Democratic Republic, the border between West Germany and Czechoslovakia, and the border between West Germany and Austria.

Strategically, while the United States has set forth three types of war -- total war (world war), limited war (regional war), and special war -- West Germany has also set forth three types of war: total war, limited war, and secret war (i.e., psychological war and commando and sabotage activities). This shows the extremely cruel nature and the great ambition of the West German imperialists. The elevation of secret war into a basic strategy increasingly demonstrates the extremely dangerous character of West German imperialism. With the strategic plan to annex all of Europe, the West German imperialists are striving to study the "anti-guerrilla" warfare experiences of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam and the experience of Israel in carrying out "Blitzkrieg" wars in the Middle East in the hope of adapting these experiences to the European environment. The fascist general Tiller [?] brazenly declared: "I do not believe that a regional, Vietnam-like war in Europe is impractical."

The Policy of Neo-Colonialism

The policy of neo-colonialism is also a basic policy of the West German imperialists. It is intended both to guarantee economic expansion and to serve the goal of the West German imperialists' policy of revanchism and policy of pursuing the arms race.

Between 1957 and 1966, the amount of direct capital investments of West Germany in Latin America rose from 514 million Marks to 1,615 million Marks; in Africa, it rose from 95 million Marks to 565 million Marks; in Asia, it rose from 76 million Marks to 314 million Marks. During that same period, the West German government provided 17 billion Marks in "assistance" and "subsidies" to developing countries, and the West German capitalists

invested 12 billion Marks in accelerated exports to those countries. Monopolistic companies of West Germany such as Thyssen, Krupp, Mannesmann, [unknown] and so forth all have branches in dozens of countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The West German ruling elements publicly announced that they "would not provide aid to countries which recognized the German Democratic Republic." Ninety percent of the West German "aid" must be used to purchase goods from West Germany and the "aid" must be used for political objectives. However, recently, economic pressure and their reactionary Hallstein Doctrine have failed to prevent a score of Arab, African, and Southeast Asian countries -- Iraq, Cambodia, the Sudan, Syria, South Yemen, United Arab Republic, Algeria, the Brazzaville Congo, the Central African Republic, Maldives, Somali, and Ceylon from recognizing the German Democratic Republic. While trying to seduce countries which recently gained their political independence, West German imperialism openly provides weapons and money to fascist elements in Portugal to suppress the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, to the racially discriminating fascists in South Africa, and, in recent years, they have collaborated with the U.S. imperialists in the aggressive war in Vietnam. Today, according to the western press, there are 2,500 technicians and 120 West German pilots wearing U.S. military uniforms and carrying U.S. passports in South Vietnam. West German steel companies supply one million tons of steel each month to the United States for use in the aggressive war in Vietnam. They have given more than 800 million Marks in aid to help the Saigon puppet government, along with many strategic goods, much military equipment, and much equipment to use in building plants to manufacture weapons, poison gases, and so forth. They have sent specialists over to help the Saigon government use biological weapons. They promulgated a law punishing West Germans who participated in a movement to appeal to U.S. troops in West Germany to desert in order to avoid having to go to South Vietnam. They suppress the working people, college students, youths, intellectuals, social activists, and religious activists in West Germany and West Berlin who are actively supporting our people's anti-United States national salvation resistance war.

The "New East" Policy

While the U.S. imperialists have a policy of "peaceful evolution" and a policy of "building bridges" to the East, the West German imperialists set forth the "New East" policy in order to win the "trust and understanding" of socialist countries at the very time that they are collaborating with the United States in a frantic effort to prepare for a war of aggression against both countries. Previous prime ministers of West Germany (Erhard and Kiesinger) constantly boasted of their desire to "move closer" to the socialist countries in order to "build a peaceful order in Europe." Brandt, the present prime minister of West Germany, also announced his "readiness to really try to find mutual understanding" with socialist countries. The people of the world have clearly seen that behind these sweet words is a scheme to make the socialist countries of eastern Europe become, "in the course of a long period of development," "members of a temporary

area" called the European cushion area" (i.e., a united Europe under the rule of the West German imperialists) (the words of Strauss in the book "Proposal for Europe").

The subversive activities of West Germany in Czechoslovakia in 1968 are a typical example of the West German imperialists' "desire to get closer." Herrmann, a member of the West German National Assembly, stated: "In the past years, I have very systematically concentrated my activities relating to the eastern policy on the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic. In my opinion, that country occupies a key position in East-West relations in general and in the relations of the Federal Republic (West Germany) with the East in particular. The geographical position of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic is enough to make that country become a center for the transportation of goods as well as for ideological current. A successful process of liberalization in the Czechoslovakian economic and military power in the imperialist camp, have had to experience one defeat after another. Therefore, what can West Germany, a second class imperialist, do? The West German imperialists themselves are running up a series of severe contradictions: the contradictions between the ruling capitalist class and the working class and working people of West Germany, the contradictions between the West German imperialists and the other imperialists, the contradictions within the militarized economy of West Germany, and so forth. The Europe of today is no longer the Europe of 30-odd years ago. In the past, the Soviet Union was the only socialist country in Europe, and the forces preserving peace were not strong enough to thwart the disaster of the fascist war. Today, a powerful anti-imperialism front has emerged in the world which comprises the powerful socialist camp, the national liberation movement, and the forces preserving peace. In Europe, in addition to the Soviet Union there are other socialist countries including the German Democratic Republic, the first worker-peasant state of the German people and an important factor in guaranteeing peace in Europe. The democratic and peace forces in western Europe, including the people of West Germany, have developed both in number and in regard to their level of awareness and organization. If the U.S. imperialists and the West German imperialists, ignoring the present balance of forces in the world, dare to foolishly unleash a new aggressive war in Europe, they will be immediately punished. The destruction of the Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo fascists and the series of defeats experienced by the U.S. imperialists since World War II are a stern warning to the West German imperialists: aggressive war cannot save an outdated social system. On the contrary, it causes it to weaken and perish all the faster.

Within such an environment, the "accord between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Federal Republic" was signed. In it, the Brandt government for the first time was forced to recognize to some degree the actual situation in Europe, to make a de facto acceptance of the existence of the German Democratic Republic, and to accept the inviolability of the present borders in Europe, including the Oder-Neisse line and the border between the two Germanies, i.e., to publicly accept many things

which it previously stubbornly denied. These are things of positive significance.

However, as Marxism-Leninism taught and historical experience has proved, the statements and actions of reactionary imperialists never go hand in hand. The war policy is the most fundamental policy of imperialism. The fact that the policies of the Brandt government are intimately joined to the global Socialist Republic definitely must create reactions which impact the internal structure of the Eastern Bloc and even the relations between communist countries and us."

Resolutely Struggling Against the Close Collaboration Between the West German Imperialists and the U.S. Imperialists

The statement of the 1960 Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow asserted: "...Just like the Hitlerite group before them, the West German militarists are preparing for war against socialist countries and other countries in Europe, and are seeking to carry out their plan of aggression."

Clearly, West German imperialism, by closely collaborating with the U.S. imperialists, has become the dangerous enemy of the people of Europe and the people of the world. Along with the U.S. imperialists, the West German imperialists are frantically preparing to carry out their insane revanchist schemes. There are conflicts between the U.S. imperialists and the West German militaristic imperialists concerning interests in Europe and throughout the world, but they are unanimous with regard to basic objectives: to combat the socialist camp, to combat the national liberation movement, and to combat revolutionary and peace movements throughout the world in order to maintain imperialism and colonialism. They are closely coordinating with one another in a series of aggressive and bellicose expansionist policies. Consequently, while concentrating the struggle against the U.S. imperialists, the most dangerous enemy, the people of the world are simultaneously maintaining vigilance and constantly struggling in a resolute way against every aggressive and bellicose expansionist scheme and action of the West German imperialists, the principal ally of the U.S. imperialists in Europe. Conversely, the struggle of the peoples of the two Germanies, the people of West Berlin, and the people of Europe against West German militarist imperialism cannot be separated from the struggle against the ring leader imperialist, the U.S. imperialists, the chief schemer in the restoration of West German militarism. In the East, the Japanese militarist imperialists, with the plotting of the U.S. imperialists, have recovered and formed an extremely dangerous tripartite alliance between the United States, West Germany, and Japan. The U.S. imperialists and the inheritors of the work of Hitler and Tojo are frantically preparing to push the people of the world into the abyss of a new world war.

However, they are unable to achieve that criminal scheme in today's era. The U.S. imperialists, who have the greatest strategy of the U.S.

imperialists in regard to the questions of Vietnam, Indochina, the Middle East, and so forth is a reminder to the people of the world to continue to elevate their vigilance vis-a-vis the reactionary policy of the West German imperialists, and to continue to intensify the struggle to force them to abandon their expansionist and revanchist policies, to recognize the German Democratic Republic from the standpoint of international law, and to respect the regulations and laws of West Berlin, an independent political unit.

Our party and government completely support the struggle of the people and communists of West Germany against West German imperialism. We "are very elated to realize that the birth of the German Democratic Republic, the first worker-peasant state of the German people, seriously weakened the position of West German imperialism, and believe that the existence and comprehensive growth of the German Democratic Republic provides an extremely great continuing support for the revolutionary cause of the people of West Germany and is an important factor in guaranteeing peace and security in Europe."¹

In close solidarity with the people of the German Democratic Republic, "the Vietnamese people are determined to support the righteous struggle of the people of the German Democratic Republic who demand that the West German government recognize the German Democratic Republic from the standpoint of international law, recognize the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the German Democratic Republic, abandon the unreasonable demand for the sole right to represent all of Germany, and recognize the real inviolability of the present borders in Europe."²

With the joint efforts of all patriotic and peace forces throughout the world, the people of the two Germanies, the people of Europe, and the people of the world definitely will defeat every aggressive and bellicose plan of the West German imperialists, who are closely collaborating with the U.S. imperialists, and will eventually destroy West German imperialism, the enemy of peace and security in Europe and in the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. An excerpt from the joint communique concerning the visit to Vietnam of the delegation of communists of the German Federal Republic.
2. An excerpt from the congratulatory cable of the leadership comrades of our party and state to the leadership comrades of the party and state of the German Democratic Republic on the 21st anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic.

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REJECT NIXON'S TRICKY 'INITIATIVE'

[Commentary; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 11, November 1970, pp 85-89]

On 3 November 1968, after the U.S. imperialists unconditionally ended the bombing and strafing of all of the DRV territory and agreed to attend the quadripartite Paris conference on Vietnam, our beloved and esteemed President Ho issued an appeal. He pointed out:

"After enduring the colonialist yoke for nearly a century and after struggling against the imperialists' aggressive war for more than 20 years, our people, more than anyone else, are very eager for peace so they can rebuild the country. But it must be genuine peace in independence and freedom.

For this reason, we firmly demand that the U.S. Government end its war of aggression against Vietnam, forever renounce all acts of encroaching upon the DRV's sovereignty and security, and withdraw all U. S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam.

"South Vietnam's internal affairs must be settled by the South Vietnamese themselves according to the National Liberation Front's Political Program, without foreign interference.

"The reunification of Vietnam must be achieved by the people in both the south and north, without foreign interference."

These are our people's proper and just demands. Of these four demands, the most urgent and basic is the demand for a U.S. troop withdrawal and the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people.

At the Paris conference on Vietnam, the two delegations of our people have discussed these two basic issues with a good will and serious attitude. The NFLSV and PRG advanced their 10-point overall solution on 8 May 1969, which they clarified in their 8-point proposal on 17 September 1970, pointing out the essential principles, means, and ways to end the war, to correctly solve the political problem in South Vietnam, and to restore peace in Vietnam.

The PRG's 8-point statement has quickly enjoyed the sympathy and widespread support of our people in both the south and north, the world and American peoples, and a segment of U.S. political circles. Public opinion has demanded that the United States seriously respond to these just demands, especially the two basic demands, namely: determine a definite time-limit for the unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Vietnam and abandon the Thieu-Ky-Khiem lackey clique in order to advance toward free and democratic general elections to be organized by a broad-based provisional coalition government in South Vietnam.

Embarrassed and passive, on 7 October President Nixon advanced a 5-point proposal. He considered it to be a "new important initiative to achieve peace" in Vietnam and Indochina.

Does Nixon's 5-point proposal present anything new? First, let us examine the two main points relating to the U.S. troop withdrawal and the political problem in South Vietnam.

Regarding the withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Vietnam, Nixon stated: "We are ready to withdraw all our forces," "We are ready to negotiate a timetable for the withdrawal of all troops." But he also stressed: "This must be based on the principles that I -- meaning Nixon -- set forth previously and the proposals made tonight." The principles set forth previously are, according to his speech on 14 May 1969, "Let North Vietnam withdraw all her forces from South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos." The "proposals made tonight" are aimed only at tying the withdrawal of U.S. forces to the overall solution of the Indochinese problem. By so doing, Nixon only clings to his stubborn "bilateral withdrawal of forces," stand. He wants the Vietnamese people to make a bargain for the withdrawal of U.S. forces. He wants to put the U.S. imperialists on a par with the Vietnamese people who are struggling against the aggressors on their own land, but he also wants to set forth more conditions for the withdrawal of U.S. forces, thus avoiding the demands of broad sections of public opinion in the world and in the United States that the United States must respond to the 8-point statement of the PRG on 17 September 1970 and unconditionally withdraw all her troops before a definite date is set up.

Regarding the political problem in South Vietnam, Nixon based his views on the grounds of "supporting the right of the entire South Vietnamese people to decide for themselves the type of government they want", to maintain the puppet Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique. If the South Vietnamese people have the right to self-determination, why are they not allowed to settle their own affairs? Why does the United States send its military personnel and expeditionary troops to the south and stage farce elections to establish puppet governments like the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique for the South Vietnamese people? The PRG demanded that an administration without Thieu, Ky, and Khiem that is for peace, independence, neutrality, and democracy be set up in Saigon and voiced its readiness to talk to this government about a political solution to the South Vietnam problem, but Nixon termed this as "completely unacceptable."

The PRG called for a provisional coalition government that would consist of three components including -- apart from members of the PRG -- members of the Saigon government and other organizations, political parties, and religions that support peace, independence, neutrality, and democracy. This government would serve during the time between the restoration of peace and the general election, but Nixon said: "They" -- meaning the PRG -- "want to destroy organized noncommunist forces and to insure a unilateral takeover."

The PRG called for the broad provisional coalition government to assume the task of conducting a genuinely free and democratic general election to elect a congress and to set up a coalition government that officially represents the aspirations of the South Vietnamese people, but Nixon said: "They demand the right to eliminate anyone they do not want in the government."

Through the above analysis, Nixon's stand can be summarized as a complete rejection of the 8-point statement of Minister Nguyen Thi Binh on 17 September 1970, an unwillingness to withdraw all U.S. troops before a timetable is set up, a continuation of the military occupation of South Vietnam in order to force the South Vietnamese people to endure the Americans' and lackeys' rule, opposition to the establishment of an enlarged provisional coalition government, and a dark scheme to stage a phony general election under supervision of the present puppet administration and under the protection of the U.S. aggressors' bayonets.

To cover his stubborn stand and to dress his speech with a layer of "good will," Nixon took advantage of the aspirations for peace and the humanitarian feelings of the peoples of the world and in the United States to make tricky proposals for an "in place ceasefire," a "peace conference on Indochina," and a "release of POW's."

Through his favorite tricks, Nixon wanted to impress people of good will in the world -- in particular the United States -- by saying that the ceasefire would "meet one objective of our struggle, that is, to end the killing." But the question is: Why has the killing taken place and why have U.S. bombs and shells exploded on our Vietnamese territory and why do U.S. youths continue to die in this distant country? Dealing with the cause of the Vietnam war, everyone is aware that U.S. imperialism is a war criminal because it has sent U.S. expeditionary troops to invade Vietnam and has used bombs and shells to force the South Vietnamese to submit to the domination of the Americans and their henchmen. Exercising their sacred right to self-defense, the Vietnamese people have been struggling tenaciously and bravely for several years to drive the landgrabbers out of their country and to destroy the U.S. neocolonialist rule, that is, the Saigon puppet administration. If a cease-fire is carried out while the Americans are continuing their aggressive scheme, the Vietnamese people then would be forced to lay down their weapons, to surrender, and to accept U.S. military occupation and the rule of the Americans and the Thieu-Ky-Khiem lackey clique.

Brutal U.S. imperialism, the gendarme of the present era and its henchmen have caused destruction and bloodshed in our country. More than anyone else, we are eager for peace and understand the world's desire for peace and the Americans' desire to protect the lives of hundreds of thousands of U.S. youths who have been sent to die in Vietnam. We want an end to the war, a cease-fire, and the restoration of peace on the basis of U.S. respect for the Vietnamese people's sacred national rights. Although a perfect solution has not been reached, if the United States declares that it will withdraw all U.S. troops before 30 June 1971, the People's Liberation Armed Forces, as stated by Minister Nguyen Thi Binh in her 8-point clarification on 17 September 1970, will not attack the U.S. and satellite troops during their withdrawal. The concerned sides will immediately discuss the question of insuring the safety of all U.S. and satellite troops during their withdrawal and the issue of POW's release, and the Vietnamese sides will solve together the problem concerning the Vietnamese armed forces in South Vietnam. A cease-fire will surely be carried out according to the procedures to be determined by the concerned sides after signing an agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam. Only in this way can the cease-fire help insure a genuine and lasting peace.

The rational foundations for achieving such a peace in the three Indochinese countries are: The 10-point overall solution of the PRGRSV, the 5-point solution of the Patriotic Laotian Front, and the 5-point statement of Cambodian Chief of State Norodom Sihanouk. Concerning Vietnam, a quadripartite conference has been held in Paris. As regards Laos, there has been a proposal for a meeting between representatives of Princes Souphanouvong and Souvanna Phouma in Laos. Because the United States has striven to sabotage these foundations with a view to impeding the settlement of the war problem in the three Indochinese states, Nixon's proposal for the "convening of an international conference in Indochina" is merely a cunning maneuver aimed at covering up the U.S. stubborn maintenance of its aggressive stand in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and at making people believe that another type of conference or another procedure of negotiation can lead the Paris talks out of the present stalemate for which the United States must be held fully responsible.

The so-called "POW" issue which Nixon used to stir and mislead public opinion was this time presented under a more cunning aspect of a proposal for an immediate and unconditional release of all "prisoners of war", including the newsmen who have been reported missing on all battlefields. The use of such a term as "humane" to describe the POW's release cannot help conceal the speculative spirit of a politician who has resorted to cunning maneuvers to temporarily win the voters sympathy. U.S. President Nixon used the term "humane" while his administration has been prolonging and expanding its war in the three Indochinese countries, while U.S. bombs, shells, and toxic chemicals have been poured on the rural and urban areas of South Vietnam, while Vietnamese women, children, and elderly people have been massacred, while numerous villages have been razed -- typical is the Son My case that has been condemned by all mankind -- and while hundreds of

thousands of innocent civilians have been detained and millions of southern people have been herded into concentration camps. Why were hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese and Americans killed or captured? Why have hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese and American families been driven into a situation of suffering, mourning, and separation? The principal culprit is the Nixon administration that has prolonged and expanded the war. As a result, cases of death and imprisonment have increased. In order to initially solve this problem, the United States must agree to unconditionally withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam. If it declares that it will withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops before 30 June 1971, both sides, as Minister Nguyen Thi Binh stated on 17 September 1970, will immediately discuss the release of prisoners of war. The only way to completely solve this problem and to put an end to all sufferings of the Vietnamese and Americans in the current war is that the United States must end its aggression and must respect the national rights of the three Indochinese nations.

The stand of the United States as reflected in Nixon's 5-point peace proposal is completely contradictory to our people's stand. Together with the RGNUK and the Central Committee of the Patriotic Laotian Front, the Government of the DRV and the PRGRSV sternly condemned and resolutely rejected the deceitful peace proposal of the Nixon administration.

Although the U.S. imperialists have met with failure, they still remain very stubborn and perfidious. The Nixon administration intends negotiating while "Vietnamizing" the war, hoping that the "Vietnamization" of the war will create a position of "strength" on the battlefield and at the conference table so as to force our people to accept their conditions and bow before their neocolonialist yoke. They nurture the dark scheme to reduce the U.S. death toll and war expenditure to a rate that the American people will agree to for the present time, use a part of the U.S. forces to protract the occupation of our country, maintain, consolidate, and use the puppet administration as an instrument for U.S. neocolonialism. More than ever, we deeply realize the meaning of the words written by President Ho on the occasion of the 1969 New Year: "For the sake of independence and freedom, let us fight until the U.S. aggressors are forced to get out of our country and until the puppets are overthrown." Once the U.S. aggressors get out of our country, the puppets will be overthrown and then we will certainly be able to enjoy independence and freedom.

If the U.S. imperialists possess an early awareness of the situation in South Vietnam and seek to get out of their present deadlock by accepting the 10-point overall solution of the PRGRSV, this will be the right path for them because this is consistent with the interests of the Vietnamese and American peoples and world peace. If the Nixon administration stubbornly clings to its aggressive plot, the Vietnamese people will resolutely implement President Ho's sacred will, overcome all difficulties and hardships, and perseveringly and vigorously advance the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle to total victory.

Being faithful to the joint statement of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese People, our entire people are determined to stand united with their brotherly Laotian and Khmer people and fight shoulder to shoulder with them in order to bring the just undertaking of the three peoples to glorious victory, eliminate the "Nixon doctrine" to use Asians to fight Asians, protect the sacred rights of the three peoples, and bring about genuine independence and freedom to Indochina, thus fulfilling the aspirations of the three peoples and contributing toward protecting peace in Southeast Asia and in the world.

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