

JPRS 80448

30 March 1982

# Vietnam Report

No. 2355

TAP CHI CONG SAN, No. 1, 1982



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

30 March 1982

## VIETNAM REPORT

No. 2355

TAP CHI CONG SAN, No. 1, 1982

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

## CONTENTS

Strive to Achieve Victory for the 1982 State Plan (pp 1-5).....	1
The Kampuchean People Are Firmly Defending National Independence and Building Their Fatherland (pp 6-10).....	6
On the Special Relations of Cooperation Among the Three Indochinese Nations (pp 11-17, 24) (Senior Gen Hoang Van Thai).....	12
"The History of the Vietnam Communist Party," A Valuable Book (pp 18-24) (Hong Quang).....	19
The Publication of the "Selected Works" of K. Marx and F. Engels, An Important Event in Our Spiritual Life (pp 25-28, 38) (Phuc Khanh).....	27
The Role of Nguyen Hue in the Resistance Against Foreign Aggression at the End of the 18th Century (pp 29-33) (Nguyen Lyong Bich).....	32
President Ho and the Struggle Against Bureaucracy (pp 34-38) (Thien Nhan).....	38
The Garden Economy (pp 39-43) (Nguyen Khac Trung).....	44
On the Front of Taxation and Market Management (pp 44-48) (Le Nhu Bach).....	50

The Historic Turning Point in Vietnamese Literature (pp 49-53)	
(Phong Chau).....	55
Mobilizing Youths Is a Science, An Art (pp 54-59)	
(Vu Cong Can).....	61
The Cuban People Will Surely Be Victorious (60-62)	
(Ly Van Sau).....	68
The Present World Situation (pp 63-70).....	72



## STRIVE TO ACHIEVE VICTORY FOR THE 1982 STATE PLAN

BK051616 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Excerpts to January 1982 TAP CHI CONG SAN editorial pp 1-5; additional material at end of this article provides for a text of the editorial]

[Text] In 1981, despite the major difficulties and imbalances in the economy which continued to worsen, our people throughout the country have scored new successes in economic construction as well as in ensuring their livelihood, thanks to the great efforts of all sectors, echelons and primary production installations, and to the initial improvement of our economic management. Many new factors are developing, especially in agricultural production.

In agriculture, we have recorded several many-sided achievements in both the cultivation of grain and industrial crops and animal husbandry. The volume of grain production amounted to more than 15 million tons, the highest figure ever recorded. The collection and purchase of agricultural products has progressed well.

In industry, many factories actively tapped raw materials from agricultural, forestry and maritime products, and optimally used discarded materials and supplies to maintain and develop production continually and firmly. The handicrafts and artisan industry in several localities have developed well. The capital construction sector has concentrated more than before on major projects. The education sector has begun to implement its reform program.

As a result of the good harvest, the demand for grain in rural areas has been met better than before, even in those localities where such a demand was previously serious. With respect to workers and civil servants, our state has implemented and is implementing measures to alleviate difficulties in their living conditions.

The achievements in 1981 and previous years have asserted that the general and economic lines of our party throughout the period of transition to socialism are correct and creative. At the same time, they demonstrate the strength of our laboring people's mastery.

It is mainly in light of the party lines and the policies and guidelines of the party and state that our people in many localities have surged forward on their own to create good working methods and rekindle much of the latent force, thus achieving encouraging results.

Then the editorial points out the weaknesses and shortcomings in 1981 and specifies: The important and realistic lessons which we can derive from the implementation of the economic tasks and the state plan in 1981 are: We should thoroughly understand the party lines; firmly control the situation of each sector, each locality and each primary production installation; correctly apply the lines; policies and guidelines of the party and state, and basically change anew the management and planning systems. By doing so, we will certainly find the correct way to tap all the potentials to overcome difficulties and to stabilize and develop the economy.

The editorial continues: In 1982, the economic tasks and state plan have been set forth to fulfill the general economic strategy of the 1980's, which consists of bringing agriculture a step further toward large-scale socialist production. Its main objectives are to exercise collective mastery over the land and labor, to formulate an agricultural zoning plan throughout the country, to distribute social labor on a large-scale basis in order to use the labor force fully, to exploit tens of millions of hectares of arable and forest land, to expand comprehensively various branches and trades and to establish concentrated production zones and agro-industrial districts.

Along with and on the basis of agricultural development, we should rationally develop industrial zones and sectors, expand communications and transportation, gradually build the infrastructures, accelerate socialist transformation, reorganize the economy, combine in-depth development with lateral expansion and apply scientific and technical innovations.

We should establish new structures and new balances between industry and agriculture, between the central economy and the local economies, between production and construction and communications and transportation, between capital accumulation and consumption, and between export and import. By doing so, we will further stabilize and improve the people's livelihood and fairly fulfill the immediate demands while creating good bases and conditions for development in the 1980's.

We should accelerate socialist industrialization vigorously on a large scale and build a modern industrial-agricultural structure of which the backbone must be the relatively developed network of heavy industries.

The fundamental tasks of the 1982 State Plan are: to uphold self-reliance; to enhance the initiative and creativity of all sectors and localities, especially the primary production installations; to develop the laboring people's collective mastery and the revolutionary movement deep among broad segments of the masses; to implement the guidelines for cooperation between the central and local governments and between the state and the people; and to resolve to create a new and vigorous change in the economy and the people's livelihood.

While accelerating economic construction vigorously, we should combine the economy closely with national defense and vice versa by fulfilling the requirements of defending the country and consolidating national defense and security and by developing the capability of the armed forces to participate in economic construction and to increase products for the society.

In 1982 and henceforth we will continue to reorganize the economy mainly by correctly settling the relationship between industry and agriculture; reorganizing production, construction, the work force and population; redistributing the national income; and satisfactorily use all the economic components on the basis of firmly maintaining the leading role of the national economy.

From the standpoint of advancing agriculture to large-scale socialist production as a criterion for building a rational industrial-agricultural structure, all economic sectors, especially industry, communications and transportation, and capital construction, must make full use of their capacity to support agriculture primarily, ensuring a uniform balance among the main objectives of agriculture.

We must concentrate intensively on the production of grain and food products by stepping the cultivation of rice, secondary food crops, vegetables, legumes -- especially soybeans -- peanuts, sugar cane and fish in order to resolve our food problem. Every locality, especially districts, must establish a food program and a structure of food production and consumption suitable to its local conditions in order to meet its own demand for food.

We must balance the grain distribution in districts, and develop vigorously the cultivation of short-term industrial plants, especially soybeans, peanuts, tobacco, sugar cane, rush and hemp. With regard to long-term industrial plants, we must mainly concentrate on their intensive cultivation on the existing areas, paying attention to coffee, rubber and tea while we must vigorously develop the planting of mulberry for sericulture and the growing of such other fibrous plants as cotton, ramie and sword hemp in order to resolve gradually the clothing problem.

In industry, we must develop all of its potentials, especially in terms of domestic raw materials and the present production capacity of artisan industry and handicrafts. We must strive to step up the production of consumer goods, especially the commodities essential to the people's livelihood, partly easing the present tense situation of consumer goods, namely cloth, paper, medicines and bicycle tires. At the same time, we must secure all the necessary favorable conditions for the key heavy industry sectors such as electricity, coal, engineering, fertilizer and chemical.

We must develop our production capacity to the highest extent and concentrate on supporting effectively agriculture the production of consumer and export goods, and communications and transportation. We should strongly encourage the artisan industry and handicrafts to use optimally locally available raw materials, discards, rejects and recycled raw materials to develop the production of consumer goods.

Export is an extremely important task to be carried out by every sector, locality and establishment. It is necessary to effect a vigorous change in export in order to reduce gradually the imbalance between export and import. It is mandatory to give priority to the making of capital investments in and the reorganization of production in order to increase export capacities. Efforts must be made to create a main source of exports -- which must have a stabilized position in the world market -- with specific attention given to agricultural, forestry, marine and mineral products and mechanical items.

Capital construction is of great importance for ensuring various existing and long term production tasks. On the basis of achieving a good balance for capital, construction equipment, gasoline, oil and construction materials, we must rearrange capital investments in such a way as to suit the present economic objectives. We must, on a priority basis, concentrate on ensuring all the necessary conditions and on satisfactorily accelerating the construction of key projects for the state and of important projects designed to serve the production of grain, electricity, coal, natural gas, fertilizer, machinery, textiles, paper and construction materials.

In order to ensure smooth implementation of various production and construction activities, we must develop communications and transportation so as to ensure the transportation of imports, the transportation of goods in support of agriculture, the transportation of goods from the north to the south and vice versa, and the transportation of anthracite and cement for various key areas and key construction project sites. Priority must be given to developing riverine and sea shipping networks, increasing railroad transportation capacities and reorganizing truck transportation activities. In addition, we must pay specific attention to using widely all rudimentary means of transportation.

We must manage transportation activities more tightly, with emphasis placed on ensuring economical use of gasoline and oil and doing away with all cases of theft of goods in transit.

There is another important task which is to reestablish order in the area of distribution and circulation along the socialist business direction in order to better serve production and the people's livelihood. Our key task at present is to organize purchase activities satisfactorily and to secure the sources of goods, trying to create a stockpile of goods in order to ensure the supply task, especially the supply of those important items as grain, [and other] agricultural products, raw materials, industrial products and important exports.

State-run industrial enterprises and artisan and handicraft cooperatives must fully implement their plans to deliver products to the state and, at the same time, must satisfactorily carry out various measures concerning price readjustment, market management and wage readjustment in order to ensure the "each according to his work" principle and to suit the situation dictated by a change in prices. These are the very great and urgent tasks outlined in the 1982 State Plan. Satisfactorily carrying out these planned tasks will contribute greatly to further overcoming difficulties and effecting a new change in the economy and in the people's livelihood, thus creating a momentum for the ensuing years.

In order to implement the 1982 State Plan satisfactorily, the party, people and army must exert new and extraordinary efforts and must effect a drastic change in organization and in implementing guidance. This is an area of activity in which we have little experience and where many shortcomings and mistakes have been found. These shortcomings and mistakes have been a great obstacle to our success.

This year our efforts must be focused on exploiting to the fullest all favorable factors and practical capabilities in conjunction with the three central elements, which are to apply scientific and technological processes widely in order to improve the output, quality and efficiency of various production and construction activities; to improve the organization of economic management; and to revise planning activities and link the planning task with economic accounting and socialist trade along with strict efforts to practice thrift in all areas -- production, construction, living expenses, electricity, coal, gasoline, oil, raw materials and grain -- as economization is regarded as a national policy.

Our most powerful driving force in socialist construction is the socialist collective mastery system. We must further develop the combined strength of collective mastery through the organization of production and labor. We must more satisfactorily use our most valuable assets -- manpower and lands, including forested and sea areas -- in the initial stage of the process of advancing directly from small production to large-scale socialist production. We must closely link labor with lands, create more jobs locally and simultaneously organize a widespread motivation drive to redistribute labor and population on a national scale in order to turn out more products for society and to make ends meet.

The fifth party congress will further materialize the socialist revolutionary line and the way to build the socialist economy in our country. It will point out the direction and measures to be taken to improve the economy in the period ahead and will create a high degree of singlemindedness throughout our party, people and army.

In the light of the resolution of the forthcoming fifth party congress, it is certain that we will be able to fulfill the 1982 State Plan successfully and to continue to move our country's revolutionary undertaking another step forward.

[The January issue of TAP CHI CONG SAN allows for the following additions to the editorial published in the 9 February Asia & Pacific DAILY REPORT, page K 2: The first paragraph of the item begins:]



We are entering the year of 1982 with new factors being formed and developed in the various economic sectors and with the encouraging results of the emulation movement to score achievements in honor of the fifth party congress. This is the first year of implementing the resolution of the fifth party congress, and the second year of the Third 5-Year 1981-85 Plan. Developing the successes achieved and exploiting the new factors more satisfactorily, our entire party and all our people and soldiers are determined to surge forward and struggle to carry out the 1982 State Plan successfully, thus helping the socialist construction undertaking in our country to progress gradually. In 1981, despite..."

At the end of the first paragraph on page K 3, add:...achieving encouraging results. Agricultural crops were good. Many major provinces achieved higher productivity and greater volumes of production than in previous years. This is the combined result of the three revolutions carried out in the rural areas thus far, and the direct result of the system of contracts with workers. The initial development of production and business independence of industrial enterprises, the implementation of the system of product-based wages and the application of various bonus forms have resulted in a new work method in enterprises, encouraging workers and civil servants to strive to boost production for the interests of the state, the collectives and individual workers. The implementation of the resolutions on distribution and circulation has yielded positive results, thus initially developing the effect of economic levers and eliminating to a certain extent the subsidization character of the old circulation system.

However, what deserves our attention is that many plan norms were far from being attained, such as the output norms for electricity, coal, cement, lumber, bricks, tiles, cloth, rush mats and so forth. The volume of export goods was also below the planned norm. The transportation sector is too weak. Distribution and circulation work is experiencing complex changes. The control of industrial goods and some items of agricultural products and raw materials is still inadequate, and the management of materials and goods still leaves much to be desired, thus seriously affecting the balance between the supply of and the demand for goods. There still is a serious imbalance of financial operations. Although some effort and progress has been made in economic management and in the organization and supervision of the implementation of tasks, there still are many shortcomings. Efforts have not yet been concentrated on the main goals of the plan; discipline in the implementation of the plan is not upheld; many problems arising in the relationship between related sectors and echelons have not been resolved satisfactorily; and enterprises and cooperatives are not really independent in their production and business activities. The important and..."

[picking up at the end of the first line of the second paragraph on page K 3.] After the second paragraph on page K 3 insert the following paragraph: ...develop the economy.

In the initial stage of the advance from small production to large-scale socialist production, the inherently weak economy cannot overcome the many imbalanced aspects immediately. Moreover, we are forced to use part of our strength to cope with the multifaceted sabotage strategy which the Chinese expansionist hegemonists, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, have carried out vis-a-vis our country. Therefore, the fact that the economy and the everyday life are still experiencing many difficulties is inevitable. Being calm and clear-sighted, understanding the actual economic situation, placing firm confidence in the party's line, exhibiting the determination to fully implement the party and state's policies and measures and refusing to be worried about and to shrink from difficulties are prime requirements for all cadres and party members in the present economic situation. In 1982, the economic tasks...[picking up the first line of the third paragraph on page K 3].

Also, on page K 3, the last line of the fifth paragraph should be changed to: ...and conditions for developmental steps after 1990 -- accelerating socialist industrialization vigorously ... [picking up the first line of the sixth paragraph so as to combine the fifth and sixth paragraphs ].

CSO: 4209/231

THE KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE ARE FIRMLY DEFENDING NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND BUILDING THEIR FATHERLAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 82 pp 6-10

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The brilliant victory of 7 January, 1979, was the most significant historic event of the protracted and arduous struggle for independence and freedom carried out by the people of various nationalities in Kampuchea. The genuine Kampuchean revolutionary forces, with strong support from various strata of people throughout the country and the wholehearted assistance of the Vietnamese party, army and people, surged forward and promptly smashed the bloody regime of the Pol Pot clique, henchmen of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism.

This historic victory has saved several million Kampuchean people from the unprecedented tragedy of cruel genocide. It has also helped Kampuchea stop and eliminate the danger of being annexed completely by the Beijing reactionaries. It has not only opened up, for the Kampuchean people, a new page of their national history and a new era of their national independence and freedom, their right to be masters of their country and their destiny, but it has also contributed significantly to creating an unprecedented revolutionary situation on the Indochinese peninsula, where the formation of a firm militant alliance of the fraternal countries of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos has taken shape.

Over the past 3 years, the Kampuchean revolution has been consistently and vigorously developed. Under the young and active people's republic regime, the Kampuchean people have bravely and resolutely overcome numerous difficulties and ordeals. They have made great efforts and strengthened their determination in the cause of national defense and the building of the beloved fatherland.

The counter-revolutionary schemes carried out by various reactionary groups, henchmen of China and the imperialists to reverse the situation in Kampuchea, have been ignominiously foiled one after another. The PRK state has been increasingly strong in all fields and its prestige and international status have been consistently enhanced. The bankrupt economy created by the Pol Pot clique has been restored and developed. In 1981, about 1.5 million hectares of land were reclaimed for cultivation in Kampuchea. More than 60 factories and big and small enterprises in Phnom Penh and various provinces have been restored and commissioned.

Social activities completely disturbed under the Pol Pot regime have been gradually normalized and stabilized. Markets which are beneficial to the people's trade and business activities have mushroomed everywhere. The public health network has been established from the central to the grassroots levels to prevent and effectively eliminate various epidemics threatening to the people's health. Communications and postal services have been restored and rebuilt promptly to meet the demands of the state and the people. The cultural and educational sectors severely damaged under the former regime have been restored and vigorously developed. More than 1.4 million students are attending general schools. A number of universities have admitted students. Cultural, artistic and information activities have been carried out actively and regularly in all localities with increasing people participating in these programs. Various echelons of the administrative machinery have been consolidated and strengthened. The splendid success of the general election for the first PRK General Assembly and the adoption of the new Constitution are firm manifestations of the great achievements scored by the Kampuchean people since the overthrow of the genocidal regime.

World public opinion cannot help but be surprised at the wonderful change in a nation which not long ago was at the brink of a deep abyss of extermination. Now, Kampuchea, with the vigorous efforts of the Kampuchean people, has been rapidly revived with a new life full of revolutionary optimism. A new and advanced society in which human rights and dignity are respected is taking shape in Kampuchea.

This real picture of the present Kampuchean society is full of vitality and the irreversibly advancing position of the Kampuchean revolution make their friends around the world happy while annoying the reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces.

The Kampuchean people have been able to understand ever more clearly that the achievements which have been recently scored in their revolutionary struggle actually stemmed from the correct line of the KPRP, from the strength of the all-people solidarity, and from the close attachment of the party and the people coupled with the strength of international solidarity, particularly the strength of the alliance among the three Indochinese countries and of the socialist community with the Soviet Union as the pillar.

Despite its great and comprehensive achievements in the recent past, the Kampuchean revolution has yet to go through many new difficulties and ordeals in a bid to build and develop its forces aimed at continuing to overcome the serious consequences of the genocidal regime while coping with the frantic counter-attack and multi-faceted war of sabotage of the international reactionary and other hostile forces and their henchmen.

As specified in the resolution of the KPRP's 4th National Congress of Delegates, the common duty of the entire party and the people of Kampuchea in the present revolutionary stage is:

To defend national independence and to firmly build the country so as to advance gradually to socialism.

Faced with the intimidation and threat unleashed by the international reactionary forces, the Kampuchean people clearly understand that defending the country is the

foremost sacred duty of every citizen. For this reason, Kampuchea has lost no time in developing and consolidating its national defense and it has always remained combat-ready to protect the peaceful life of its people.

The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Armed Forces--composed of the three categories of troops: the main force, the local force and the self-defense militia force--have grown ever bigger in both quantity and quality. Born and raised during the people's movement, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Army has worthily continued and developed the glorious tradition of the Issarak Army in the past. Together with the people's security force, it has heightened vigilance constantly against all dark schemes and acts of the enemy while trying to track down and wipe out the reactionaries, conduct propaganda among enemy troops, protect the administration at the grassroots level, and firmly defend the country's western border.

The KPRF has paid great attention to intensifying political and ideological work among the army and public security forces and improving their sense of organization and discipline as well as their fighting ability. Built and trained by the party, these forces have been able to foster army-people solidarity, work and fight selflessly for the sake of the people, and share weal and woe with their combat partners. At the same time, they have upheld a brilliant spirit of internationalism and unshakeable revolutionary attachment and loyalty by coordinating closely with the fraternal Vietnamese cadres and combatants in the struggle against a common enemy.

Along with defending their country, the Kampuchean people are trying to restore and develop their economy and advance gradually to socialism.

Agriculture has always been considered to offer great economic potential for Kampuchea. This potential has, however, been ravaged seriously during the 10 years of war, particularly under the 5-year rule of the Pol Pot clique. During the present struggle to restore and develop the economy, Kampuchea considers agriculture to be its central task.

Developing the initial results obtained from agricultural production over the past years, in the next 5 to 7 years, Kampuchea will be able to concentrate on accelerating agricultural restoration, of which the main task is to step up grain and food production and to open some 1 million hectares of virgin land for crop cultivation. At the same time, it will strive to carry out agricultural development gradually and comprehensively with attention given to the restoration of the industrial crop area and the development of animal husbandry. This is aimed at increasing the quantities of farm products and goods to support the people's livelihood, production and export while helping to create the initial source of accumulation for industrial and national economic development.

To step up agricultural production and stabilize the situation in the rural areas, Kampuchea has paid attention to forming and consolidating production solidarity teams which are 10 to 15 families in size, which is commensurate with the production standard of the masses and the management ability of the grassroots cadres at present. The movement to form production solidarity teams has recently absorbed more than 90 percent of the peasant families in all localities throughout the country. Kampuchea is continuing to study and implement policies toward agriculture--which are based



on the principle of distribution according to labor--aimed at encouraging the peasants to participate enthusiastically in restoring and accelerating production.

Kampuchea has also paid attention to gradually restoring other economic sectors--such as industry, handicrafts, communications and transportation, and so forth--on the basis of carefully evaluating and calculating their production conditions, management efficiency and economic results so that their operations can be conducted in such a way as to support agricultural production and the people's livelihood.

Due to the country's economic and social characteristics, after the genocidal regime was smashed, a new economy took shape which is composed of three components:

The state-operated economy, although still small, is being developed intensively by the state so that it can gradually play a leading role in the national economy. The collective economy, of which the production solidarity team is a universal form, is playing a very important role in restoring and developing agriculture, forestry, fishery and handicrafts in all localities. The individual economy is being encouraged to expand under the direction and control of the state aimed at benefiting production, the people's livelihood and circulation throughout the country.

On the cultural and social front, Kampuchea advocates the shaping of a revolutionary culture with national and popular characteristics to inherit and promote the cultural heritage of the people of all nationalities in the country and, at the same time, to selectively assimilate the heritage of advanced cultures of the world, particularly of the socialist countries.

Attention has been paid to developing the mass cultural and literature and art movement vigorously. Professional teams responsible for culture, literature and the arts are operating actively in all localities throughout the country. Thanks to the new culture which is currently being developed, all vestiges of backward and reactionary ideology and culture left behind by the colonialist and feudalist regimes have been eradicated; the influence of the exploiting class' decadent lifestyle has been prevented; and a new spiritual, civilized and progressive life has been created for the people.

Kampuchea has paid great attention to improving its people's educational background. Along with intensively eliminating illiteracy among the people and expanding supplementary education among the cadres and soldiers, Kampuchea has begun to re-establish the general, vocational and higher education sectors under a program which is commensurate with the economic situation in the country. Under the new regime, all school activities must be closely coordinated with productive labor and other social activities.

With regard to combining modern medicine with traditional medicine, the people's republic state is taking good care of the people's health, with special attention given to ethnic minority groups in remote areas, by launching movements for regular prophylactic hygiene and adopting preventive measures against diseases in every village and hamlet.

To meet the national construction needs, Kampuchea has paid great attention to improving, using and developing the professional skills of its scientific and technical cadres, cultural activists, artists and educators aimed at forming a contingent of revolutionary intellectuals with expertise and good political and ideological quality.

Uniting all people and developing their strength to defend and build the country is one of the basic issues in the KPRP's present revolutionary line.

It can be said that never before have the Kampuchean people been allowed to truly live in freedom, harmony and mutual trust and love and assistance as they do now under the people's republic regime. While human dignity is respected in the country, people of all nationalities in the Kampuchean community can enjoy freedom and equality and share the same obligations and benefits. This shows that the KPRP's clear-sighted political line has satisfied the aspirations and profound feelings of the people of all strata. The KUFNCD's program, which is being implemented, attests to its vigorous vitality. With its fair and reasonable policies, the front has been able to motivate a broad mass of the people from various nationalities and social and religious groups to unite behind it to participate enthusiastically in serving the country.

A historic lesson drawn from the recent 4th KPRP Congress is to consistently heighten the banner of patriotism and the solidarity of proletarian internationalism. This fundamental guideline is being profoundly studied and implemented by the entire party and people throughout Kampuchea.

For each individual Kampuchean the general concept of patriotism is no longer an abstract thought, but it now bears significant meaning with real and concrete concepts. A patriot must, first of all, be loyal to the revolution, strive to carry out his obligation toward national defense and building, stir up hatred toward the enemies and strive to fight against the reactionary groups, henchmen of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the U.S.-led imperialists. A patriot must also serve the people wholeheartedly and scrupulously respects and protects the people's right to collective mastery.

The combination of patriotism with international solidarity has become a very important strategy of the Kampuchean revolution now. The Kampuchean revolution is not only a catalyst for the world revolutionary movement, but is also a hotbed of the sharp global struggle between the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism on the one side and the imperialist and reactionary forces on the other. For the Kampuchean people, patriotism means striving to fight against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in order to defend the Kampuchean fatherland and build it into a prosperous nation.

In their cause of national defense and building, the Kampuchean people need the sympathy and support of the peoples of the world's countries, especially peoples of the fraternal socialist nations. The more the Kampuchean people love their country, the more they treasure international solidarity.

The Kampuchean people have clearly realized the importance of the existence of the solidarity among the peoples of the fraternal countries of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos. For generations, the destinies of the three Indochinese countries have always been bound together. Peoples of these three countries have worked shoulder to shoulder in their fighting as well as in their national building. As the 4th KPRP Congress' resolution has stipulated: "The history of the Kampuchean revolution over the past half century has shown that when patriotism was closely associated with international solidarity, especially the Indochinese and the Kampuchea-Vietnam solidarity, the Kampuchean revolution would score a glorious victory. On the contrary, when the militant solidarity alliance of the three countries, especially the Kampuchean-Vietnam alliance was undermined, the Kampuchean revolution would then be obstructed and experience losses..." This important lesson has always reminded the Kampuchean people to persistently heighten their vigilance and stand ready to foil all vile schemes and tactics of the enemies which are aimed at sowing division. This will help them to strive to foster and strengthen the special and brilliant relations of the three fraternal countries on the Indochinese peninsula and to insure that it lasts forever. The Kampuchean party and people have also treasured the strengthening of the friendly relations and the fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community.

Over the past 3 years, the Kampuchean revolution has scored great initial achievements. The position of the Kampuchean nation is unprecedentedly strong and the future of the Kampuchean people is very bright; no reactionary force can reverse the Kampuchean situation.

The Vietnamese people are very happy to see various victories scored by the fraternal Kampuchean people. We firmly believe that with the far-sighted leadership of the KPRP and the strength of the all-people militant solidarity, the wholehearted assistance of the socialist countries and the sympathy and support given by the peace-loving and progressive forces the world over, the Kampuchean people will surely score ever greater victories and achievements in the cause of national defense and building Kampuchea as an independent, peaceful, free, democratic and non-aligned nation which will gradually advance firmly toward socialism.

CSO: 4209/231

## ON THE SPECIAL RELATIONS OF COOPERATION AMONG THE THREE INDOCHINESE NATIONS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN No 1 in Vietnamese Jan 82 pp 11-17, 24

[Article by Senior Gen Hoang Van Thai; Capitalized passages were published in italics]

[Text] Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are three separate countries on the Indochinese Peninsula that share the Truong Son Mountains and the Mekong River. The Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean peoples are indigenous races and each of them, with its own age-old history, has developed its own separate economy, culture, society and fine customs and mores. The three nations have, since ancient times, had economic and cultural exchanges with one another. Deep similarities in economy, culture, society and custom and mores can still be found among the different ethnic groups living along the common borders (Thai-Vietnamese, Thai-Laotians, Khmer-Vietnamese, Kho Mu-Laotians, Hmong-Laotians and Vietnamese of Khmer descent in the provinces along the Vietnam-Kampuchea border).

Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are strategically located in Southeast Asia, a strategically important crossroad for north-south and east-west communications. The three countries are endowed with rich natural resources and abundant manpower, and they enjoy a tropical climate. Owing to their strategically important geography, the three nations of the Indochinese Peninsula have often fallen victim to aggression, and they have, as a consequence of this, fought side by side and successively defeated the aggressive and expansionist forces from both the north and the west to safeguard their survival and development. The histories of the three nations have recorded shining chapters testifying to their militant solidarity against foreign aggression.

In the last century French colonialism waged aggression against the three Indochinese countries, starting with the invasion of Vietnam in 1858 (the landing of French troops in the Han-Danang area) and ending with the conquest of Laos through the 1893 agreement. The French colonialists invaded Vietnam first and used it as a springboard for taking over Kampuchea and Laos. The invasion of Kampuchea and Laos, in return, created a broad base for French colonialism to consolidate and fortify the process of conquering Vietnam and the rest of Indochina. After having taken over the three Indochinese countries, the French colonialists set up a unified ruling machinery headed by a French governor general; hence the name French Indochina. In implementing their divide-and-rule policy, however, the French colonialists divided the three Indochinese countries into five states, brazenly calling the Tonkin, Annam, Cochinchina, Laos and Cambodia, and adopted a separate policy for each state in an attempt to sow division within each nation and among the three peoples.

Even during the first days of the occupation, the three peoples singlemindedly rose up in a widespread resistance movement against THE COMMON ENEMY -- FRENCH COLONIALISM -- BOUND TOGETHER BY THE COMMON GOAL OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. Thus, French colonialism was the first imperialist aggressor that, FOR THE PURPOSE OF OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION, TURNED INDOCHINA INTO A SINGLE THEATER AND MADE THE PEOPLES OF THE THREE INDOCHINESE COUNTRIES ENTER INTO AN ALLIANCE IN A STRUGGLE AGAINST THEIR COMMON ENEMY.



THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE THREE COUNTRIES OF VIETNAM, LAOS AND KAMPUCHEA STEMS FROM THEIR NATURAL RELATIONS IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL, SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL FIELDS, BUT IT WAS NOT UNTIL THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY LED BY THE WORKING CLASS THAT THIS RELATIONSHIP ACTUALLY GAINED SUBSTANCE AND DEVELOPED. In the period prior to the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party (3 February 1930), the anti French movement in the three Indochinese countries erupted time and again, and in some instances, it lasted for decades but without success. Only with the leadership of the party and President Ho Chi Minh and with the guiding light of Marxism-Leninism did this special relationship among the three Indochinese countries manifest itself and become an alliance and did the revolution of the three countries gain victory step by step. Under the leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, the three peoples embarked on the struggle for national independence and freedom with full awareness and great confidence in final victory. Only the Indochinese Communist Party could understand the characteristics of the three Indochinese countries and establish the correct line for guiding the three peoples in their struggle for self-liberation. In its first platform, the Indochinese Communist Party pointed out that the objectives of the revolution in the three Indochinese countries consisted of opposing imperialism, opposing feudalism and gaining independence for each nation. The resolution adopted by the Indochinese Communist Party Central Committee in October 1930 said: "The party's task is to expand the struggle movement throughout Indochina." (Footnote: Party Documents, 1930-1945, published by the party Central Committee Department for Research on Party History, 1967, vol 1, p 860)

In November 1939 the party again said: "Despite the imperialists' efforts to sow division to facilitate their rule and despite the many differences in historical and cultural conditions, the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos live on the same S-shaped stretch of land, have economic and political relations with each other and are all under oppression by the imperialists, exploitation by capital and finance monopolists and unified political and military suppression by the French imperialists. The liberation movements of these nations are therefore closely related and are bound to rely on each other." [Footnote: Party Documents, 1930-45, published by the party Central Committee Department for Research on Party History, 1977, Vol 3, p 49]

In 1945 the Soviet Union triumphed over fascism, thus creating an unprecedented opportunity. Led by President Ho, the Indochinese Communist Party staged successful uprisings to seize power in Vietnam and Laos. Following the August revolution, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was founded with President Ho Chi Minh reading a declaration of independence at the Ba Dinh Square in Hanoi on 2 September 1945. In Laos the Lao independence government made its first public appearance in Vientiane on 12 October 1945 and, afterward, signed a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam aimed at helping preserve each other's independence. As for Kampuchea, owing to more difficult conditions, it was not until 19 April 1950 that the resistance government was founded with Mr Son Ngoc Minh as its president.

At the very outset of the struggle against the French aggressors and at the request of the Lao and Cambodian revolutions, Vietnamese troops and Vietnamese civilian volunteers were sent to fight and work in these two countries. For their parts, the Lao and Kampuchean peoples also gave assistance of all forms to the Vietnamese revolution. These fraternal relations of cooperation and mutual assistance won unanimous praise from public opinion in these three countries and in the world.

In February 1951 as the revolutionary movements in the three Indochinese countries were ripening in all aspects, the communists of these countries decided to found a separate communist party for each of their respective countries. The communist party of each respective country was to rely on the specific situation in its country to lead the revolution forward and to take responsibility before its people and before the world's revolutionary movement. As a result of this decision, the Vietnam Labor Party, the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (later renamed the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party) and the Lao People's Party (later renamed the Lao People's Revolutionary Party) were founded in February 1951, on 28 June 1951 and on 22 March 1955, respectively. Since then the struggle against the French aggressor

for the national independence in the Indochinese countries was conducted under the direct leadership of these three proletarian political parties, which were members having equal status in the international communists and workers movements. The victories scored by the peoples of the three countries in their anti-French struggles, especially the Dien Bien Phu victory scored by the Vietnamese people in 1954, led to signing of the Geneva agreement to restore peace in Indochina on the basis of France's recognizing the independence, sovereignty, national unification and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. These victories were the results of the collective struggle of the three Indochinese peoples in a combat-tested struggle of the three Indochinese peoples in a combat-tested strategic alliance.

Following the heavy setbacks and the consequent withdrawal of the French colonialists from Indochina, the U.S. imperialists stepped in to take the French colonialists' place. In its gradual process of invading one Indochinese country after another, the United States also used the territory of one country as a base from which to attack and invade another country. After invading the southern part of Vietnam and Laos, apart from turning these two places into their neocolonies, the U.S. imperialists used them as springboards from which to attack the socialist North Vietnam. To block the route that channeled the supplies from the north for the southern revolution, the United States intensified its bombing of Laos, especially central and lower Laos. To reduce its setbacks in southern Vietnam, the United States expanded its war of aggression into Kampuchea in the hope of isolating the anti-U.S. resistance of our people in the south at a time when the United States was compelled to deescalate the war.

To sabotage and contain the development of the Vietnamese revolution, China selected Kampuchea as a base from which to attack the southern part of Vietnam. The reactionary Chinese authorities also tried to undermine the Lao revolution in an attempt to put Laos under their control and to create a foothold there to attack Vietnam from the west.

However, throughout their struggle against French colonialism -- just as during their struggle against U.S. imperialism later on and, most recently, their struggle against Chinese reaction -- the three Indochinese peoples had to unite together and to assist and rely on one another in order to win. The victories won by a country had a decisive impact on the other two, although Vietnam was considered the main battlefield.

During the anti-U.S. war, especially after 1970 following the coup engineered by Lon Nol and Sirik Matak in Kampuchea, the three Indochinese peoples again united together and helped one another to win great victories. The victories won on the battlefields in North and South Vietnam were the deciding factor that forced the U.S. puppets to sign the Paris agreement in January 1973. This success created favorable conditions for each country to complete its democratic national revolution in mid-1975. Nevertheless, it must be seen that in this very period, Maoism, in pursuit of its perfidious long-term scheme, created and fostered the lackey counterrevolutionary Pol Pot clique from within the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP]. Beijing encouraged the lackey Pol Pot clique to carry out a genocidal policy at home and turn Kampuchea into a district of China and a springboard for counterrevolutionary activities while invading Vietnam from the southwest. This was in conjunction with the main offensive launched by China from the north in a bid to annex Vietnam and Laos and then expand to Southeast Asia.

To save themselves from genocide, the Kampuchean people, confident in their solidarity with the Vietnamese people and with the assistance of the Vietnamese people and armed forces, rose up and toppled the reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique -- Beijing's lackey -- and carried out their revolution. This victory of the Kampuchean revolution was a priceless contribution to the revolution of the three Indochinese countries in general and to the Vietnamese revolution in particular. With the counterrevolutionary strategic thrust from the southwest broken and the invasion by 600,000 Chinese troops from the north defeated, the gains recorded by the Vietnamese people in 50 years of struggle were firmly defended. These victories ushered in a new era for restoring and consolidating the militant alliance of the three Indochinese peoples.

With the aim to strengthen mutual cooperation and assistance for the benefit of national construction and defense, our state signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation and a treaty on the delineation of national boundaries with the LPDR (May 1977) and a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation with the PRK (February 1979). With these treaties, the special relations among the three countries were made official, the strategic militant alliance of the three countries had a firm legal basis and the three countries became closely united in their struggle against the common enemy. This is the factor guaranteeing the success of the revolution in each country as well as that of the revolution of the three countries as each nation is building and defending its socialist fatherland.

Historical evidence of the past 50 years shows that all the schemes and maneuvers of French, Japanese and U.S. imperialism formerly and of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists presently were conducted in accordance with the same METHOD: WAGING AGGRESSION AGAINST ALL THE THREE INDOCHINESE COUNTRIES; USING THE TERRITORY OF ONE COUNTRY AS A SPRINGBOARD TO INVADE THE OTHERS; AND STRIVING TO DIVIDE THE SOLIDARITY BLOC OF THE THREE COUNTRIES TO FACILITATE THEIR RULE. TO THEM, INDOCHINA WAS A SINGLE BATTLEFIELD REQUIRING A COMMON UNIFIED STRATEGY. Although imperialism and international reaction had tasted defeats and consequently had readjusted their policies of aggression and intensively used increasingly more modern war means together with cunning and cruel maneuvers, they finally ended in defeat -- from the colonialist policy of aggression and domination of Japan and France and the neo-colonialist policy of aggression and domination of U.S. imperialism to the expansionist and hegemonist policy of China. Obviously, to defeat imperialism and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, a revolutionary alliance among the three nations was objectively inevitable.

Recognizing this law at an early date, our party has affirmed the significance of the relations of cooperation among the three Indochinese nations and its obligation toward the Lao and Kampuchean revolutions.

Our party always holds that aiding one's friends is saving oneself. Fulfilling our obligation to assist Kampuchea and Laos is intended partly as a repayment for the aid we received from the Kampuchean and Lao revolutions, and partly as a way to help the Vietnamese revolution itself. The victory of the Vietnamese revolution is due partly to the great assistance of the two fraternal countries. Comrade Le Duan, general secretary of the VCP Central Committee, has affirmed that "the victory of our people and army was also the fruition of the unchanging militant solidarity and the longstanding special relations between our people and the Lao and Kampuchean peoples." [footnote: Le Duan: "Build a Strong People's Revolutionary Army To Defeat All Enemies Resolutely," TAP CHI CONG SAN, issue No 1, 1980, p 30]

More than 40 years ago when President Ho Chi Minh, returning from overseas, set foot again on the beloved fatherland and began to kindle the flames of struggle among the three Indochinese nations against French colonialism and Japanese fascism, all Indochina and Southeast Asia were still under the domination of imperialism. The same period, however, also saw the beginning of the fiercest struggle in the region between the two opposing forces of our time, typical of which were the two Indochina wars. The changes in the region were also the most far-reaching and radical, reflecting the emergence of the three socialist Indochinese countries and their strategic alliance. The group of socialist countries in Indochina are closely linked with one another in all respects. Moreover, they share a common border on land and sea with many other Southeast Asian countries. The Indochinese countries are far from their strategic allies but next door to their direct and most dangerous enemy -- Chinese expansionism and hegemonism. This situation attests to the urgency of the need to strengthen and consolidate the special relations among the three Indochinese countries as a regional strategic alliance. For this reason, maintaining and developing the unity among the three Indochinese nations is an objective demand and also a subjective aspiration and intention of the three nations. As Comrade Le Duan once correctly said: "Just as over the past half century, from now on we will persist in our policy of unity with Laos and Kampuchea and will ceaselessly strengthen the special alliance among the three fraternal countries on the Indochina Peninsula." [footnote: Le Duan: "Under the Banner of the Party, Let Us Elevate the Country to the Height of Our Time," TAP CHI CONG SAN, issue No 2, 1980, p 39] Forcefully expressing

the Lao people's aspiration, Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane, secretary general of the LPRP Central Committee has affirmed: "Our party's international line consists primarily in constantly consolidating and strengthening the unity and militant alliance among the three Indochinese peoples." [footnote: Kaysone Phomvihane: "Some Principal Experiences and Some Problems Concerning the New Orientation of the Lao Revolution," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1979, p 133] Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee once said: "The KNUFNS and the Kampuchean people will direct all their efforts at restoring, consolidating and developing further, on new bases, their relations of friendship, solidarity, and sincere mutual assistance with the fraternal Lao and Vietnamese peoples." [footnote: Heng Samrin: Interview With Chanthi Deaunsavan, head of a Lao journalists delegation on a visit to Kampuchea, carried by NHAN DAN on 19 February 1979]

To make our contribution to consolidating and strengthening this strategic fraternal alliance, we Vietnamese Communists must always pay attention to firmly grasping the following principles:

PRACTICE TOTAL EQUALITY, RESPECT ONE ANOTHER'S SOVEREIGNTY, PROMOTE UNITY AND LONG-TERM COOPERATION, AND ASSIST ONE ANOTHER IN ALL RESPECTS. Marxism-Leninism has clearly pointed out: The proletariat can be liberated only when it has liberated all the oppressed and the exploited in the world.

The liberation of the proletariat takes place at the national level and remains the primary task of the proletariat in each nation. This is not an exclusive cause, however, of any individual nation. To achieve this cause, it is required that nations join one another to form an alliance of an international character. Such an alliance is essentially the international solidarity of the proletariat. Only by truly respecting one another's national sovereignty can nations cooperate and assist one another on a long-term basis and in all fields. Lenin clearly pointed out: "Nations... even after the dictatorship of the proletariat is established worldwide, will continue to exist for a long, very long time to come."

[Footnote: V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Vol 31, p 109] Even when they were members of a single party organization and operated clandestinely, the Communists in the three Indochinese countries had already affirmed that the Indochinese nations are three separate nations, each having the right to decide its own destiny. The resolution issued by the plenum of the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) Central Committee held in November 1939 said: The union of the Indochinese nations does not necessarily compel them to form a single nation, because nations such as Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos have enjoyed independence for a long time. Each nation, therefore, has the right to decide its own destiny as it wishes. [Footnote: "Party Documents," 1930-45, published by the party Central Committee Research on Party History Department, 1977, Vol III, p 61]

The ICP Central Committee plenum held in May 1941 also clearly defined the independence and equality of each nation as follows: "To talk about the problem of nations is to talk about the freedom and independence of each nation according to its wish. This means that after driving out the French and Japanese, we must correctly implement the policy of 'national self-determination' toward the Indochinese nations. The peoples living in Indochina will organize themselves into a democratic republic federation or stand as separate nation-states according to their wishes." [Footnote: "Party Documents," 1930-45, published by the party Central Committee Research on Party History Department, 1977, Vol III, p 196]

Thus, genuine communists have never denied national sovereignty. On the contrary, under definite conditions they have even highly promoted the right of nations to genuine sovereignty. Theoretically as well as practically, all thoughts and actions at variance with equality and national sovereignty are extremely harmful.



In the situation in which Chinese expansionism and hegemonism -- the most odious and and despicable manifestation of bourgeois and petit bourgeois nationalism and bigoted chauvinism -- are scheming to trample on the national independence and sovereignty of various countries, the question of holding fast to the principle of national sovereignty becomes a particularly important matter of increasing topical significance. Respect for national independence and sovereignty must go hand in hand with a determination to counter any action of reactionary and imperialist forces which infringes on national independence and sovereignty.

RESPECT ONE ANOTHER'S LEGITIMATE INTERESTS FOR THE SAKE OF EACH COUNTRY'S REVOLUTION AS WELL AS FOR THE SAKE OF THE THREE COUNTRIES' COMMON REVOLUTION AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION. Relations between class and nation, between one nation and another and between a nation and the international community can be satisfactorily settled only if the parties leading these nations pursue correct foreign domestic lines and correctly combine genuine national interests with international interests. Nationalism of any color, localism, departmentalism and individualism are all major obstacles to the process of fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance in the alliance.

We believe that like our party, the two fraternal Kampuchean and Lao parties will never forget the historical lesson that the Chinese reactionaries have thrice betrayed the interests of the revolution of the three countries in the Indochinese peninsula.

At present they are fostering and using the Pol Pot clique as well as all other reactionary groups in Indochina to carry out their long-term scheme of sabotage against the Indochinese revolution. Obviously, in order to protect the legitimate interests of the three peoples in the Indochinese Peninsula, the interests of the world revolution as well as the genuine interests of the Chinese people, each country of the alliance must realize that it must first of all defend itself and, at the same time, must strengthen its alliance and solidarity and stay vigilant against the perfidious schemes of the Chinese reactionaries who are directing the spearhead against the three Indochinese peoples.

ALONG WITH STRENGTHENING THE SPECIAL RELATIONS OF COOPERATION AMONG THE THREE INDOCHINESE COUNTRIES, THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS ALSO PAY ATTENTION TO STRENGTHENING THE RELATIONS OF COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN VIETNAM AND THE SOVIET UNION, CONSIDERING THIS THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF OUR PARTY'S LINE FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS; AS WELL AS TO STRENGTHENING THE RELATIONS OF COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE THREE INDOCHINESE COUNTRIES AND THE SOVIET UNION AND THE REST OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. We, the Vietnamese Communists, clearly understand that the Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea solidarity bloc is a regional alliance that is part of the international alliance of member countries of the socialist community of which the Soviet Union is the pillar. The stronger the regional alliance, the more it will contribute to the great strength of the international alliance. On the other hand, the more powerful the international alliance of the socialist community and the three revolutionary currents, the more effectively it will help the regional alliance maintain an active stance under all circumstances. The three Indochinese peoples are now faced with the new strategic task of building socialism and defending their socialist fatherlands against the insidious schemes of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism. Therefore, strengthening solidarity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community is of great significance. Today the world socialist community, especially the Soviet Union, is the strategic ally and the firmest support of all revolutionary forces in the world, including the revolution of the three Indochinese countries. The combined strength of our nation and the Lao and Kampuchean nations can only be developed to the fullest extent through close and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

An important historical lesson drawn from realities of the revolution of the three Indo-chinese countries and the world revolutionary movement, and from events that have taken place within the past decade -- from Chile to Kampuchea, and from Poland to Afghanistan -- is that the working class and its political party of each country must first of all fulfill their obligations toward their own nation. Every success, albeit large or small, recorded by a nation in its struggle to consolidate the gains of its own revolution will contribute to consolidating the gains of the world revolution. Conversely, if we allow the enemies from within and without to sabotage the material and ideological gains of the revolution in a country, this will be detrimental not only to the revolutionary cause of that country but also to the revolutionary cause of the alliance or community as a whole.

Although the past 50 years were but a short period of history, all the three nations in the Indochinese Peninsula completely changed their appearances. Never before have the stature and strength of the Indochinese revolution been as strong as they are now. ONE OF THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY GAINS RECORDED BY THE THREE COUNTRIES IS THAT THE THREE PEOPLES HAVE VOLUNTARILY FORMED A SOLIDARITY AND MILITANT ALLIANCE AND A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP AMONG THREE SOVEREIGN STATES. THIS IS A NEW-STYLE ALLIANCE, A SHINING EXAMPLE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM THAT DESERVES THE CONFIDENCE, LOVE AND ADMIRATION OF ALL NATIONS THAT ARE STRUGGLING FOR INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM, HUMAN DIGNITY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. ALL THE CRITICAL AND SLANDEROUS ALLEGATIONS BY THE ENEMY ARE FULFILLED. True are the words spoken by Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee: "In the history of the world revolution, there are many shining examples of proletarian internationalism, but nowhere else and never before has there existed such a special, lasting and comprehensive militant solidarity alliance which still remains as pure and clear today as it was more than 30 years ago..."[Footnote: Greetings by Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan at the Fourth VCP Congress]

CSO: 4209/231

## "THE HISTORY OF THE VIETNAM COMMUNIST PARTY," A VALUABLE BOOK

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 82 pp 18-24

[Article by Hong Quang]

[Text] In celebration of the 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party, Su That Publishing House has published "The History of the Vietnam Communist Party" (rough draft, Volume I), which was edited by the Party History Research Department of the Central Committee.

Some years ago, on the basis of resolutions and directives of the Central Committee and under the personal guidance of Truong Chinh, member of the Political Bureau, the Party History Research Department of the Central Committee, coordinating with many other scientific research agencies, researched and summarized a number of historic matters and edited and published abridged histories of the party.

This time, "The History of the Vietnam Communist Party" (rough draft, Volume I) was compiled on the basis of the results of this research. In the process of research and editing, the Party History Research Department of the Central Committee constantly acquired new materials and accepted the opinions, observations and contributions of the leaders of the party and agencies, of scientific research cadres and of comrades who have been active in the revolution for many years. Under the light of the resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party and the resolutions of the party plenums since the congress, "The History of the Vietnam Communist Party" (rough draft, Volume I) was supplemented by important observations, completed on schedule and published in time to commemorate the 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party.

The process of editing the book, from the time research began until it was completed, was under the close guidance of Truong Chinh, both in terms of the contents of the book and the methods employed to compile it. The basic guideline of Truong Chinh was to fully reflect the spirit of the party and its scientific nature in the compilation of the party history.

On the basis of this guideline, "The History of the Vietnam Communist Party" is always oriented toward one objective: shedding light on the basic matters in the nature of laws of our country's revolution on the basis of introducing the history of the activities, the struggle and the development of the party in the process of leading

the Vietnamese revolution. The process of our party leading the Vietnamese revolution has been the process of applying Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country in order to establish correct strategic lines and revolutionary methods; the process of concretizing, supplementing, developing and perfecting these lines; and the process of organizing the implementation of lines, launching revolutionary movements of the masses and organizing revolutionary forces in every area on an increasingly high level, from the first few revolutionary groups to the revolutionary movements of tens of thousands, millions and tens of millions of people throughout the country who arose to topple the feudal colonialist government, establish the government of the people and carry out the revolutionary war to save the country.

"The History of the Vietnam Communist Party," proceeding from objective bases, brings back to life the historic realities, historic circumstances and the policies of the party. On the basis of these historic realities, the book draws conclusions of a scientific nature and avoids being subjective, onesided and automatically including in history things which history itself did not include or did not fully express.

In order to accomplish this, an essential first step that could not be omitted in the process of researching and compiling this book was to accumulate, collect, verify and put under the light of science historic materials dealing with each and every field of social life in all aspects of the activities of the revolution and in all localities of the country. This was a long process of scientific labor, a rather painstaking, arduous, detailed and patient process. The editors made an effort to avoid working in a simplistic, generalized fashion and avoid quickly believing and satisfying themselves with initial materials or hastily confirming events or conclusions that still needed to be considered, compared and examined because such a method of working would only produce a book of history containing a patchwork of events that are not related to one another in any way or might only produce the simple sum of historic events.

"The History of the Vietnam Communist Party"(rough draft, Volume I) is the result of a process of research, accumulation, integration, analysis, comparison and examination of all materials related to the history of the activity of the party. On this basis, the book paints a true picture of the history of the revolutionary struggle of our people under the leadership of the party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, from 1920 to 1954. Also on this basis, the book illuminates the revolutionary and scientific nature of the correct lines and policies of the party in each stage and each period of history.

The correct lines and policies of the party have met the essential and pressing needs of history. At the very outset, faced with the loss of country and home, Nguyen Ai Quoc found the path for leading the country from the crisis regarding the line to be followed by the revolution. When the party was founded, the first outlines of Nguyen Ai Quoc's revolutionary line were supplemented, developed and perfected in the 1930 Political Platform drafted by Tran Phu. "The 1930 Political Platform, the first platform of the party, charted the course of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution in Indochina in a thorough, comprehensive and relatively perfect manner"(p 138)(1).



In the various periods of leading the revolution, our party has gained many valuable experiences. These experiences are presented correctly under the light of new knowledge, thereby accentuating their historical significance. The editors absolutely did not evaluate past events on the basis of present day requirements, engage in subjective analysis or make history conform with present understandings of history.

After establishing the correct strategic line, the matter of importance in each period of history was for the party to establish the immediate goals of the revolution and lead the masses in achieving these goals.

In 1930, neither the necessary subjective nor objective conditions existed in Vietnam for a struggle to seize political power throughout the country. In order to eventually seize political power, the party needed time to accumulate forces and make the necessary preparations. Under the specific goal of that time, namely, struggling for the rights of the people and democracy, the party launched the 1930-1931 nationwide revolutionary movement and promptly redirected the revolutionary movement in accordance with a correct guideline.

Contributing his opinions to the Party Central Committee on leading the peasant movement in the 1930-1931 revolutionary high tide, Nguyen Ai Quoc pointed out that the immediate task of the party with regard to our country's peasant movement was: "To rally, organize and mobilize peasants to struggle to win their daily rights, not to wage a local uprising (uprising meaning an uprising to seize political power)"(p 147).

During the years from 1932 to 1935, years of vicious enemy terror, the party steadfastly led the struggle to restore and develop the revolutionary movement. "During this turbulent period, our party not only steadily steered the ship of the Vietnamese revolution through perilous waters, but also successfully prepared for the new fight"(p 209).

The 7th Congress of the Communist International in 1935 highly evaluated the achievements of the struggle waged by the working class and laboring people of Indochina in the 1930-1931 movement and during the 1932-1935 period of vicious terror and recognized our party as a steadfast corps within the international communist movement.

Under the light of the resolution of the 7th Congress of the Communist International and on the basis of correctly analyzing the world situation, the situation in France and the Indochina situation, our party quickly adopted an appropriate line and method for organizing and waging the revolutionary struggle in the new period, which met the most pressing requirements of the various strata of the people at that time, namely, opposing the colonial reactionaries, opposing fascism and war and demanding freedom, democracy, food, clothing and peace.

The talented leadership of our party during the 1936-1939 revolutionary high tide proved the correctness of a historic experience: "Correctly establishing guidelines and specific, immediate goals is a demand of the law of winning victory gradually and creating the conditions for winning victory for the strategic goals of the revolution" (pp 289-290).

Chiefly as a result of establishing specific, immediate guidelines and goals, our party, in subsequent periods, continued to win large victories: the successful general uprising in August, 1945; the maintenance of the young government during the extremely difficult days when its "fate was hanging by a thread"; and the historic victory of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, which drove off the French colonialists and totally liberated North Vietnam.

The book attempts to accentuate the creativity of the lines and policies of the party and show how they have met the objective requirements of history. During the years spent preparing to topple the enemy government (1939-1945), our party made a very important change in its strategic guidance, establishing the main, immediate task of the revolution as toppling the imperialists. The resolution adopted by the Party Central Committee in November, 1939, stated: "The anti-imperialist revolution and the agrarian revolution are the two keys of the bourgeois democratic revolution. Without carrying out the agrarian revolution, it is impossible to carry out the anti-imperialist revolution. Conversely, without carrying out the anti-imperialist revolution, it is impossible to carry out the agrarian revolution. This main principle never changes but must be skillfully applied in order to carry out the main task of the revolution, toppling the imperialists"(p 316). The resolution adopted by the Party Central Committee in May, 1941 further stated: "If, at this time, we do not solve the problem of national liberation and do not demand independence and freedom for all the people, not only will the entire nation still be enslaved, but the rights of the part, of the class will not be won in 10,000 years"(p 335).

On the basis of this wise policy, our party made active preparations for the decisive fight to win political power. The enlarged conference of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee in March, 1945, assessed the development of the situation and issued an historic directive: "The Japanese-French Conflict and Our Actions." "This important directive clearly reflected the wise, determined, timely and creative leadership of the party. It was the compass for each action of the party in the anti-Japanese movement for national salvation, which directly led to the victory of the August general uprising"(p 380). On the basis of this directive, the party promptly established the slogan: "Attack Granaries and Alleviate Hunger" and considered this to be the main slogan in launching the anti-Japanese movement for national salvation. This policy satisfied the most pressing aspirations of the masses and launched a revolutionary movement of unprecedented strength.

"The victory of the August revolution was the combined result of an internal factor, the united forces of all our people led by the party, and an external factor, the victory of the Soviet Union over the Japanese fascists; it was the result of the correct leadership of our party coordinated with the creativity, the brave spirit and the strength of struggle of our people; it was the result of the three large revolutionary movements led by our party, from the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement and the 1936-1939 revolutionary movement to the 1939-1945 movement to fight the French and drive off the Japanese. The correct leadership of the party was the main, decisive origin of the victory of the October Revolution."(p 409).

With the victory of the August Revolution, the nation of Vietnam entered a new era: the era of independence, freedom and socialism. Our people, once slaves, became the masters of the country, the masters of their destiny. Our party, once an illegal party, became a party in political power throughout the country. Our country, once a semi-feudal colony, became an independent country, became the first people's democracy in Southeast Asia.

After the 1945 August Revolution, our people became the masters of the country. However, the imperialists made every effort to tear our fatherland apart. The pressing requirements at that time were to maintain the government and prepare for a nationwide war of resistance, which our party had predicted was inevitable. As it does in its other sections, the book records these special features of history and mentions the faultless strategies of the party that led our nation through those perilous days and months.

On 23 September 1945, just after the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was born, the war of resistance against the French broke out in Nam Bo. Our party determinedly decided to wage the war of resistance while building the new system. On 25 November 1945, the Party Central Committee issued the War of Resistance, National Construction Directive, which clearly analyzed the world situation and domestic situation and set forth the line for the revolutionary struggle of our people in the new period.

The history of our country's revolution shall forever record a rare phenomenon: the people of Vietnam, a small, poor and backward country, after freeing themselves from the yoke of domination of imperialism and being tens of thousands of miles from the Soviet Union and surrounded on all four sides by the imperialists, maintained their revolutionary government while 300,000 troops of the British, French, American and Chiang Kai-shek aggressors occupied the country. They collaborated with domestic counter-revolutionaries in a vain attempt to rapidly annihilate our party, annihilate the Viet Minh front and strangle the revolutionary government as soon as it was born"(p 506). We won this victory because our party and the revolutionary government firmly relied upon the people, determined who our immediate, main enemy was, highly isolated them, directed the thrust of the struggle against them, temporarily established detente with those enemies with whom detente could be established and did everything to acquire peaceful conditions while preparing to deal with the possibility of the war spreading throughout the country.

In addition to quoting documents of the party, "The History of the Vietnam Communist Party"(rough draft, Volume I) presents excerpts from the wise, guiding opinions of President Ho Chi Minh that were not presented in previous books. "The Urgent Work of the Moment"(p 503), which was written by President Ho Chi Minh in early November, 1946, and has been printed in this book, recalls the atmosphere of urgency surrounding the situation and the extremely calm attitude of our party and people in the face of the provocative actions of the enemy at that time. President Ho Chi Minh accurately evaluated the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy and the war capabilities of the enemy as well as our resistance war capabilities; he pointed out that the war of resistance would be long, that we would wage this war while building the country, organize guerrilla operations everywhere and increase production everywhere, even if we had to temporarily withdraw from the cities. The



war of resistance would be very arduous and difficult but we were sure to win victory because the forces of the enemy were limited and because our people were determined to fight! "By working hard to make it through the cold winter, we will see the spring"(p 502).

On 19 December 1946, the entire country arose to fight the French colonialist aggressors. The nationwide war of resistance broke out at precisely the right moment: "When the French intentionally started the war and we could no longer restrain ourselves, the nationwide war of resistance began"(p 514). The directive entitled "All the people Carry Out the War of Resistance" and the book entitled "The War of Resistance Will Surely Be Victorious" were documents in the nature of a platform revealing the strategic line and the methods for waging the war of resistance and leading to to victory. The questions can we win victory over an imperialist power many times stronger than we and how can we win victory had been answered.

During the first years of the resistance against the French, we were still weak; therefore, "the strategic guidelines for the entire war of resistance were to wage a protracted war, to fight while maintaining our real strength, bolster and develop our forces and train the army and people; to fight while learning, to turn shortages into plenty, to turn weaknesses into strengths while annihilating and wearing down the enemy and making them so exhausted and discouraged that their strength became weakness, their victories became defeats"(pp 528-529).

The development of the war required a strong, dependable rear area and the mobilization of the forces of the entire country for new, decisive battles. To meet this historic need and in keeping with the resolution of the 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Party held in February, 1951, the 4th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, which was held in January, 1953, decided to carry out agrarian reform during the war of resistance. President Ho Chi Minh said: "Several years ago, due to special circumstances, we were only able to reduce land rents and interest rates, and this was a correct step to take.

Today, however, the war of resistance has lasted for 7 years. Many peasants have sacrificed their lives for the fatherland and peasants have made many contributions to the war of resistance and stand ready to make more sacrifices. However, they continue to be the poorest of all strata because they lack cropland or have no cropland. This is very unreasonable.

In order for the war of resistance to win total victory and a people's democracy to be truly implemented, it is necessary to uphold the economic and political rights of peasants, necessary to distribute cropland to peasants."(p 696).

In September, 1953, in the face of the enthusiasm of all the people carrying out the general mobilization under the slogan "Everything for the Frontlines, Everything for Victory" and on the basis of the new changes in the situation, the Political Bureau decided to launch the 1953-1954 winter-spring strategic offensive. This was a resolution of historic significance that met the demands of the situation at that time.



By means of specific data and by means of confessions of the enemy, the book proves the spirit of determination to fight and win of our people in the 1953-1954 winter-spring offensive and on the Dien Bien Phu front. At first, when evaluating our ability to resupply the Dien Bien Phu front, the French command said: "In view of the fact that they are so far from their base, what can the enemy (that is, the Vietnamese) achieve when their groups of corvee laborers must walk with supplies on their shoulders for hundreds of kilometers and must consume some of the grain they are transporting at a time when each one of our Dakota aircraft can easily drop 2.5 tons of supplies." However, at the conclusion of the campaign, a high ranking French officer said: "Alas! Our aircraft (that is, the aircraft of the French aggressor army) were inferior to the corvee laborers of the Viet Minh."

The historic experiences drawn from the realities of the war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors are very clearly presented by the book. They were the experiences of correctly establishing and thoroughly implementing the line of waging a protracted, full-scale war of resistance of all the people and practicing self-reliance; carrying out the war of resistance while building the new system; fighting while building up our combat forces; adopting suitable methods for carrying out the war; and building the party in the flames of combat.

The history of the war of resistance against the French clearly proves that we were able to develop the tremendous strength of all the people and win decisive victory for the revolution because our party not only established the correct strategic line, but also knew how to employ suitable modes of warfare. Truong Chinh has pointed out: "When strategy is correct but tactics are frequently incorrect, many tactical mistakes can result in a strategic defeat. Or, when a very large tactical error has been made, it can have more than a small harmful effect upon strategy"(p 747).

Throughout the book, full importance is attached to party building. Although the portions of the book dealing with party building are incomplete, compared to previous books, many new materials and new observations are included in them.

This book also gives attention to defining the role of the Indochina Communist Party (from 1930 to 1951) in the revolutionary movements in the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. In 1951, in Vietnam, the Indochina Communist Party changed its name to the Vietnam Lao Dong Party. In Laos and Kampuchea there were also party organizations of the working class carrying out the historic mission of their class and nation. However, all three peoples stood together in resisting the imperialist aggressors and their feudal lackeys. This is a law of the development of the Indochinese revolution. The book attempts to present the historic events that reflect this inevitable law, which led to the tremendous success of the revolutions in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, created a strong alliance in Southeast Asia and helped to change the revolutionary situation in the world.

President Ho Chi Minh said: "The party history is a golden book of history"(p 13). It is impossible for "The History of the Vietnam Communist Party"(rough draft, Volume 1) to fully reflect this significance of the history of our party primarily because the editors have faced many limitations in terms of materials and have been unable to avoid shortcomings. However, compiling, for the first time, a history of the

party that presents the basic features of this history in such a scientific and relatively profound manner represents a very large effort. Surely, with the contributions of the entire party and all the people, the history of the party will be more fully supplemented and improved.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The passages in quotation marks within this article are excerpts from "The History of the Vietnam Communist Party."

7809

CSO: 4209/231

## THE PUBLICATION OF THE "SELECTED WORKS" OF K. MARX AND F. ENGELS, AN IMPORTANT EVENT IN OUR SPIRITUAL LIFE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 82 pp 25-28, 38

[Article by Phuc Khanh]

[Text] Today, Marxism-Leninism is helping us to correctly explain a world that is undergoing very complex and diverse changes and is increasingly helping us to make positive contributions to transforming this world in accordance with the inevitable trends of the modern age, peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. In this spirit, we enthusiastically welcome the new, Vietnamese version of the "Selected Works" of K. Marx and F. Engels. The "Selected Works" consists of six volumes and one book of contents. Volume I will be widely distributed in late 1981 and the other five volumes will be distributed between then and 1983.

This set of books is a very valuable gift by the party, government and people of the GDR to our party, government and people. It is the direct result of collaboration between the Deutsch Publishing House, the organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and Su That Publishing House, the organ of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party.

The "Selected Works" were selected from the works and letters of the founders of scientific communism and encompass the theory of all three constituent components of Marxism: Marxist philosophy, Marxist political economics and scientific socialism. This publication of "Selected Works" is much more extensive than the previously published "Selected Works," containing passages from "Capital," the complete text of "Anti-Duhring," numerous important theoretical works, about which the mass of readers know little, and numerous letters written by Marx and Engels, which contain many important arguments that supplement the thinking presented in the various works.

History entrusted Marx and Engels with the mission of creating a new doctrine for a new era of mankind. The inheritance of the intellectual essence of mankind and the creation and perfection of a new doctrine demand the re-examination of all the most outstanding knowledge of mankind. The principles of Marxist doctrine were born in this process of inheritance and creativity.

Marx and Engels criticized and analyzed the vestiges of the old philosophies, especially classical German philosophy, and, as a result, caused a true revolution in

the field of philosophy and made a very important contribution to creating a totally new world view and methodology used by the revolutionary proletariat as the tools for understanding and transforming the world.

These two gentlemen examined the entirety of bourgeois economic science, the famous representatives of which were Smith and Ricardo, and analyzed the capitalist mode of production; as a result, they pointed out the laws that truly control the production and life of capitalist society but not only capitalist society. Through brilliant analysis by Marx, the commodity, the cell of development of capitalist production, was revealed to be the starting point for dissecting and understanding the entire production mechanism and society of capitalism. By this same method, capitalist society became the starting point for understanding the entire development of the history of mankind and the successive modes of production. The laws of the development of capitalist society, which were discovered by Marx and Engels, especially the law of surplus value, armed the revolutionary proletariat in the struggle to annihilate capitalist society; moreover, they are also the principles and methodology guiding the activities of the communist and worker parties in the creation of the new world, the new, classless society.

Marx and Engels analyzed and criticized every non-proletarian philosophy, including the most popular philosophies at that time, utopian socialism and petty bourgeois socialism, the eclectic theories, every revisionist argument and so forth.

The utopian socialism of Saint-Simon, S. Fourier and R. Owen, although denouncing capitalism, did not correctly explain the nature of the yoke of capitalist exploitation. They had the aspiration of building a beautiful society by means of persuasion, education and example, not by realistic means, by revolutionary struggle. The petty bourgeois socialism of Louis Blanc advocated establishing harmony between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat while the Proudhon style of petty bourgeois socialism advocated abolishing large-scale capitalist ownership while praising and wanting to maintain the small-scale ownership of small producers and pull history back to the period of the private, small-scale farmer society. The utopian communism of Weitling, although opposing capitalism, only drew a picture of communism based on instincts, not on science. While criticizing them, Marx and Engels pointed out that the major and unavoidable historical shortcoming of all of these persons was that they did not understand the laws of development of society, did not see that the decisive causes of the development of society were the mode of production of material wealth and the persons creating the new society, the working class.

Through tireless revolutionary activities and struggle and by means of their brilliant intelligence and extraordinary energies, Marx and Engels gradually developed and perfected their doctrine, a doctrine that is fully revolutionary and scientific, a doctrine that became the ever victorious banner of the world proletariat, became the most effective weapon against every enemy. As a result of the two most important discoveries, historical materialism and the theory of surplus value, the socialism of Marx and Engels truly became a science, the essence of which is the law of development of the history of man and the historic position of the working class, the class that has the worldwide historic mission of digging the grave of capitalism, liberating mankind and building the new society. Therefore, Lenin said: "The main



point in the doctrine of Marx is that it clarifies the world historic role of the proletariat as the builders of socialist society."(1)

The slogan "Proletariat of All Countries, Unite!" was later developed by Lenin into "Proletariat of All Countries and All Oppressed Peoples, Unite!" and became the clarion call rallying the forces of the working class. In 1871, through the Paris Commune, the French working class "charged forth and attacked the horizon." In 1917, under the leadership of the brilliant Lenin and the glorious Bolshevik Party, the great Russian October Revolution achieved success, thereby establishing the first socialist state in the world and ushering in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. This great victory changed Marxism from a scientific theory into living reality. Today, with the formation and development of the world socialist system, the growth of the national liberation movement in the world and the development, in both breadth and depth, of the worker movement in the capitalist countries, the thinking of the founders of scientific communism has proven itself to be invincible. Long ago, the brilliant works of Marx and Engels became the pillow on the bed of each enlightened worker, of each genuine revolutionary. Whereas, during the initial period, the works of these two gentlemen were only published in a few countries, today, the majority of these works have been printed and distributed in dozens, even hundreds of languages in many different countries. The reputation of these two gentlemen, their thinking and their works have shed light on the field of socialist and communist construction in the socialist countries, equipped the working class and revolutionaries in the capitalist countries with an effective weapon for opposing every system of oppression and exploitation and charted the course for the vanguard soldiers of the national liberation movement.

The Marxist-Leninist theory with its Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economics and scientific communism are being creatively applied and developed upon by outstanding Marxist-Leninist scholars in the construction of socialism and communism, in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

Clearly, the remarkable strength of Marxism has been closely linked to the typhoon-like strength of the three revolutionary currents that are attacking imperialism and the other international reactionary powers from many directions in order to achieve the lofty goals of our times, the goals of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. At the same time, each step forward by the movement, each new victory of the revolution has concretized and enhanced the brilliant thinking of Marx and Engels.

As they did in the past, the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, and the other international reactionary powers, trembling with fear in the face of the bright truth of Marxism, are looking for every way to oppose Marxism. They unanimously proclaim that Marxism has become "outmoded." Even more maliciously, they are praising the works of the "young Marx" in order to erode the scientific foundation and the revolutionary nature of Marxism, place the two inherently consistent stages of development of the thinking of Marx into opposition with each other, deny the fundamental principles of Marxism concerning the world historic mission of the working

class, deny the dictatorship of the proletariat, deny revolutionary violence, deny the law that capitalism will surely perish and socialism will surely win victory on a worldwide scale, etc. They have established in many capitalist countries institutes of "Marxist studies" and institutes of "Soviet studies" to find way to discredit and distort Marxism in both theory and practice by means of so called scientific methods and by provoking opposition attitudes. They have also produced new theories in a vain attempt to prove that capitalism can overcome its antagonisms by itself, can "blend" and "converge" with socialism and that socialism needs to be "brought up to date."

In the face of each malicious strategem of the enemy, the doctrine of Marx stands as solidly as a rock, is as filled with vitality as a growing tree and is proving its correctness more with each passing day. Life has completely verified the words of Lenin: "...After each time it has been discredited by orthodox science, Marxism has become stronger, been tempered and become more profound."(2)

The disadvantageous situation has forced the enemies of Marxism to use a "trojan horse" in a vain attempt to eliminate Marxism and undermine the communist movement from within. Today, the shock troops carrying out this malicious scheme are the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles. In the name of communists, they are undermining the communist movement and, in the name of Marxists, they are replacing Marxism with Maoism, which they have praised to the skies. Why has this "out of season" phenomenon occurred? The reason is none other than that taught by Lenin several decades ago: "The victory of Marxism in the realm of theory forces the enemies of it to disguise themselves as Marxists, such is the dialectic of history. Liberalism, having become internally corrupt, looked for ways to revive itself in the form of socialist opportunism."(3)

Today, Marxism and Marxists must struggle against every type of opportunism that is having a negative impact upon the worker movement. Whereas all sorts of anti-Marxist socialisms emerged in the 1840's, such as feudal socialism, bourgeois socialism, petty bourgeois socialism and critical utopian socialism and communism, today, we are encountering similar types: nationalist socialism, renaissance socialism, Catholic socialism, coalition socialism, etc. At one place or another, national characteristics, regional differences and local characteristics are being intentionally exaggerated, which has led to a lack of regard for and the denial of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and the experiences of an international and profoundly epochal nature of the Russian October Revolution.

Struggling for the total victory of Marxism and protecting the purity of Marxism in the face of every ideological enemy are two of the foremost tasks of the communist and worker parties, of each revolutionary fighting under the banner of Marxism. The publication in the present situation of the "Selected Works" of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels will surely make a positive contribution to this struggle. Facts are proving the wise observation made by Lenin more with each passing day: "Since Marxism was born, each and every great era in the history of the world...has brought new affirmation of this philosophy, brought new victories to this philosophy. However, the coming era of history will bring to Marxism, the doctrine of the proletariat, an even larger victory."(4)

In harmony with the nations in the socialist community and the communist and worker parties in the present era and guided by the revolutionary world view and the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism, our communists, our working class and all our people, with firm confidence in the future of the country, are determined to brandish the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism, turn the thinking of Marxism-Leninism into a "material force" and successfully complete the task of building and protecting the socialist fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Vietnamese version, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1980, Volume 23, p 1.
2. Ibid., Volume 17, p 20.
3. Ibid., Volume 23, p 3.
4. Ibid., Volume 23, p 5.

7809

CSO: 4209/231

## THE ROLE OF NGUYEN HUE IN THE RESISTANCE AGAINST FOREIGN AGGRESSION AT THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 82 pp 29-33

[Article by Nguyen Luong Bich]

[Text] In preceeding ages, our country's primary enemies were the Chinese expansionist powers. However, in the 18th Century, in addition to these powers, our enemies also became the western capitalist powers and the Siamese feudalists.

In the preceeding ages, every time we won victory over an aggressor, our country was strong and stable, all the people were united, the entire country was united as one and all manpower and materiel were devoted to the fight against the enemy. However, in the 18th Century, the feudal class was weak, cruel and divided; there were three ruling groups within the country, the Le, the Trinh and the Nguyen, which caused the country to be divided into two separate zones, the north and the south, which fought each other constantly. They made every effort to suppress and exploit the people in order to live decadent, debauched lives and support their fratricidal wars. The people, who lived in poverty and misery, frequently rose up against the feudal class but were barbarously massacred by them. The spirit of the people had been broken.

The threat of aggression against Vietnam from the western capitalists had existed for a long time and became increasingly obvious in the 18th Century. Beginning in the 16th Century, the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, British and French capitalists sent many missionaries and traders to our country. The missionaries and traders of that time usually served as intelligence agents for them. In the middle of the 17th Century, a French missionary in Vietnam, Alexandre de Rhodes, sketched a map of Vietnam, sent it to France and suggested the following to the French government: we must occupy this position and, if we do, European traders will find a rich source of profits and natural resources. In the early 18th Century, British traders occupied Con Lon Island, that is, present day Con Dao Island, and stayed there for more than 1 year until they were driven off by the local people. In 1737, Dumas, the French plenipotentiary in Pong-di-se-ry [Vietnamese phonetics] (territory of India), had a grander scheme and set forth a plan for invading Vietnam. Twenty years later, in 1757, the French General Choiseul studied the possibility of invading Vietnam. Eleven years later, in 1786 [as published], a French admiral named Estaing presented another plan for invading Vietnam. Thus, the scheme of France to



attack and occupy our country was being promoted more with each passing day. However, France became involved in a war for colonies with Great Britain and was, therefore, unable to immediately carry out this scheme.

Together with the aggressive ambitions of the French capitalists in the last half of the 18th Century were the actions taken by the Siamese expansionists (that is, Thailand) to encroach upon and occupy our country. Siam was constantly committing aggression against Chan Lap (present day Kampuchea) but never occupied the country for a long period of time because Chan Lap asked Vietnam for assistance. During the last half of the 18th Century, Siam frequently attacked and occupied Ha Tien, using it as a springboard for attacks against northern Vietnam and attacks against Chan Lap. However, this scheme was not successful. When an overseas Chinese in Siam, Trinh Tan, who was from Trieu Chau in China, seized the throne of Siam and made himself king, the plan to attack Vietnam was intensified. In 1771, this Chinese king of Siam sent some 20,000 troops to attack Ha Tien; they occupied it for 2 years but were attacked and forced to flee.

In the north, the Chinese expansionist powers continued to be a constant threat. In the middle of the 17th Century, the feudalists of the House of Thanh ascended to power in China. The expansionist ambitions of the rulers of the House of Thanh were greater than those of preceding dynasties. They insanely attacked the countries and nations around China from the north, from the west and to the south. In the middle of the 18th Century, the Man-Thanh expansionists expanded the territory of China into a large feudal empire. In 1669 [as published], they began to occupy the border area of Vietnam. Between then and the last half of the 18th Century, they continuously encroached upon and occupied the provinces of Bao Lac, Vi Xuyen, Thuy Vi, Quynh Nhai, Chien Tan, Lai Chau and Loc Binh and completely occupied the two provinces of Quang Lang and Khien Chau, allowing people from China to live in them. In 1780, China occupied four more provinces: Hoang Nham, Tuy Phu, Hop Phi and Le Tuyen. Thus, during the reign of the Thanh in China, they occupied six of our provinces in the northwest and frequently occupied land along the border with our country from Lang Son and Cao Bang to Lai Chau. The Le-Trinh Dynasty in the north accepted the loss of these provinces and did not mobilize troops to take them back.

The situation at home in the 18th Century was very chaotic; the people in both regions of the country were living lives of hunger and misery. In the north, from Nghe An northward, the Trinh rulers had to admit that "the people are poor and do not even have the ground in which to stick a stake." (1) In the middle of the 18th Century, "the people were roaming about the country, leading one another in search of food. The price of rice soared(...). The majority of the people had to eat vegetables and tubers, even eat snake meat and rat meat; the dead were piled on top of one another and less than 10 percent of the population remained." (2) In the south, that is, from Thuan Hoa southward, the same confusion and misery occurred. In 1774, a year of serious famine, the following phenomenon occurred in Thuan Hoa: "The bodies of persons who had died from starvation lay in the streets and persons sometimes ate their relatives." (3)

With such a vile feudal ruling class and with the strength of the people exhausted, how was it possible to fight the enemy and defend the country? The weakness and confusion within the country further encouraged foreign expansionist powers to rapidly

commit aggression against our country. In the last half of the 18th Century, the danger of losing the country became increasingly real.

However, with their determination to build and defend the country, Nguyen Hue and the Tay Son Partisan Army reversed the situation, restored the invincible strength of the nation and terrified every domestic and foreign enemy. Nguyen Hue and the Tay Son Partisan Army tenaciously fought for 20 consecutive years, toppled one feudal ruling group after another, the Nguyen, the Trinh and the Le, in both the north and the south, reunified the country and mobilized the people for the victorious fight against the foreign expansionist powers that were threatening the independence of the fatherland. The Tay Son uprising movement had one salient characteristic: it was a peasant war of liberation against domestic feudal powers and a war to protect the fatherland against aggression from the outside. In both of these wars, Nguyen Hue and the Tay Son Partisan Army fought very skillfully and achieved brilliant success.

The weakened feudal class did not dare oppose the foreign expansionist powers. However, in order to crush the peasant movements against them, they made a cowardly appeal to the foreign expansionist powers to come and rescue them, "invited the enemy into their home" and stood ready to serve as the enemy's lackeys.

In 1771, the Tay Son movement broke out. In 1773, the partisan army began its attack against the army of the Nguyen lord in Quy Nhon. In 1777, Nguyen Hue attacked the Nguyen lord in Gia Dinh. The armies of the Nguyen lords had been routed. The lord Phuc Thuan intended to travel to China on a Portuguese ship and ask the lords of the House of Thanh to send troops to Vietnam to fight the Tay Son Partisan Army. However, while Nguyen Phuc Thuan was waiting for the ship to arrive, he was captured by the Tay Son Partisan Army. The scheme of the Nguyen lords to bring the Thanh army into Vietnam could not be carried out.

During the battles fought in Gia Dinh, a nephew of Nguyen Phuc Thuan, Nguyen Anh, escaped. The French missionaries, headed by Ba Da Loc, immediately used this as an opportunity to intervene militarily in Vietnam. Although they did not request that the French imperial court send troops, Ba Da Loc and the French church in Vietnam still helped Nguyen Anh establish an army. They supplied him with a fleet of European style warships that were manned by French and Portuguese officers and sailors. Each ship was armed with about 10 heavy cannons.

In 1782, Nguyen Hue took his army to Gia Dinh, where they routed the Nguyen Anh army and the entire fleet of French warships. In 1783, realizing that he could not rely upon France, Nguyen Anh asked Spanish missionaries to go to Manila to ask the Spanish capitalists who were ruling the Philippines at that time to send troops from the Philippines to Vietnam to rescue him. However, before these Spanish missionaries could act, they were captured by the Tay Son Partisan Army. Nguyen Anh's plan to seek support from the Spanish capitalists failed.

In early 1784, Nguyen Anh, who no longer had a place to hide, fled to Siam to seek support because Siam was near Gia Dinh. Having been presented with the opportunity to encroach upon some of our land in Gia Dinh and control and commit aggression against Chan Lap, the king of Siam decided to send 300 warships and 20,000 troops (50,000 troops

by some accounts) to attack Gia Dinh. However, the entire Siamese army was annihilated by the Nguyen Hue army in the battle of Rach Gam-Xoai Mut in early 1785. Nguyen Anh and the remnants of his army were forced to take refuge in Siam, where they subsisted by farming, clearing land and gathering firewood.

After routing the Siamese aggressor army, the Tay Son Partisan Army, having completed their task in the south, decided to advance to the north to annihilate the feudal powers ruling the north. In 1786, Nguyen Hue and the Tay Son Partisan Army liberated all of the north, toppled the ruling group of the Trinh family, and unified the country. Having no intentions of making himself king, Nguyen Hue placed Le Chieu Thong on the throne and then returned to Phu Xuan, accepting for himself the rank of a general of the House of Le. However, the ignorant Le Chieu Thong betrayed the Tay Son movement by sending someone to China to seek the support the Thanh army.

The chief of Luong Quang Province, Ton Si Nghi, commanded the aggressor army, a position to which he was appointed sometime earlier by the Thanh king. He immediately took several steps necessary when sending troops into battle. First, he sent the officials of the House of Le who were present in China at that time back home with a proclamation urging the people to arise against the Tay Son Partisan Army and encouraging the former officials and Le Chieu Thong to recruit additional troops in order to respond to and join forces with the Thanh aggressor army. Secondly, he issued a proclamation and sent persons to incite the Chinese in Vietnam to rebel and to organize them into overseas Chinese armies to serve as provocateurs for the Chinese aggressor army. Thirdly, he asked the Thanh king to send a very large regular force army to attack Vietnam, an army that consisted of the ground forces of the four provinces of Quang Dong, Quang Tay, Van Nam and Quy Chau and the naval forces of the two provinces of Quang Dong and Phuc Kien. The ground forces of the four provinces alone amounted to 290,000 men.(4)

The Chinese aggressors secretly organized a rather large army of overseas Chinese in North Vietnam. "In the Tinh Tuc mining area in Thai Nguyen, they established an overseas Chinese army consisting of 10,000 persons from Trieu Chau in Quang Dong and divided it into 10 armed battalions, each of which had 1,000 men."(5) In a few other mining areas in North Vietnam, the Chinese aggressors also sent persons to assemble similar forces. The total number of overseas Chinese troops organized by the Chinese aggressors in the border area of our country was approximately 30,000. "This did not include the countless overseas Chinese in the other localities who took the side of China when Chinese troops invaded."(6)

Clearly, the Thanh were not our only enemy. The overseas Chinese within our country were also waiting for the rebellion to start. In addition, there was the army of Le Chieu Thong. If we sent all of our troops to the border to block the Thanh aggressor army, the army of Le Chieu Thong and the army of overseas Chinese would have harassed the rear area and attacked our army from behind. If we sent our troops to attack all these enemies at their staging areas, it would be very difficult for us because our army was small and the enemy armies were very large.

None of these complex situations caused any concern to Nguyen Hue or the Tay Son generals. When the 290,000 troops of the Thanh aggressor army crossed the border into



our country, the main force army of Tay Son in the north numbered only about 10,000 men. The Tay Son generals calmly organized combat in accordance with their strategy. Their heroic leader, Nguyen Hue, calmly remained in Phu Xuan; it was not until after he had fully assessed the situation that he went to Tam Diep and ordered the three armies to "launch a sudden attack and win quick victory."

In this great victory, the talent of Nguyen Hue was that he drew all the different enemies from different directions to a number of places in order to annihilate them. For this reason, the Tay son army in Bac Ha, although small, did not need to fight decisive battles; instead, it merely fought then withdrew, withdrew until it could block the enemy. The 290,000 troops of the Thanh aggressor army, the several tens of thousands of troops of the Le Chieu Thong army from Lang Son and Kinh Bac and the 20,000 overseas Chinese troops from Thai Nguyen and the other mining areas along the border became concentrated in Thang Long and a few positions around Thang Long. With all enemy forces concentrated in one place, the best possible conditions had been created for us to win victory rapidly and systematically.

Secondly, Nguyen Hue knew how to mobilize and organize the masses to participate in the fight against the enemy. The forces of the Tay Son Partisan Army were never very large. When the aggressors reached Thang Long, the great army of Nguyen Hue in Phu Xuan only numbered 50,000 or 60,000 troops. When it sent its troops into battle in the north to fight the enemy, the partisan army had to leave a significant force behind to protect Phu Xuan and maintain security throughout the south. At Nghe An, Nguyen Hue stopped to recruit additional troops. History records that "when they heard that Nguyen Hue was about to launch a large attack against the Thanh army, all the people of Nghe An leaped for joy and went in groups to join the army. Some persons who were about to be married quickly postponed their weddings. Some persons who were about to go to other places to work decided to remain behind, some persons who were conducting business far away immediately returned home and joined the army."(?) Thus, in only several days, the total number of troops under the command of Nguyen Hue increased to 100,000; there was also a large unit consisting of a few hundred elephants. Along the road from Nghe An to the north, the daily rations of the 100,000 troops and 200 elephants were supplied entirely by the local people.

Thirdly, Nguyen Hue knew how to attack suddenly, attack in a "lightning-like," resolute and unexpected manner and attack from many different directions at the same time, thereby making it impossible for the enemy to know from where they were being attacked, impossible to take action in time. When he learned that the enemy in Thang Long had intended to send their troops into battle on the 6th of January, Nguyen Hue decided to attack and annihilate the enemy before that day. He declared to his entire army that they would celebrate Tet on the 7th of January in Thang Long. He divided his troops into five armies that departed at the same time. The army that was under his personal command attacked along the main road to Thang Long, where there were many strong bases of the enemy. In the middle of the night on New Year's eve, he destroyed the Gian Khau base and then advanced on the Ha Hoi base, about 20 kilometers from Thang Long. At midnight on the 3rd, our troops arrived at Ha Hoi and tightly surrounded the enemy base. The several tens of thousands of Thanh troops within the base, having been taken by surprise, panicked, lost their fighting morale and surrendered en masse. The Nguyen Hue army then attacked the Ngoc Hoi base. Early on the morning of the 5th, while the troops of Nguyen Hue were attacking the Ngoc Hoi



base, the troops of Admiral Long routed the enemy troops at the Khuong Thuong base and advanced on Thang Long City. At the same time, naval forces of Admiral Tuyet on the Red River moved down to Tay Long, the main headquarters of Ton Si Nghi. Ton Si Nghi panicked, abandoned his troops, abandoned his officers and fled for his life to Phu Nhan, where he was attacked by the troops of Admiral Loc. Ton Si Nghi was forced to throw away everything he needed, such as his letters, writings and military seal, in order to sneak back into his country.

Thus, in the space of only 5 days and nights, that is, from New Year's eve to the 5th of January in the year Ky Dau, 290,000 troops of the Thanh aggressor army together with several tens of thousands of overseas Chinese troops and troops of the Le Chieu Tong army were either annihilated or surrendered.

The great victory won in the spring of 1789 by hero Nguyen Hue was a milestone in the history of our nation's wars against aggression, was eloquent and irrefutable proof of the invincible strength and the unparalleled intelligence and talent of our people in a war to protect the fatherland.

The present day Chinese expansionists and hegemonists should remember and learn from this lesson of flesh and blood!

#### FOOTNOTES

1. From: "Tim hieu thien tai quan su cua Nguyen Hue" [Understanding the Military Genius of Nguyen Hue], by Nguyen Luong Bich and Phan Ngoc Phung, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, p 20.
2. Viet su thong giam cuong muc, Volume XVIII, Su Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 14.
3. Dai Nam thuc luc tien bien, Su Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume I, p 246.
4. As regards the number of troops in the Thanh aggressor army, the figure 290,000 was stated in the Imperial Order distributed by King Quang Trung to the troops of the House of Thanh following the great victory in the spring of 1789 (a translation of this order appeared in Tuyen tap Tho van Ngo Thi Nham, Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, Book 2, pp 114-116).
5. Hoang Le nhât thong chi, Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964, pp 328 and 348.
6. Nguy Nguyen: "Thanh vu ky" ( A Chinese book during the Thanh period), Book 6, p 34.
7. Minh do su, a handwritten Chinese book (The Library of the Institute of History).

## PRESIDENT HO AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRACY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 82 pp 34-38

[Article by Thien Nhan]

[Text] Bureaucracy is one of the maladies which all of us realize the need to determinedly combat. However, bureaucracy is not of a temporary nature, rather, it has its own "deep roots." Fighting bureaucracy requires determination and persistence. The fathers of the proletarian revolution harshly criticized and strongly struggled against this weed, pointing out the positive measures for exterminating it and, at the same time, informing us that this is an extremely difficult struggle.

President Ho taught us profound lessons about combating bureaucracy. He clearly established the fact that, along with misappropriation and waste, "bureaucracy is an enemy of the people, troops and the government. It is a rather dangerous enemy. Because, although it is not an enemy that is armed with swords or guns, it is an enemy that appears within our organizations in order to ruin our work... Whether intentionally or not, the allies of bureaucracy are colonialism and feudalism. Because, bureaucracy impedes our war of resistance and national construction. It destroys the pure spirit of our cadres and their will to overcome difficulties. It undermines our revolutionary virtues of diligence, frugality, honesty, justice... It is an 'enemy within,' an internal enemy." (1) Thus, we see that bureaucracy is not only a mistake in style and work method, but primarily a dangerous malady, one related first and primarily to our revolutionary stand and virtues. The malady of bureaucracy can face the party in power with the danger of becoming remote from the laboring masses, who are the social base of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus, what are the "symptoms" of the malady of bureaucracy? President Ho clearly pointed them out, they are: "Not maintaining close contact with the movement, not assessing the specific situation of one sector or locality, not being close to the masses or learning from their experiences; preferring more to sit at one's desk than to visit installations in order to gain a correct understanding of the actual situation, inspect the implementation of policies and listen to the opinions of the

people."(2) Leaders and leadership agencies afflicted with the malady of bureaucracy "do not keep abreast of day to day work, do not observe and teach cadres...; as regards work, they view it in a cursory manner instead of examining the work being performed everywhere, instead of delving deeply into matters; they only know how to convene meetings, write directives and read written reports instead of conducting thorough inspections."(3)

Bureaucracy is also manifested in guidance that is general and vague; in a fear of criticism and self-criticism; in not fully adhering to the principle of collective leadership and a division of responsibilities. It can be said that bureaucracy has two salient characteristics: remoteness from the masses and remoteness from reality. Therefore, President Ho said: "Leaders and leadership agencies afflicted with the malady of bureaucracy have eyes but do not see, have ears but do not hear, have procedures but do not adhere to them and have a code of discipline but do not uphold it."(4)

In view of its nature, bureaucracy is clearly the source of a number of other ills, primarily misappropriation, waste and authoritarianism. President Ho pointed out that "misappropriation and waste exist because of bureaucracy." "Experience has proven that wherever there is bureaucracy, we are sure to find misappropriation and waste; wherever bureaucracy is more serious, there is more waste and misappropriation." Bureaucracy causes "decadent persons and corrupt cadres to engage in misappropriation and be wasteful at will." Thus, bureaucracy cultivates, tolerates and supports misappropriation and waste, ills which President Ho called "acts of theft which everyone detests and which must be eradicated."(5) Therefore, "in order to eradicate misappropriation and waste, it is first of all necessary to eradicate bureaucracy."(6) Authoritarianism is clearly a natural consequence of bureaucracy. Once bureaucracy exists, it easily leads to authoritarianism, to the abandonment of all persuasion and education.

Bureaucracy has many causes. Historically, it is a remnant of the old society, is part of the nature of the old system. President Ho said: "Bureaucracy is a decadent remnant of the old society. It is born of selfishness to the detriment of the people. It is born of the 'exploitation of man by man.'"(7)

President Ho also revealed why bureaucracy exists within our new social system.

Many of our cadres and party members become afflicted with the malady of bureaucracy due to reasons involving their awareness and thinking, their ethics, their level of knowledge and culture, the organization and management of the state apparatus, influences of the old society, difficulties and obstacles faced in the course of advancing from small-scale production to socialism, the aftereffects of decades of war and so forth. President Ho cited all of these reasons but spoke primarily about the subjective causes, about the factors involving the thinking and ethics of our cadres and party members. Any cadre or party member who does not clearly view himself as a revolutionary cadre or as a cadre who joined the party to be the servant of the people, not an "official," can easily become afflicted with the malady of bureaucracy. President Ho always reminded us that this is the first basic truth, is the stand that clearly distinguishes revolutionary cadres and party members from

other persons. In a speech delivered to the cadres of Ha Tay in 1967, he said: "Every party member and every cadre from the upper level to the lower level must understand that they joined the party to be the servants of the people. I want to emphasize that being the servant of the people does not mean being the people's 'official.'"(8) He strongly criticized some cadres and party members for "thinking that because they are part of an agency of the government, they are gods and, as a result, have contempt for the people and always behave as 'revolutionary officials.'"(9) "They consider themselves to be skilled in everything, are remote from the masses and, instead of learning from the masses, only want to be the bosses of the masses. They are hesitant to organize, propagandize and educate the masses. They are afflicted with the maladies of bureaucracy and authoritarianism. The result is that the masses do not trust them, do not support them and love them even less. In the final analysis, they amount to nothing."(10) Clearly, one very basic requirement of each cadre and party member is to truly respect and uphold the right of collective ownership of the people. Violating the right of collective ownership of the people not only leads to bureaucracy, but is also contrary to the noble *raison d'être* of the communist. Before he bid farewell to the entire party and all our people, President Ho advised us in his Testament: "Our party must be worthy of being the leader and the truly loyal servant of the people." According to him, leading also meant "being the servant of the people and serving the people well."(11) He explained: "Ours is a party in power, that is, all cadres from the central level...to the provinces, districts and villages, all cadres on every level and in every sector--must be the loyal servants of the people."(12) When imbued with the noble *raison d'être* of the cadre, the party member of being the loyal servant of the people and wholeheartedly serving the people, one cannot, in either his thinking or virtues, allow bureaucracy to develop and must consider bureaucracy to be "the enemy within." In this spirit, President Ho frequently emphasized: "We absolutely must avoid bureaucracy and authoritarianism. All cadres must wholeheartedly serve the people; all cadres must fully concern themselves with the lives of the people and fully comply with the mass line."(13)

Not only cadres and party members, but the government as well must be imbued with this thinking. During a reception for people's delegates of the capital Hanoi following liberation day in 1954, President Ho asserted: "The people are the government, the government is the servant of the people. All actions of the government, be they of major or minor importance, have the objective of serving the interests of the people."(14) He also said: "If the people are hungry, the party and the government are to blame; if the people are cold, the party and the government are to blame; if the people are ignorant, the party and the government are to blame; if the people are sick, the party and the government are to blame."(15)

How is it possible to avoid the blame mentioned above if the thinking of serving the people, serving the country is not embodied in a high spirit of responsibility on the part of each person and if we fall into bureaucracy? Therefore, in ideological and ethical terms, bureaucracy is one of the maladies caused by individualism.

As we know, President Ho practiced what he taught to us. He possessed a heart and a style that were very close to the masses and was in harmony with the day to day lives of the masses. Therefore, he always combated each and every form of general, superficial leadership and every manifestation of bureaucracy, remoteness from the



masses, remoteness from production, remoteness from the basic level. In 1961, during a confidential talk with cadres and party members who had been active for many years in Nghe An, President Ho said: "I do not know if you understand. Being president of the country is very tiring work. There are a hundred jobs with which I must concern myself. The rains, the heat, the typhoons and so forth, about which no one else worries, are my worry. The babies for whom no one else cares are my concern."(16) Clearly, his boundless love for the people and his extremely high spirit of responsibility to the people caused Uncle Ho to be the complete antithesis of every manifestation of bureaucracy.

Experience in our country and the other socialist countries has shown that in order to combat and triumph over bureaucracy, it is necessary to take many measures, not merely a few. To begin with, we must possess the attitude and determination pointed out by President Ho: "Only by publicly, boldly and very thoroughly removing these cancers is it possible for the body to become healthier."(17)

In this complex and long struggle, the most effective measures are to establish the right of collective ownership of the working people; scrupulously implement the system of personal moral and material responsibility, the system of discipline and the practice of criticism and self-criticism in all agencies of the party and state; regularly conduct two-way inspections, from the top to the bottom and the bottom to the top, of compliance with the lines and policies of the party and state and so forth.

Here, the system of collective ownership of the working people is established by means of specific stipulations in the regulations and rules promulgated by the state whereby the people see that they are truly the collective masters and cadres, party members and the state apparatus are the servants of the people, are under the people's supervision. Wherever the right of collective ownership of the working people is fully implemented and supervision and inspection by the masses are carried out regularly and effectively, bureaucracy is surely stopped. Conversely, wherever bureaucracy develops, the right of ownership of the masses is violated. President Ho taught: "As with everything else, only by mobilizing the masses, practicing democracy, giving the masses a clear understanding and gaining their enthusiastic participation in this 'fight,' is it possible to assure success. The greater the participation of the masses is, the fuller this success will be and the more rapidly it will be achieved."(18) "If the masses truly exercise their democratic rights and if cadres, party members and Youth Union members volunteer and set examples, the maladies of bureaucracy, authoritarianism, waste and misappropriation can surely be stopped."(19) In fact, the most basic prerequisite for abolishing bureaucracy at its roots is for every worker to be conscious of and possess the ability to exercise true ownership in the management of the country. President Ho reached a profound conclusion: "Practicing democracy is the universal key to resolving every difficulty"(20), including combating and stopping bureaucracy.

As we know, if the system of personal responsibility, the system of discipline and the practice of criticism and self-criticism are scrupulously implemented at all times and places, bureaucracy will surely be overcome. President Ho reminded every cadre and party member to always display a high spirit of responsibility to the people; they must make every effort to perform those jobs that are beneficial to the people and do everything possible to avoid anything detrimental to the people; they must

practice strict discipline on every level, engage in sincere criticism and self-criticism and be determined to rectify every manifestation of bureaucracy. In actuality, we still see many cases in which the system of discipline and the system of personal responsibility are not being seriously upheld. This is also a very important cause of the development of bureaucracy and the other maladies.

President Ho also gave his attention to inspections, especially inspections of the implementation of positions and policies of the central level and inspections of the performance of tasks and the fulfillment of duties by cadres in charge. He, himself, conducted inspections in order to detect and promptly rectify deviations on the part of cadres and party members. He encouraged inspections, supervision and criticism by the masses. He demanded that the various levels and sectors and that leadership cadres reply to and take prompt and correct action on the complaints and requests of the masses. Inspections of a mass nature conducted from the lower level upward are considered to be one of the main antidotes to bureaucracy, to be a beacon that always sheds light on the situation surrounding the activities of the state apparatus, thereby helping to stop and eradicate the malady of bureaucracy.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve dao duc cach mang" [Socialist Ethics], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 49.
2. Ibid., p 126.
3. Ibid., p 45.
4. Ibid., p
5. Ibid., p 102.
6. Ibid., p 45.
7. Ibid., p 47.
8. Ho Chi Minh: "Che do xa hoi chu nghia la che do do nhan dan lao dong lam chu" [The Socialist System Is the System of Which the Working People Are the Masters], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1979, p 107.
9. Ibid., p 13.
10. Ibid., p 34.
11. Ibid., p 108.
12. Ho Chu tinh noi ve dan chu, ky luat va dao duc cach mang" [President Ho and Democracy, Discipline and Revolutionary Ethics], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, p 43.
13. Ibid., pp 42-43.

14. "Nhưng lời kêu gọi của Hồ Chủ tịch" [Appeals by President Ho], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1956, Volume 3, p 46.
15. Hồ Chí Minh: "Tuyển tập" [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 2, p 31.
16. Hồ Chí Minh: "Về đạo đức cách mạng"...p 116.
17. Hồ Chí Minh: "Bảo vệ của công, thực hành tiết kiệm, chống tham ô, lãng phí, quan liêu" [Protecting Public Property, Practicing Economy and Combating Misappropriation, Waste and Bureaucracy], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, p 50.
18. Hồ Chí Minh: "Về đạo đức cách mạng"...p 48.
19. Hồ Chí Minh: "Chế độ xã hội chủ nghĩa là chế độ do nhân dân lao động làm chủ"... p 115.
20. Ibid.

7809

CSO: 4209/231

## THE GARDEN ECONOMY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 82 pp 39-43

[Article by Nguyen Khac Trung]

[Text] I. An Economic Form Supplementing the Socialist Agricultural Economy

The household economy of farmers consists of gardens coordinated with livestock production and the handicraft trades performed by the labor of the members of the family. In our country's rural areas, the household economy is closely linked to the household garden economy because the garden can be used to raise grain, food products, fruits and flowers for humans, feed for livestock and raw materials for the handicraft trades. The household economy is closely linked to the garden economy; consequently, it has been confirmed as an entity supplementing the socialist agricultural economy in the countryside.

The foundation of the socialist agricultural economy is the state-operated agricultural economy (state farms) and the collective agricultural economy (agricultural production cooperatives). This does not mean that the socialist agricultural economy totally eliminates the garden economy and the household economy, which are capable of contributing rather significantly to the production of vegetables, fruit, meat, eggs and other food products. Under our country's present conditions, the dominant forms of the socialist agricultural economy (state farms and cooperatives) are not yet producing enough agricultural products to satisfy the needs of the people for these products. Moreover, the rural warehouse and communications-transportation systems have not been expanded and improved to the point where we can deliver agricultural products of high quality, either fresh or processed products, to serve the daily meals of the people everywhere in the country. On the other hand, the socialist commerce network is not yet supplying to the people the agricultural products they need to purchase each day. Under the present conditions in our country, the existence of the household garden economy is a necessity in order to produce more of the needed agricultural products, supplement the collective agricultural economy in the countryside and supply some grain, food products, fruits, vegetables and other nutrients for the meals and lives of laborers and their families. In this significance, the labor utilized in the household garden economy is a component of the social work force participating in the process of socialist production and is part of the socialist agricultural production system.



The household garden economy produces very many types of agricultural products, different types for each season and special products in every area of the country, which suit the tastes and eating habits of each different nationality and locality, such as the various types of spices (the sour, bitter, sweet, nutty and other tastes of lemons, pimentos, onions, garlic, dill and so forth), fresh vegetables, fruit, eggs, honey and so forth, which contain many vitamins and nutrients essential to human life. The household garden economy produces a small quantity of each product and the quantity of products raised in each garden is not high; however, the total quantity of products produced by the farmers throughout the country in the household garden economy is very large, consequently, the household garden economy is capable of effectively supplementing the socialist agricultural economy.

In the fraternal socialist countries that have systems of large-scale socialist production, the household economy, which is closely linked to the garden economy, also plays an important role and is a part of the socialist agricultural economy. It is an economic form in which cooperative members and manual workers and civil servants of the state directly participate in producing products for society but without using hired labor. Today, in Bulgaria, the household economy, which is closely linked to the garden economy, has undergone many qualitative changes; therefore, it is considered the continuation of the process of socialist production. In Hungary, the household economy is also considered a form of the socialist agricultural economy. The products produced by the household economy to supplement the social economy are planned through contracts with cooperatives, are marketed through the purchasing agencies of the state and are included in the plan norms of cooperatives. The household economy is considered a job performed at home (family subcontracting) for the social economy utilizing the instruments of production of society and the family.

The household economy-garden economy in the fraternal socialist countries is encouraged and assisted by the socialist state through various economic policies and is protected under the law; therefore, it has had the effect of significantly supplementing the socialist agriculture of the country.

In the Soviet Union, the household economy annually supplements the socialist agricultural economy with a quantity of products equal to about 28 percent of total agricultural output. In 1977, the household economy produced 59 percent of the potatoes, 29 percent of the fresh vegetables, 29 percent of the meat, 29 percent of the milk, 35 percent of the eggs and 19 percent of the wool of the entire Soviet Union. The income from the household economy accounts for 30 percent of the total income of collective farm families.

The Bulgarian state has supplied 60,000 hectares of land to the people for the household economy. Excluding the farm families working in the garden economy, Bulgaria has as many as 300,000 families of manual workers and civil servants participating in the garden economy. As a result, the garden economy in Bulgaria annually produces 38 percent of the total agricultural product of the entire country.

In Hungary, 50 percent of the population participates in the household economy. Each year, the household economy here supplies 38 percent of the total agricultural product,

primarily beef and mutton (25 percent), pork (50 percent), milk (40 percent), eggs (60 percent), fruit (50 percent) and vegetables (40 percent). The household economy in Hungary has made a significant contribution to improving the standard of living of the people. There are many families that earn a high income that still work in the household economy, not primarily for the purpose of further raising their standard of living, but to use the raising of gardens, the raising of rabbits, bees and so forth as a means of wholesome and productive relaxation following their work at agencies and enterprises.

## II. The Development of the Garden Economy in Our Country

In the past, many places in our countryside collectivized all the gardens and small fishponds of cooperative member families but then adopted no plans or measures for thoroughly organizing production and business, consequently, these gardens and ponds became fallow gardens and overgrown ponds. A number of localities moved villages and hamlets in an arbitrary manner, destroying many of the prosperous gardens and fishponds of farmers and creating a great waste of manpower and material wealth of the people. Actions such as those mentioned above were contrary to the policy of our party and state of helping to develop the household economy. Uncle Ho advised us: "We must correctly coordinate the development of the collective economy of the cooperatives, which is of primary importance, with appropriate development of the subsidiary household economy of cooperative members." (1)

Recently, resolutions of the Council of Ministers have dealt with the state assisting the household economy in each area of production. To date, however, we do not have specific policies regarding helping and protecting the garden economy (including both collective gardens and household gardens). At present, our cadres and farmers want very much for the state to promulgate laws and policies that will assist and protect the garden economy that is developing under the movement to establish "Uncle Ho fruit orchards and fishponds" and "household gardens and fishponds." This would cause our people to organize production with peace of mind and would, at the same time, prevent the destruction of the garden economy of farm families and the gardens of collectives.

Developing the "Uncle Ho orchard and fishpond" and "household garden and fishpond" movement is a unique form of agriculture in our country. This movement consists of two parts: first, establishing "Uncle Ho orchards and fishponds" to produce products for improving the standard of living of collective units by means of labor voluntarily contributed after work hours by manual workers, civil servants, students, troops and cooperative members. Secondly, there are the "household gardens and fishponds" producing products to improve the standard of living of the family and provide many agricultural products for sale to society.

The "Uncle Ho orchards and fishponds" and "household gardens and fishponds" movement has been responded to in a positive manner by our people because it bears the name of Uncle Ho and, moreover, because it provides practical benefits to each family and to all of society. The "Uncle Ho orchard" in Can Kiem Village, Thach That District (in the outskirts of Hanoi), was once an 18.5 hectare area of barren hills and laterite soil. Some 50 laborers (including 25 elders) who specialize in establishing orchards, improved the soil and planted 186,526 fruit trees and tens of thousands of timber

bearing trees. In 1981, they harvested 10 tons of litchi, 10 tons of pineapples, 8 tons of jackfruit and so forth. Each year, 56,000 dong are earned from the sale of fruit and 1,600 dong from the sale of rattan, bamboo and so forth. The 6 hectare "Uncle Ho Fruit orchard" at the Nhu Quynh Cooperative in My Van District (Hai Hung Province) has been planted with 2,000 orange trees and 2,000 rose-apple trees, lemon trees, grapefruit trees, litchi trees and cassia trees, which annually produce 100,000 dong in income while the 400 hectares of rice and subsidiary food crops of this cooperative only produce 2 million dong in income during the entire year. The household garden of Mr. Tran Van Tan in Minh Tan Village, Do Son District (Haiphong), which only measures 1.5 sao and is under the cultivation of jujube trees and banana trees interplanted with vegetables, beans, sweet potatoes, large cucumbers, melons and so forth, produced a harvest worth 5,000 dong in 1980. The household garden of Mr. Vu Thanh Dat, which measures 2 sao, in the Dac Lac Province new economic zone, is under the cultivation of banana trees, papaya, jackfruit trees, grapefruit trees, coffee, cocoa and pepper and used to raise 4 sows, 2 meat hogs and 50 chickens and ducks; it produces an annual income of 15,000 dong. The garden economy and household economy of Unit 3 of the Yen Tam Cooperative in Thieu Yen District, Thanh Hoa Province, supplies 55 percent of the grain and 60 percent of the income of cooperative member families.

Clearly, the "Uncle Ho fruit orchards and fishponds" and "household orchards and fishponds" movement is of profound political significance and yields practical economic returns. In order for this movement to develop in the correct direction and achieve better results, it must be under the leadership of the party and receive guidance, assistance and protection from the law and the policies of the state agencies from the central to the basic levels.

In the Soviet Union, the household economy is encouraged, helped and protected under the law by the communist party and the Soviet state. Article 13 of the new Soviet Constitution stipulates: "The citizens have the right to use the gardens allocated to them under the law to participate in the subsidiary household economy (which includes raising livestock and poultry) and to raise orchards and vegetables as well as to build private homes. Citizens must use the land allocated to them in a reasonable manner... The state and the collective farms will provide assistance to citizens in the subsidiary household economy."

In Bulgaria, the state has promulgated a policy that provides land to citizens so that they can participate in the household economy. In the midlands and mountains, each farm family has been allocated 0.5 hectare; each manual worker and civil servant now working or retired has been allocated 0.2 hectare. In addition to the land allocated to participate in the household economy, families raising livestock under contracts with the state or cooperatives are allowed to borrow 0.1 hectare for each head of livestock in order to raise grass for use as livestock feed. Manual workers and civil servants of the state who have retired and who do not have a private garden are allocated 100 square meters of land to raise vegetables and fruit. The land allocated for participation in the garden economy is allocated for an indefinite period of time, is not subjected to taxes and is only reclaimed when the family stops participating in the garden economy.

The cooperatives and state farms can rent land to families. The state organizes production and sells small machines and implements to families to raise gardens and livestock; at the same time, a plan is adopted for supplying fertilizer, insecticides and strips of plastic to meet the production needs of the household economy.

To avoid families neglecting the production work of the collective, the cooperative assigns a work obligation to each cooperative member, which averages about 200 mandays per year. Cooperative members who intentionally violate their obligation to work for the cooperative lose the land allocated to them on a long-term basis to participate in the garden economy.

In Bulgaria, from the central to the village levels, they have established what they call the "self-satisfaction system for the people in vegetables, fruit, meat, fish, eggs, milk,..." This system consists of two parts. One part is the household economy of farmers, manual workers and civil servants who are now working or who have retired. The other part is the assistance economy for cadres, manual workers, civil servants and students who are engaged in collective activities at agencies, enterprises and schools that have the conditions needed to organize production in order to improve their standard of living by means of voluntary labor after work hours. On the central level, there is the "people's self-satisfaction system management committee," which is directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers and whose chairman is a vice chairman of the Council of Ministers. On the provincial level, there is the "people's self-satisfaction system leadership committee." On the village level, there is the "coordination and regulation committee of the people's self-satisfaction system."

In Hungary, there are "household economic committees" from the central to the basic levels, which have the following tasks: examining the proposals concerning changing the use of cropland by families; assisting in the calculations needed to formulate an overall livestock production plan within the locality and inspecting the raising of private livestock by families; formulating the plan for supplying livestock feed, insecticide and chemical fertilizer to the household economy; formulating the plan for supplying seed, livestock and poultry to the household economy; and helping families to market the products produced in the household economy.

In view of the present production conditions of agriculture in our country, we should have committees guiding the garden economy (collective gardens and household gardens) on all levels. On the central level, this committee would be part of the Ministry of Agriculture and coordinate with the concerned ministries and mass organizations (such as the Ministry of Maritime Products, the Ministry of Forestry, the Confederation of Trade Unions, the Vietnam Fatherland Front, the Association of Collective Farmers, the Ministry of War Invalids and Social Welfare and so forth). The agriculture service and the district agriculture committee would be in charge on the provincial level and the district level. In the cooperatives, one person would be in charge of the "Uncle Ho fruit orchards and fishponds" and the "household orchards and fishponds." In the collective units and agencies, representatives of the government and trade Union should be in charge of guiding, establishing and managing collective orchards and fishponds.



The state must adopt specific policies to encourage, assist and protect the garden economy through the "Uncle Ho fruit orchards and fishponds" and "household gardens and fishponds" movement.

Citizens of Vietnam who have the conditions needed to work in the garden economy must be considered for the allocation of land. The amount of land allocated for the garden economy depends upon the availability of arable land in each different area (the lowlands, midlands and mountains, the northern provinces, the central provinces, the southern provinces, the provinces of the Central Highlands and so forth) and the number of persons capable of working in the garden economy. The state can assign to the district people's committees and people's councils the task of determining whether or not to allocate land to families that can work in the garden economy. Land used in the garden economy can be the gardens now being used by farm families, land allocated by the state from the cropland of the cooperative or state farm, fallow land and so forth.

The garden economy (of collectives and households) is a part of the socialist agricultural economy in our country. The state must adopt policies to assist it, such as making loans to purchase supplies in order to develop production (purchase seeds and young livestock, purchase materials to build livestock pens, poultry pens, manure decomposition sheds and so forth). The state must adopt a plan to meet the needs of developing the garden economy by supplying chemical fertilizers, insecticides, hand farm implements and improved farm implements so that families can raise gardens and livestock. The water conservancy sector must adopt a plan for building farmland water conservancy systems supporting fields and the garden economy as well. The state can waive veterinary fees and water conservancy fees and appoint technical cadres to assist the development of the garden economy (of collectives and families).

The products of the garden-household economy should be used by the household and sold to the state at negotiated prices. The state should not impose a commodity tax on the products of the garden economy that are sold if the quantity of these products is small and scattered among various places. The commodity tax must be imposed upon products that are sold in large quantities; the responsibility can be given to the district people's committee to determine the exact amount of this tax in a manner consistent with the specific production and consumption situation on the local market.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, Volume II, p 238.

7809

CSO: 4209/231

## ON THE FRONT OF TAXATION AND MARKET MANAGEMENT

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0400 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Excerpt from article by Le Nhu Bach published in January 1982 issue of TAP CHI CONG SAN pp 44-48; additional material at end of this article provides for a text of the article]

[Text] Over the years, tax collection has not been carried out scrupulously in the private individual and collective industrial-commercial economic sectors; the collection of many kinds of taxes has fallen far below the target; and state control and supervision over production and business activities have slackened.

This shortcoming has not only prevented taxes from playing a positive role in production and the people's livelihood but has also been one of the causes of such negative phenomena as speculation, hoarding, smuggling, price increases, market monopolies, and so forth. Illegal tradesmen and those who refuse to implement party and state policies have reaped illegitimate high incomes. This is unfair and unreasonable. In some cases, the free market has encroached on the organized one. The state has failed to control goods and money and private merchants have competed with the state-operated trade sector in buying up commodities. This has upset the market and prices and worked against the collection, purchase and socialist transformation policies of the party and state. Many localities have been lax in managing and controlling the private economic sector and in struggling against the negative aspects still prevalent in society. In particular, they have not yet paid due attention to using taxes as an effective weapon in the front of market management.

Resolution No 26 of the VCP Central Committee Political Bureau clearly pointed out: The role of industrial and commercial taxes must be promoted to encourage small industrial and handicraft production, broaden the circulation of goods, strengthen market management, support the state's collection-purchase efforts, adjust unreasonable incomes and actively struggle against speculation and smuggling.

To implement the Political Bureau's resolution, the state has promulgated regulations on the registration of industrial, commercial and service businesses and has revised and amended some points of the industrial, commercial and slaughtering tax policies. Subsequently, it has issued many documents and directives on strengthening the organizational system of the tax collection apparatus and cadres and on market management.

In the individual and collective industrial-commercial sector, taxes are an effective tool for use in prompting the industrial and commercial production and business sectors to develop in such a way as to benefit the economy and the people's livelihood and in mobilizing in a fair and reasonable manner the contribution of individuals and units engaged in business to the cause of national construction and defense. At the same time, taxes play a role in properly adjusting all unreasonable incomes and preventing activities detrimental to the national economy. Moreover, taxes can help promote market management and the struggle against illegal activities such as speculation, hoarding, smuggling, and upsetting the market, thereby creating proper conditions for stabilizing the monetary system, prices and the people's living conditions. For this reason, taxes are an effective tool in implementing state control and supervision over the private individual and collective industrial-commercial economic sectors.

Control and supervision through taxation not only ensures the regular and precise operation of the production and business processes and contributes to increasing labor productivity but also plays an extremely important role in the struggle against saboteurs of socialist transformation, in the building of socialism and against the tendency of capitalist spontaneity of small producers. In this way, control and supervision through taxation will help the state of proletarian dictatorship exert both of its basic functions: coercion and organization of construction.

Through the registration of businesses and the declaration of production, business and income of each household and each industrial and commercial establishment for tax purposes, and through tax control and tax collection, the state can acquire a constant and accurate knowledge of the activities of these economic sectors as well as prices, the market situation and the income of the people of various strata. In this way, the state will be able to guide these sectors in joining various production and business branches in a manner beneficial to the economy and the people's livelihood.

Through the declaration and registration of business services over the past few months, it has been noted that although certain households have failed to register or have registered inadequately, the figures for household and business revenue have increased considerably.

According to documents and reports from 40 provinces and cities, the number of people who have already registered their business revenues is triple that of previously registered and taxed establishments. As for households in those sectors whose cadres are themselves deeply involved in conducting surveys and helping households declare and register their business services, the amount of business revenue has increased from 3-4 or even 9-10 times over the previous figure of taxed business income. This situation clearly shows that the shortcomings and deficiencies found in the management of private industry and trade, both individually and collectively owned, are relatively serious.

The price situation is now developing in a complex manner; on the one hand, the state price system is being readjusted on a large scale, while on the other hand the free market price system is fluctuating. Therefore, faced with demands in economic management, we must, now more than ever before, exert tighter control over prices; uphold a sense of discipline in pricing; and prevent prices from fluctuating spontaneously, as this may cause more difficulties to the economy and society.

To achieve this aim, first of all we must undertake the readjustment of prices on the organized market in accordance with state plans and policies, in a disciplined manner and in conformity with other measures. We must, right from the outset, prevent all illegal price increases made without orders from the authorities concerned. Making exorbitant price increases for the benefit of one's own unit or locality without taking into account the resulting impact on the national economy will create an imbalance between currency and goods, cause upheavals in management, create conditions for corruption and theft and foster a tendency to favor speculative hoarding, thus sending the market prices soaring.

It should be correctly noted that the current readjustment of the retail price and service system, though being directed flexibly, falls within the sphere of state-directed prices. It has a guiding character, the objective of which is to struggle to stabilize the market instead of running after spontaneous price increases in the free market. Fixing prices in a manner contrary to state-prescribed prices is to be avoided as this will create a pretext for traders to increase the market price. In addition, we must struggle to keep the market price at the lowest level possible.

Opposing the spontaneous tendency to increase prices on the free market is a pressing demand and a collective responsibility of all sectors and echelons. It is due to a situation in which production is still fraught with difficulties, where supply and demands are still imbalanced and where the free market is still rather large that we cannot loosen our control over the free market and leave it floating. Instead, we must enhance our management over it and take the initiative to adjust it through administrative and economic measures, with the economic measures being the prime ones.

Alongside economic measures, we must satisfactorily carry out administrative measures. As an immediate task, we must quickly punish those speculators and smugglers who are disrupting the market. Combining all measures governing the registration of business services, we must fully collect all kinds of taxes according to the amount of trade and market price, enforce the posting of prices and resolutely punish all cases of violations, such as selling goods above the state-prescribed or posted prices.

In a number of localities, the struggle to enforce the posting of prices and to have goods sold according to posted prices has achieved some success. This has duly contributed to stabilizing market prices. We must continue to carry out the registration of industries, trades and services in a way suitable to the situation, production and trade capacities and must consider and issue business licences correctly. On this basis, we must carry out planning activities on a step-by-step basis for various services and trade if demands arising from production and the people's livelihood are to be met. We must resolutely do away with all illegal trade activities and eliminate those private traders engaged in illegal dealings with goods that are under uniform state control.

It is necessary to arrange for honest merchants with professional and technical backgrounds, helping and encouraging those fully qualified, to switch to production while allowing a number of them to continue to deal in certain goods and engage in certain occupations authorized by the state, while employing others to serve as dealers in certain products or as workers responsible for transportation, processing and packing under contract to the state-operated trade sector and marketing cooperatives.

We must develop the role of taxation vigorously in all branches and levels of production and business in both collective and individual industry and trade and strive to manage all collective establishments engaged in business and almost all households, ensuring that they are correctly classified as large households, medium households or small households. Efforts must be made to grasp the operational dimensions of industry and trade successfully in concentrated areas which are affected by production seasons, as well as their operational schedules, in order to conduct effective management and collect taxes fully and without omission. It is also necessary to successfully manage all production and business establishments from their roots up and firmly grasp the operational law of traders so that effective control can be exercised.

By conducting inventories and inspections down to the lowest levels in conjunction with the effort to control circulation closely, the state should correctly adjust the incomes of the people of various strata through tax policy. We must pay great attention to carrying out propaganda and motivation work among the masses in order to make the people and households engaged in industrial and trade activities understand the line and policies of the party and state thoroughly and, on that basis, build a firm foundation for the work related to taxes and market management.



It is necessary to struggle against the contention that the laboring people are not capable of participating in inventory and inspection work and state management. Lenin maintained that this idea is a prejudice left behind by the old society and that all honest workers and peasants are capable of conducting inventories and inspections provided the state knows how to inspire their organizational skills.

Efforts must be made to overcome the tendency of relying only on administrative measures without following the mass line and without persistently educating and motivating the laboring people or creating favorable conditions for them to participate actively in the struggle against speculation and smuggling and in market management, thus helping the state detect all illegal activities by dishonest merchants and all acts of sabotage by the class enemy and reactionaries in the country and abroad. On the other hand, we must safeguard against the negative tendency to balk at adopting administrative measures.

It is necessary to hold public trials and mete out severe punishment to speculators and smuggling ringleaders and masterminds while trying to arrest all saboteurs and reactionaries who are the henchmen of the Beijing expansionists and the U.S. imperialists. It is necessary to launch a seething and extensive movement among the masses to encourage them to participate energetically in activities related to taxes and market management.

We must support those engaged in production and trade activities honestly and in accordance with the line of the party and state, which is beneficial to our economy and life. We must also criticize those engaged in illegal activities and tax evasion and denounce dishonest merchants, speculators and smugglers who disrupt the market. At the same time, we must inspect tax collection regularly and work out plans to settle the people's complaints about taxation. It is also necessary to take drastic action against cadres found guilty of corruption and oppression of the masses while streamlining and consolidating the system of tax collection and improving the skills of the contingent of cadres responsible for this task.

[The January issue of TAP CHI CONG SAN allows for the following additions to the item "On the Front of Taxation and Market Management" published in the 8 February Asia & Pacific DAILY REPORT, page K5]

On page K 6, after the fifth paragraph, insert the following passage: ...are relatively serious.

The struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads in the period of transition to socialism is clearly reflected in the current struggle on the front of taxation and market management. To allow the individual and collective industrial and trade sectors to develop in the right direction, we must intensify the state control and supervision of production, distribution and circulation in these sectors, and must prevent the tendency for spontaneity of small-scale production. The state controls the market, goods and money mainly by the instrumentality of taxes combined with various managerial, administrative and educational measures and in conjunction with broadening the socialist trade network. To slacken market control is to be lax in the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads on the trade front, in the transformation of private traders, and in the struggle against the remaining bourgeois elements and the international reactionaries who collude with the reactionaries inside the country to undermine our economic, political security and public order. To slacken market management is also tantamount to being lax in ideological and organizational work, which will affect the quality of cadres and party members.

The struggle to implement the state control and supervision on the front of taxation and market management is a difficult, complex and protracted one, because this is a struggle to establish the state's mastery in the market. In this struggle, we must defeat not only those enemies who have been overthrown but not yet annihilated and who are frenziedly opposing socialism, but also the bourgeois tendency of small producers for spontaneity and the customs and habits of the old society.

In the conditions of an economy in which several different economic elements, the private sector, the goods-money relations and the "free" market still exist, the state must use various administrative, economic and educational measures, control goods and money, and rely on the law and the organized masses in its struggle to control market management by the instrumentality of prices, taxes and so on in order to overcome the negative effects of the "free" market. This is the clearest manifestation of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads in the economic field and in market management. In this struggle, the contingent of financial, tax, trade and market management cadres and employees play the role of shock troops fighting on an extremely complex battlefield for the victory of socialism.

The socialist state must manage the entire social market, exert strict control and supervision, and guard against slackening the management of the "free" market. It must struggle against both tendencies: One advocating quick elimination of the "free" market, and the other favoring "giving it free rein," a course which will upset the circulation of goods and cause difficulties to production and the people's livelihood.

The state encourages the organized exchanges of goods among the various elements, areas and sectors of the national economy. It ensures the freedom of producers and businessmen to circulate normally goods which are not exclusively controlled and monopolized by the state, or in areas where the right to purchase goods is not reserved only for the state. The management of goods circulation must be closely coordinated with the continuous efforts to complete the socialist transformation of private capitalist trade in the south and to organize small traders in both the north and the south, thereby ensuring the leading role of the state-run trade sector in the entire market.

With its distribution-circulation management system being gradually improved, the state of proletarian dictatorship can curb and prevent the negative tendency for spontaneity of the "free" market. Along with the various economic measures -- with the key ones aimed at concentrating goods in the hands of the state, broadening the trade network and trade activities, and supporting socialist trade so as to exert an impact on the market with the economic forces -- state organs should intensify their control and supervision of the market and prices.

CSO: 4209/231

## THE HISTORIC TURNING POINT IN VIETNAMESE LITERATURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 82 pp 49-53

[Article by Phong Chau]

[Text] Literature is the voice of an age, a nation, a class. Having accepted the light of Marxism-Leninism and embodying the patriotic tradition of the early 20th Century school of literature, revolutionary literature during the period from 1925 to 1945 marked the historic turning point in Vietnamese literature and ushered in a long period of the new literature, the literature of proletarian ideology.

### I. The Main School of Literature

In 1905, in an article entitled "The Organization of the Party and Party Literature," Lenin wrote: "All illegal books and newspapers are party books and newspapers started by publishing organizations or groups related by one way or another to practical work groups of the party. All legitimate books and newspapers are non-party books and newspapers--because anything relating to the party is prohibited--but they do 'lean' toward one political party or another." (1) The situation surrounding our literature during the years of domination by the French colonialists was much the same. Excluding the 3 years (1936-1939) of the Democratic Front, during which the books and newspapers of the party were published openly, for 17 years, all illegal books and newspapers were party books and newspapers. The imperialists arrested, tortured and imprisoned anyone who wrote, read, circulated or stored party books or newspapers. In the public literary forums, colonialist and feudal thinking occupied the dominant position and bourgeois and petty bourgeois thinking were universal. Despite this, revolutionary literature continued to be a main school of national literature.

In the space of 20 years, the school of revolutionary literature experienced many stages of development, each of which had its own characteristics, and grew with each passing day. During the period from 1925 to 1935, literature reflected the characteristics of the period of preparing for and founding the Indochina Communist Party; oral literature and the clandestine press appealed to the masses to carry out a revolution under the banner of the party and reflected the Soviet Nghe-Tinh revolutionary movement. During the period from 1936 to 1939, when our party was engaged in overt activities, "a democratic, people's literary and art movement developed strongly. Democratic books and newspapers were openly published without interruption.

Such French language newspapers as DAU TRANH (LA LUTTE), NHAN DAN (LE PEUPLE), LAO DONG (LE TRAVAIL), TAP HOP (RASSEMBLEMENT), TIENG NOI CUA CHUNG TOI (NOTRE VOIX) and so forth and such Vietnamese language newspapers as DAN CHUNG, THE GIOI, DOI NAY, TIN TUC, NHANH LUA, DAN, BAN DAN, TIENG TRE and so forth emulated one another in denouncing the crimes of the colonial reactionaries and their lackeys and demanded democratic reforms and civil rights."(2) During the period from 1940 to 1945, when our party was preparing for the general uprising, "a revolutionary literature of a national and democratic nature of the Indochina Communist Party and the Viet Minh Front developed strongly in the dark shadows and under the light from the outside. Besides the books published clandestinely, there was an entire forest of illegal newspapers and journals circulating throughout the country..."(3)

As the main school of literature, the revolutionary literature during the period from 1925 to 1945 was, above everything else, a mirror accurately reflecting Vietnamese society during that period. It is impossible to learn the changes experienced by the entire country in the storm of revolution, impossible to see the uprising of a people who thirsted for independence and socialism if we only read works belonging to the romantic school of literature or the critical realist school of literature of the times. It is impossible to understand the August Revolution and the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam without the revolutionary literature of the period from 1925 to 1945.

The realities of the revolution were described very vividly, sometimes as the struggles waged by thousands and tens of thousands of persons arising to destroy the district level governments during the period of the Nghe-Tinh Soviet, the demonstrations for rights during the period of the Democratic Front, the destruction of granaries and the seizing of political power during the period of the Viet Minh; sometimes as the miserable lives of the workers of a mining area and the cruel exploitation by a plantation owner; sometimes as scenes of torture and imprisonment, scenes of escapes from prison and the unyielding examples set by communists in the prisons of Pleiku, Lao Bao, Ban Me Thuot, Son La, Con Dao or the remote Guy An region, etc.

Revolutionary literature during the period from 1925 to 1945 accurately reflected reality because it correctly understood reality and, as a result, helped to transform life. Life under the colonial, feudal yoke was a life filled with injustice, oppression and exploitation. How was this matter to be resolved? Romantic writers turned their backs on reality; they and their characters escaped into love, the past, paradise, decadence and philosophy. The critical realist looked at reality and tore away the facade but rejected the true face of contemporary society and did not chart a course for the masses; Miss Dau in Ngo Tat To's "The Lantern Extinguished" ultimately fled into a night as dark as her life; Nam Cao's Miss Pheo died along with Ba Kien in the same pool of blood. Revolutionary literature, however, had the ability to observe life, to feel life and see the evolution and color of life, see the "sprouts" and the "golden leaves." Firmly adhering to the stand of the working class, revolutionary poets and writers examined the causes and origins of the suffering of each class and each stratum. Having gained a clear understanding of this suffering, they then saw the need to arise in revolution. What kind of revolution should it be? How should the revolution be carried out? By means of many genre, such as memoirs, travel journals, poems, songs, folk verse and so forth,



revolutionary literature introduced to the masses the Russian October Revolution, the life of the people in the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, and the experiences of the revolutionary campaign.

In 1925, in the book "Revolutionary Road," President Ho wrote: "The literature and the hope of this book lie in but one word: Revolution! Revolution! Revolution!" The feeling that "we would rather die than be enslaved; was the Red thread running throughout all revolutionary poetry and prose. Every poem, every piece of prose was a voice expressing hatred, a voice calling for the salvation of the country, a voice calling for struggle, a voice expressing the indignation of the conscience.

Ideals were closely combined with realism. The ideals of national independence and socialism were embodied in all poetry and prose. Noble ideals were profoundly expressed through the revolutionary heroism seen in examples of giving one's life for the fatherland and maintaining the courage of a revolutionary and being unyielding in the face of the enemy army; expressed in the boundless humanitarianism seen in comradeship, devotion to one's compatriots, the proletarian international spirit and the love of mothers and sons, husbands and wives. Whether written in the dark shadows of a prison cell or in front of the guillotine of the enemy or written publicly in the press, revolutionary literature was always optimistic, always expressed confidence in the leadership of the party, in the ultimate victory of the revolution. The spirit of the party created fighting tenacity, created wings for great birds to fly into the winds of the storm.

While attaching very much importance to the functions of revolutionary literature of enlightening and educating people, revolutionary literature during the period from 1925 to 1945 also attached appropriate importance to literature's function as a medium of entertainment. In practically all of the prisons at Lao Bao, Ban Me Thuot, Son La, Con Dao and so forth, there were newspapers posted on the wall, literary societies, poetry contests, plays, operas and tragedies written by the prisoners and performed at night, etc. Revolutionary literature was truly an indispensable spiritual meal of every patriotic Vietnamese.

As the main school of literature, revolutionary literature during the period from 1925 to 1945 involved a rather large corps of authors. There were some authors whose profound revolutionary activities became an important part of their revolutionary lives, such as President Ho, Truong Chinh, Phan Dang Luu, To Huu, Nguyen Van Nguyen, etc. There were other authors who primarily engaged in political activities but occasionally wrote literary works, such as Le Duc Tho, Xuan Thuy, Dang Xuan Thieu, Le Van Hien, etc. Some authors were primarily engaged in literary activities but also engaged in political activities, such as Hai Trieu, Tran Huy Lieu, Dang Thai Mai, Ton Quang Phiet, etc. The majority of the authors of revolutionary literature were not professional writers. They did not write prose or poetry for the purpose of becoming authors. They used literature as a weapon to propagandize the revolution. When their poetry or prose achieved a certain level of quality, achieved a certain level of distribution and, in particular, exerted tremendous influence, even if it only involved a single poem, the masses recognized them as authors.

For the first time in the history of Vietnamese literature, the laboring masses wrote literature, wrote about their nationality, their class, their struggle. The very

beautiful image of the manual worker, the farmer and the revolutionary fighter emerged from the flames of the revolution. The majority of the authors came from the background of patriotic youths in the middle stratum of society. A few belong to the working class. Some persons left behind many literary works while others left behind one or two poems written on their death beds. The profound communication of feelings and the strong persuasive force of the poem written in blood by Tong Van Tran in his prison cell and the poems which Nguyen Nghiem and Hoang Van Thu read before being led to the execution grounds have left permanent impressions.

As the main school of literature, revolutionary literature during the period from 1925 to 1945 was accepted by the masses. They were the laboring masses, the patriotic Vietnamese who loved their race. During meetings, they read the newspaper of the party and listened to revolutionary poems and songs. In their mines, factories and fields, they repeated revolutionary poems and songs to one another. They were the persons who gave their lives to protect the literature of the party. During the period of public party press activities, they purchased newspapers and supported the party financially. During the period of clandestine press activities, printing facilities were set up in their homes.

The cruelty of the imperialist colonialists as well as the severe restrictions of time and space did not crush revolutionary literature. The works that have been compiled and printed in recent years have clearly not been the results of authors supplied by them, but the work of "readers" and "listeners" of the time who kept information in their hearts and minds and have now repeated or recorded it or works based on remaining files of the French Secret Service.

The revolutionary masses were not only persons who respected, supported and protected revolutionary literature, but were also persons who struggled and acted in accordance with the revolutionary ideals and the influence of revolutionary literature. As Lenin said, revolutionary literature "is not designed to serve persons who indulge in luxurious living to their heart's desire, not designed to serve 'the several tens of thousands of persons in the upper class' who have grown fat to the point of obesity, but designed to serve the millions and tens of millions of working people, that is, to serve the essence, the forces, the future of the country." (4)

## II. A River Flowing to the Sea and Joining the Ocean

Prior to 1945, revolutionary literature was illegal and colonial, feudal literature occupied the dominant position.

Together with the development of the revolutionary movement, this illegal literature made leaps forward in both quality and quantity.

In 1913, Lenin set forth his famous argument concerning the two types of national culture: "Each and every national culture consists of components, which might not even develop, of a democratic and socialist culture because, within each nation, there are exploited laboring masses whose living conditions inevitably give rise to a democratic and socialist ideology. However, within each nation, there is also a bourgeois culture (the majority of this culture is an extremely reactionary culture of a clerical nature); these cultures do not only exist as 'components,' but also exist in the form of one culture being the dominant culture." (5)

With the guidance and education provided by our leader Nguyen Ai Quoc, that is President Ho, revolutionary literature, which embodies proletarian ideology, was democratic and socialist in nature from the years spent preparing for the establishment of the Indochina Communist Party and gradually became the mainstream of the national culture. In complete contrast to the schools of literature in the last century and the school of public literature during the same period, revolutionary literature blossomed more with each passing day under the light of Marxism-Leninism and embodied much in our age that was new: a new world view and a new method of creating literary works. Revolutionary writers, in particular, shared an identical world view and political viewpoint and their creative intentions rested solely within the struggle to abolish the exploitation of man by man, liberate the class, liberate the nation and achieve the ideals of communism. Revolutionary literature sucked the nectar of Marxism-Leninism, spread Marxism-Leninism in all directions and brought the revolutionary line of the Indochina Communist Party to the laboring masses. For 20 years, revolutionary literature struggled tirelessly under the banner of national independence and socialism brandished by the party, thereby contributing to the victory of the 1945 August Revolution.

In 1945, revolutionary literature entered a new era and became the main school of literature of the nation. The schools of bourgeois, colonial and feudal literature no longer had their base of support. Critical realism and romanticism in literature were gradually pushed into the past. The Vietnamese revolutionary literature that has developed strongly within the new culture is socialist in content, profoundly national in color and profoundly in the nature of the party and the people.

In 1913, after harshly criticizing the deceptive national culture slogan of the bourgeoisie, Lenin raised the matter of "the international culture of democracy and the world worker movement." (6) Today, Lenin's slogan has become reality. A world socialist culture has formed and is developing. Since 1945, the garden of socialist culture has acquired many new fragrances and colors as a result of the birth of scores of socialist countries in Europe, Asia, the Americas and Africa.

The school of literature, in particular, and the culture of Vietnam, in general, together with the schools of literature and the cultures of the other socialist countries are supporting and enriching one another, flowing like great rivers into the vast ocean of our times. World socialist literature is directing the thrust of its efforts against the imperialists and the world reactionary forces, brandishing the banner of world peace and struggling tirelessly for the happiness of man. As streams flow into rivers, rivers flow into the sea and then join the ocean, the revolutionary literature during the period from 1925 to 1945 opened the way for Vietnamese national literature to join the world socialist literature. The rapid growth of Vietnamese literature confirms this. The mission of Vietnamese literature to struggle "within the vanguard ranks of literature and art against imperialism in the present age" has also become clear. The responsibility is heavy but the honor is great.

Revolutionary literature prior to 1945 was both a literary legacy of the nation and the first foundation of the new Vietnamese culture. Recalling chapters in our history, we become even more proud of the cultural tradition of the nation, of the

leadership of the party on the cultural front and are extremely grateful to those persons who contributed something of themselves, even their flesh and blood, to the effort to establish, support, protect and develop the revolutionary literature of the nation.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "The Organization of the Party and Party Literature," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, p 3.
2. Truong Chinh: "Chu nghĩa Mac va van hoa Viet-nam" [Marxism and Vietnamese Culture], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, p 55.
3. Ibid., pp 56-57.
4. V.I. Lenin: "The Organization of the Party....," p 9.
5. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 20, p 17.
6. Ibid., p 15.

7809

CSO: 4209/231



## MOBILIZING YOUTHS IS A SCIENCE, AN ART

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN 1 Vietnamese No 1, Jan 82 pp 54-59

[Article by Vu Cong Can]

[Text] In the present stage of the revolution, mobilizing youths is not only a strategic issue of the revolution and an issue pertaining to all of society, but is also a science, an art.

It is the science of youth, the science that studies youths, the science and art of organizing, educating and gaining the participation of the young generation in revolutionary activities. We say that mobilizing youths is a science, an art because it demands a serious scientific spirit and a high level of art.

For example, research conducted for the purpose of fully understanding the young generation is not at all simple. To understand the young generation, it is necessary to research their characteristics in detail together with the characteristics of the times and the environment in which they live and necessary to correctly evaluate the impact of the times and the environment in which they live upon them.

Youths are a very special stratum compared to the strata of persons in every other age group in society. They have special characteristics and special requirements of the young. When studying the matter of educating the young generation, Marx and Engels emphasized the need to have a precise understanding of these characteristics of youths. In conjunction with highly evaluating the "abilities and enthusiasm of the young" and the "thirst of youths," Marx and Engels also directed our attention to the "childish arrogance," the "neglectfulness of the young" and the other drawbacks that can turn the fine qualities of youths into their direct opposite.

As we know, youth is the most complex stage in the entire process of development and maturation of a person due to the very special characteristics of youths. Scientific research and analysis have shown that one of the main reasons for this complexity is that, within youths, physiological development generally occurs earlier than social maturity. In youths who have just reached physical maturity, "instinctive man" forms

earlier than "social man." This difference in time creates an "empty space." And, when "social man" has not yet formed, when reason and that which is right do not yet control man, when man does not have the ability to control himself or this ability is still low, man is not yet the master of himself. And, when actions are based on instincts, it is easy to act blindly, easy to make mistakes and even commit crimes. For this reason, world capitalism and the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles have been and are looking for every way to thoroughly exploit the weaknesses resulting from this characteristic of youths, especially youths who have just reached physical maturity. Did not Mao Zedong and his colleagues, in the name of the "cultural revolution," exploit 16 and 17 year olds, mobilize them, flatter and deceive them, organize them into the "Red Guard" and use these "petty generals" as a tool to attack the Chinese Communist Party, dissolve the dictatorship of the proletariat government and inflict countless suffering and pain upon the people and youths of China? Therefore, the working class and Marxist-Leninist party must regularly and promptly direct their attention to youths, fully understand youths on the basis of science, limit, to the lowest possible level, the negative aspects of "instinctive man" and turn the inevitable "empty space" of youths into an intense process of forging and struggling in order to help them quickly form the character and qualities of the new, socialist man who possesses the intellect and the ability to deal with matters pertaining to himself and matters that occur in society while making a positive contribution to society and the revolution.

Youth is an age group in which the processes of perfecting the physical and spiritual development of man are still continuing. These processes inevitably lead to the development of needs that other age groups either do not have or are not very clearly evident, such as a desire to live a life of dreams and ideals; a desire to be educated and make progress; the aspiration to be talented and contribute to society, to the fatherland; the dream of recording feats of arms; desires concerning friendship and love; a liking for that which is beautiful and for the new; interest in cultural, literary and artistic activities, in visiting historic places, in physical culture and sports, etc. Fully understanding these matters under the light of science will help to put the education of the young generation on the correct course, fully develop their social activism and harmoniously combine the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual. If we do not fully understand these matters under the light of science, the negative aspects of youths will emerge, bad customs and habits will develop and youths will even be exploited and used by the exploiting classes and every enemy of socialism for their decadent, sinister purposes.

Youths are not a class nor are they a totally independent stratum of society; they are only a bloc of masses belonging to many different classes in society; therefore, they have no separate ideology. Every stratum of youths embodies the characteristics of the young and the characteristics of the class and nationality. These characteristics are not always in an immutable state in which they can be expressed as unchanging "percentages." Under different living conditions and different systems of standards based on class, society, stratum and locality, these characteristics will change. Therefore, every simplistic and subjective analysis of youths that is not based on science will result in failure.

Another characteristic of the young, which is also a weakness, is their lack of experience in life. Youths generally only give their attention to the external manifestations of things and phenomena and rarely delve into their essence. If they are not promptly and thoroughly guided, their attitudes and thinking can quite possibly become one-sided and mistaken and some youths might even take that which is unreasonable to be the truth.

In order to gain a full understanding of the young generation, in addition to researching their characteristics, it is also necessary to research the times and the environment in which they live and to correctly evaluate the impact of these two factors upon youths.

Man is always the product of a given society and a given time. Man is both the writer of history and a product of history. Marx confirmed: to the extent that man creates his circumstances, these circumstances also mold man.

On the basis of this viewpoint, we must, in our scientific research of any young generation, fully analyze and evaluate the times in which they are living and the impact (both positive and negative) of this factor upon them.

However, upon the common foundation of the times in which they live, youths are under the direct impact of the environment in which they live. In each country, the factor determining the nature of the environment is the social system, the political system. Why is it that, in the socialist countries, the young generation has had every favorable condition created for it to develop comprehensively, to become a stratum of persons who are productive for society, are worthy of being the masters of the present, and are the great hope of the future? Why in the capitalist countries, are youths living without ideals and are so frustrated that even western sociologists are pessimistic and consider the youths of their country to be a hopeless generation? It is because of the environments created by the political system and social system of these countries.

The social system, the political system is the factor determining the nature of the environment; however, when scientifically researching the impact of the environment upon the young generation, we must also research in detail the other factors of the environment, such as the family, the school and society (even though the political system determines the nature of the family, the school and society within the system). All of these factors, together with specific political, economic, cultural, social and other conditions, have a direct and strong impact upon the formation of tastes, habits, lifestyle, attitude, aspirations, character, dreams, ideals and so forth, that is, upon every attribute of the young generation.

When researching the role of the environment in order to fully understand the impact of the environment upon the young generation of a country, in addition to the general environment of the country, it is also necessary to research the specific environment of each different collective. Under different living conditions and systems of standards based on class, stratum, locality and so forth, youths acquire different characteristics and dispositions. For example, when researching the youths of our country, in addition to the basic characteristics that they all share, we must also give attention

to the environment of urban youths, rural youths, youths in the lowlands, youths in the mountains, the youths of the ethnic minorities, youths who are religious followers, youths who have grown up in the provinces and cities of the North and under the socialist system and youths in the provinces and cities of the South who were recently liberated from the control of neo-colonialism.

In the sharp class struggle taking place in the world today, the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, and the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists as well as every other reactionary power are very interested in the characteristics, especially the weaknesses, of youths and look for every way to persuade youths to oppose the revolution, primarily oppose the socialist countries. In the early 1950's, facilities were established in the United States to study youths. Today, "youth studies" has become a rather highly developed field in the western countries, the primary purpose of which is to "try to use every available means to separate youths from politics..., to stop and prevent youths from concerning themselves with politics, especially Marxist politics." The huge propaganda apparatus of the capitalist world, with its sophisticated, modern equipment, is constantly looking for every way to have an impact upon the youths of the socialist countries. Of the 12 regular programs broadcast by Voice of America, psychologists of the U.S. imperialists have allocated seven programs to youths, which account for 70 percent of broadcast time. Recently, with the consent of the reactionaries in Beijing ruling circles, the U.S. imperialists established a relay station of Voice of America in Quang Chau, which is directed toward our country and the fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea. Through this propaganda system and by scores of other means, such as visits to historic places, international meetings of youths, cultural and art activities and so forth, bourgeois ideologists and other reactionary powers have spread reactionary arguments, slandered and attacked the socialist system and spread deceptive propaganda about the western lifestyle, the "consumer society," thereby attacking the instinctive needs, especially the basic instinctive needs, of youths. This is truly a war of sabotage against youths in the world, in general, primarily the youths of the socialist countries, which we cannot ignore in the scientific research we conduct to gain a full and comprehensive understanding of the young generation.

Teaching, organizing and gaining the participation of the young generation in revolutionary activities are also matters of a highly scientific nature and, in order to achieve good results, the effort to educate, organize and gain the participation of the young generation in revolutionary activities must also be conducted on the level of an art.

The scientific and artistic nature of educating the young generation is manifested in the establishment of objectives, specific requirements, methods and forms of education. All of these matters are dialectically related to one another and demand very meticulous and specific research. The education of the young generation in our country must be designed to train the young generation to be new, fully developed persons who carry on the heroic tradition of the nation and carry on the glorious cause of the party in a faithful and outstanding manner. In order to achieve this objective, education must deal with very basic matters, such as teaching the Marxist-Leninist world view, the revolutionary philosophy of life, the ideals of communism, the lines and policies of the party, the revolutionary ethics and lifestyle of persons



who are the collective masters and other revolutionary knowledge. However, whether or not these matters permeate youths, whether youths accept them in a conscious manner or not depend upon the forms and methods of education. We must establish forms and methods of education that are suited to youths on the basis of scientific knowledge of the characteristics of youths. Lenin once stated: "Only by thoroughly reforming the studies, the organization and the education of youths can we insure that the efforts of the young generation achieve the result of creating a society different from the old society, that is, creating communism. Therefore, we must conduct thorough research to determine what we must teach and how youths must study. (1) The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the party also pointed out: "The forms and methods of the education of youths must be interesting and suited to the characteristics of youths." (2) It is not at all surprising to see that forms and methods of education that are considered good for adults are unsuited to youths. Even within the ranks of youths, some forms and methods that are considered good for adults are unsuited to youths. Even within the ranks of youths, some forms and methods that are considered good for young workers are not liked by rural youths; or, some cultural, literary and artistic activities that 16-18 year olds desire, 26-28 year olds are "indifferent" toward. All of these seemingly trivial matters require appropriate concern on our part.

As regards organizing the young generation, scientific research is also required. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union (November, 1980) presented the following lesson in success in the organizational activities of the Youth Union: "In the building of the Youth Union, we must know how to build a Youth Union that is stable and strong politically, ideologically and organizationally, must thoroughly comprehend and perform the function of the Youth Union very well. The Youth Union must maintain close relations with youths, teenagers, children and the people and widely rally and unite youths so that the entire young generation is reorganized into a force of collective ownership; we must organically link the building of the Youth Union to the building of the Teenagers' Unit and the Children's Unit and to party building." (3)

Today, on the basis of this experience, the science of organizing youths must continue to be developed and enhanced so that organizational activities are always carried out in exact accordance with the law and are filled with creativity. The science of organization has the task of helping the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union to fulfill its functions well: as the competent arm and dependable reserve unit of the party; as the mass organization closest to the party; as the youths within the dictatorship of the proletariat system; as the school of communism, the vanguard militant unit and the representative of the right of collective ownership of youths and the organization directly in charge of the Teenagers' Unit and the Children's Unit; and as a positive member of the Vietnam Fatherland Front.

At present, numerous matters face the work of organizing the young generation, matters that require the working participation of many sectors and many fields of science. These matters are: reorganizing the entire young generation within the political, economic, cultural educational and national defense systems; organizing the basic units of the Youth Union and Youth Union cadre work; preparing the reserve stratum of the Youth Union to become Youth Union members; the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union

and the task of building the party; preparing regular scientific forecasts for the party, the state and society concerning youth issues, etc.

The question of how to gain the participation of the young generation in revolutionary actions is not a simple one. It demands serious scientific study. Revolutionary actions are the necessary result of educational and organizational work. By means of revolutionary actions, be they of major significance or minor in nature, be they broad or narrow in scope, youths assert themselves and their generation. Without revolutionary actions, revolutionary ideals are nothing more than illusions and educational and organizational work are without meaning.

In recent years, the revolutionary action movements launched by the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, such as the "three readies" movement, the "five assaults" movement and the "three assaults of collective ownership" movement, have, in only a short space of time, gained the participation of the mass of youths. The main lesson in the success of these movements, a lesson that is of a scientific nature, is: these movements are based on the objective requirements of the revolutionary tasks, are consistent with the fine traditions of our country's people and young generation, correctly satisfy the desire of the young to make contributions, forge themselves and mature, etc.

At present, applying these experiences, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union is, within the "three assaults of collective ownership" movement, guiding our country's youths in carrying out specific revolutionary action programs in each area. On the agriculture front, the entire Youth Union and the youth movement of the entire country have undertaken the task of building the northern Ha Tien rice production area in Kien Giang Province, considering it to be a nationwide "communist Youth Union project"; launching a "campaign to raise 500,000 hectares of green manure plants" and launching a movement to exceed output quotas by 10 percent in all basic Youth Union units within agriculture. On the industrial front, it is continuing to accelerate the "creative youth" movement, the movement to "exceed plan quotas" and the movement to accept "youth projects," continuing to guide the "campaign to reclaim 6 million cement bags" and mobilizing and organizing the youths of the entire country to actively participate in and support the "communist Youth Union project" to build the Pha Lai Thermoelectric Power Plant, the goal of which is to help insure that this project generates electricity in 1983.

At the ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, Truong Chinh, member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of State, pointed out: "Let us continue to summarize the profound experiences of the past one-half century of activities; let us research the new matters that are constantly arising in life in order to improve the mode of activity of the Youth Union. For a long time, we have operated on the basis of empiricism. Now, we must become more scientific, we must help youths learn how to forge the methods of thinking, conducting research and working and the method of reviewing their work experiences."(4)

In view of its strategic importance, youth work demands that we treat it as a science, an art.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 342.
2. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 73.
3. The proceedings of the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, Thanh Nien Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, p 192.
4. TAP CHI THANH NIEN, No 3-1981, p 4.

7809

CSO: 4209/231

## THE CUBAN PEOPLE WILL SURELY BE VICTORIOUS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 82 pp 60-62

[Article by Ly Van Sam]

[Text] In early November, 1981, with a view toward carrying out its sinister schemes, the Reagan administration fabricated the stories about "Cuba sending troops to Nicaragua" and Cuba "conducting subversive and terrorist activities against the countries of the western hemisphere." Then, Washington launched a filthy campaign of slander against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada and brandished a big stick at the nations of the Caribbean basin and Central America. Deserving of attention is the fact that all of the vile arguments fabricated by Washington to discredit Cuba have been eagerly received and loudly broadcast by Beijing over high frequency wave lengths. The most powerful imperialists and the most counter-revolutionary assault soldier of imperialism are threatening and bullying the nations that will not yield to them.

In conjunction with the ear-splitting, violent threats by Haig, Wineberger and so forth, Washington ordered a special force of the U.S. Navy, consisting of 41 warships, 2 of which are aircraft carriers, to move deeply into the Caribbean Sea and prowl the waters off the coasts of Cuba and Nicaragua. The United States has even threatened to bomb Cuba. Not satisfied with merely using military pressure, the United States has also increased its economic pressure. The United States has had a comprehensive economic embargo against Cuba for 23 years; now, the United States had declared that it will mete out stronger economic punishment. Washington has threatened to cancel the bilateral agreement with Cuba concerning fishing and coastal patrols, restrict commercial flights between the two countries, punish all the corporations that have trade relations with Cuba and pressure allies of the United States to sever trade with Cuba. In addition, the United States has also urgently organized and encouraged the activities of the various groups of Cuban counter-revolutionary exiles; these groups have unequivocally stated that they will make an amphibious landing in Cuba through the Guantanamo base in order to establish a "resistance war government."

Ever since the people's socialist country of Cuba was born 23 years ago, Washington has constantly provoked and threatened Cuba. However, this insane campaign of slander against Cuba is the most serious incident to occur since the Bay of Pigs incident in 1961.



Why have the U.S. imperialists suddenly flown into such a rage? Washington says that it is because Cuba is exporting revolution, Cuba is revolutionizing the Caribbean basin and even Latin America! The fact of the matter is, however, that the U.S. imperialists are trembling with fear over the influence of the Cuban revolution and are panic-stricken by the tremendous attraction of socialism in Cuba. Therefore, during his very first days in the White House, Reagan fabricated the story about the Soviet Union, Cuba, Vietnam and international communism sending weapons to and intervening in El Salvador. Washington has used this fabrication to rally allied forces of the United States in western Europe and Latin America in a vain attempt to crush the El Salvador revolution. However, the Reagan administration, also since its very first days in office, has encountered strong opposition not only from the American people, but also from many governments in western Europe and, in particular, governments in Latin America. In particular, the recognition of the Pha-ra-bun-do Marti [Vietnamese phonetics] Front in El Salvador by France and Mexico was a blow to the plan of the United States to suppress the wave of revolution in El Salvador and Central America. This shows that the interests of the United States and the governments of western Europe and Central America are not always the same and sometimes involve sharp disputes. In mid-1981, bitter over the defeat mentioned above, the Reagan administration went to great lengths to slander Cuba and launched a campaign of threats to commit aggression against and blockade Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada. Fiercely opposed by public opinion at home and abroad, Reagan was forced to declare that he would not send troops overseas. However, in November, 1981, Washington raised a new storm against Cuba, creating an extremely tense situation in the region.

Everyone knows that the Reagan administration is committing the United States to the arms race in a vain attempt to achieve military superiority and prepare for war. However, in the "post-Vietnam" period, the position and power of the United States have been eroded past the point of being restored. Meanwhile, the victories of the revolution in Nicaragua and Grenada, together with the Cuban revolution, have created a new and very good situation for the revolutionary movement in the western hemisphere. The arms struggle of the people of Guatemala, especially the people of El Salvador, is developing with unprecedented strength. The Cuban revolution is continuing to be consolidated and the strength of Cuba is continuing to be increased economically, militarily and politically. The international prestige of Cuba is growing with each passing day. In recent years, in the land of Cuba, a small, heroic island, voices have been raised countless times expressing the aspirations of millions of persons who yearn for peace, independence and freedom, yearn for a beautiful life without oppression and cruelty. The election of Cuba as the chairman of the non-aligned movement and the positive activities of Cuba in the international arena have struck pain in the heart of the imperialist giant. This has further inflamed Washington's vain desire to crush the Cuban revolution, reverse the revolution in Nicaragua, crush the uprising of the people of El Salvador and reimpose U.S. rule in the Caribbean and Latin America.

The war mongers in the White House and the Pentagon boast that they are persons who see reality for what it is; however, they are in the midst of a daydream! The Cuban people, in their 23 years of existence, have become accustomed to being highly vigilant in the face of the claws of the U.S. imperialists. The Cuban people, under

the leadership of the Cuban Communist Party, headed by Fidel Castro, know the enemy, know their own strengths and have quickly found ways to deal with the provocation, slander and threats of the enemy. In the face of the new, tense situation and in response to appeals by the communist party and Fidel Castro, millions of persons have eagerly joined the ranks of the local militia to engage in productive labor and maintain combat readiness; this is a new armed force, one that supplements the regular force army. According to Senior General Raul Castro, the Cuban Minister of National Defense, Cuba has, in this local army, an armed force must larger than the army that the United States could send to commit aggression against Cuba.

All the Cuban people are combat ready. This spirit can even be seen in their daily lives. Military training sessions are conducted everywhere, in the cities as well as the fields, even right next to production installations.

Imbued with noble proletarian internationalism, countless sons of Cuba have departed to fulfill their international obligation. Many Cuban teachers have gone to teach in Angola or Nicaragua. Many Cuban workers and technicians have volunteered for construction work in Vietnam, Africa and so forth. Their voluntarily leaving and their returning home to work are simple and uneventful occurrences. During the days and months spent in the friendly country fulfilling their international obligation, they struggle in a true revolutionary spirit. Countless persons have quietly sacrificed their lives in a fraternal country. The image of Cuban workers, teachers and specialists devotedly working day and night for the sake of their international cause has further enhanced the image of socialist Cuba. Countless mothers and wives have had to oppress their personal feelings and encourage their husbands and sons to leave. Patriotism, love of the revolution and love of socialism are intertwined with the international spirit. During the 23 years of socialist construction, Cuba has molded an entire generation of new persons who are educated and possess revolutionary awareness and zeal. The years and months of struggle have enhanced the revolutionary tradition of the nation. The sons of Cuba today have inherited the very best of the nation's tradition of resisting foreign aggression. In particular, an entire generation of Cuban youths has been educated and matured in the indomitable spirit of the Moncada offensive, the landing from the ship Granma and the feats of arms that the partisan army recorded under the leadership of Fidel Castro and his comrades-in-arms.

As are the Vietnamese and every other people, the people of Cuba are very desirous of peace and want to live quiet and happy lives, which is their legitimate right. However, as a result of living next to a wild animal that is constantly bearing its claws, the Cuban people must always be vigilant and always be ready to deal with the worst possible situations. In the space of only one-half year, millions of persons have joined the local militia forces, one-half million of whom have been issued weapons and receive military training after work hours. An intense mass movement to contribute money to build the militia is taking place throughout the country. As of the end of November, 1981, the entire country had contributed 25 million pesos. The local military forces together with the 5.5 million members of the Committees To Protect the Revolution, the regular force, revolutionary armed forces, the forces of the Ministry of Interior and the other organizations form an invincible strength. Clearly, if they touch Cuba, the U.S. imperialists will be putting their head into a strong steel trap because they will encounter a nation

united 1 million persons as 1, a nation in whose blood is the oath "The Fatherland or Death."

An anti-America, pro-Cuba wave of sentiment is surging throughout our planet. A world people's front to protect Cuba is being formed. This front not only consists of communists, of socialist countries and of progressive nationalist countries, but also the masses of the developed capitalist countries, including the American people, and many bourgeois political parties and governments in western Europe and North America, especially in Latin America. The people of Cuba will surely stand proudly and firmly in the face of the North American international gendarme just as the people of Vietnam and the people of Indochina are standing firmly in the face of the counter-revolutionary assault force, the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists. Supported by the strength of the Soviet Union, of the socialist community and the three revolutionary currents in the world, Cuba will surely be victorious.

7809

CSO: 4209/231

## THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 81 pp 63-70

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The present world situation is very tense. The issue of war and peace is an urgent and serious issue facing all mankind.

The tense situation in the world originates in the bellicose policy of the Reagan administration. Taking office against the background of the United States being engulfed in a full-scale crisis, Reagan harbors the ambition of reversing the situation and restoring the internal strength and overseas influence of the United States by means of extremely reactionary domestic and foreign policies.

Domestically, Reagan advocates restoring the U.S. economy by stimulating the interests of the monopolistic capitalist groups and the military-industrial complex by, for example, strongly reducing taxes, reducing the intervention of the state in business activities, increasing national defense expenditures and so forth while strongly attacking the interests of the working people by reducing budget expenditures for public services and social welfare and reducing the number of jobs. In order to fight inflation at home and attack the economies and currencies of U.S. allies, the United States has raised the interest rate on bank loans to a record level, over 20 percent.

As regards foreign affairs, the reactionary strategies that were being pursued during the Carter administration are continuing to be pursued but to a more intense degree. At the same time, the Reagan administration has introduced a number of radical policies, such as cancelling the SALT II Agreement signed by Carter with the Soviet Union in 1979, initiating the production of the neutron bomb and a number of other weapons which Carter decided not to produce and announcing the largest arms race program in 35 years, one requiring total military expenditures of 1.6 trillion dollars in 6 years (up to 1986). Reagan insanely maintains that this is the way that the United States can free itself from its economic crisis in order to regain its economic and military might, deal from a position of strength in its relations with the Soviet Union and regain the right to lead its allies. On the other hand, the Reagan administration has also created tensions in international relations with a view toward pressuring the allies in western Europe and Japan to increase their military budgets and stop the process of the improvement of relations between these



countries and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Reagan administration has also intensified the infiltration and intervention in other countries, increased military aid to a number of regional lackeys, removed the limitations imposed by the human rights foreign policy of Carter upon the lackeys in Chile, South Korea and so forth and encouraged these lackeys to counter-attack national liberation movements.

Even more seriously, the Reagan administration has officially sanctioned the sale of weapons to the Chinese reactionaries, launched a campaign against the Soviet Union, Vietnam and Cuba in the world, spread brazen, slanderous arguments, such as the Soviet Union posing a military threat, and distorted the situations in Afghanistan, Poland, Kampuchea and El Salvador in a vain attempt to achieve a position of strength before entering into a dialogue with the Soviet Union.

Despite this aggressive and bellicose behavior, the Reagan administration, after being in office for less than 1 year, has been forced to accept the difficulties and defeats of the United States. To begin with, the U.S. economy has entered another recession, one which President Reagan himself has frequently confirmed. Following two periods of crisis, the 1974-1975 recession and the 1979-1980 recession, the U.S. economy together with the entire economy of the developed capitalist countries entered a new recession in mid-1981 following a brief period of recovery. In the United States, unemployment stands at 8.5 percent of the workforce, compared to 7.5 percent 1 year ago. Under the Reagan administration, the number of unemployed has risen by 1.5 million and inflation, instead of declining, has continued to increase and is in the double digits. The rate of economic growth is only slightly more than 1 percent compared to a projected growth of 4-4.5 percent. In this situation, the continuation of the arms race has exacerbated the crisis. The towering economic difficulties have made it impossible for Reagan's huge arms race program to reverse the military balance that has been established in the world. Reagan's economic and financial policies have caused the strongest wave of indignation among the various strata of the American people since World War II. The most significant expression of this indignation came on 19 September 1981 in Washington in a demonstration by some 260,000 persons organized by the AFL-CIO, a demonstration that was larger than the largest anti-Vietnam war demonstration, which was held on 15 November 1969. The internal antagonisms of the U.S. administration are sharp. In the history of the United States, rarely has a new administration displayed dissention, antagonisms and disharmony as early as the Reagan administration has.

The difficulties and defeats at home are one of the reasons why the Reagan administration has been forced to lift the grain embargo against the Soviet Union, agree to negotiate with the Soviet Union concerning nuclear weapons in Europe and frequently state that U.S. troops will not be sent to fight overseas. However, the defeats of Reagan are also due to other international factors. Although the United States has been forced to sit down and negotiate with the Soviet Union, this negotiation will be a sharp and long struggle.

The strongly developing peace and neutrality movement in western Europe is one of the important international factors in the defeat of the bellicose policy of the United States. U.S. allies in western Europe and Japan no longer have confidence in the U.S. military umbrella. They have increasingly come to see that the relaxation of

tensions is truly advantageous to them, consequently, they have increasingly utilized the favorable international conditions resulting from the relaxation of tensions to resolve their economic difficulties and reduce their dependency upon the United States. The relaxation of East-West tensions during the 1970's yielded major benefits to the western European countries. Compared to the period when Europe was the battlefield of two world wars, Europe has enjoyed its longest and most stable peace of the century. Today, however, Europe is the largest arsenal of nuclear weapons in the world. If war breaks out in this region, Europe will surely be the main battlefield. This is one of the main causes of the peace movement in western Europe. In the early 1970's, some 30 years after World War II, the borders that were formed among the European countries in World War II were recognized and the European and North American countries pledged to not use force to change the status quo in Europe. This was a victory of the diplomacy of the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries in their steadfast and correct 30 year struggle. In the economic and energy crises, the countries of western Europe have found in the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries a large market and a stable, rich source of raw materials and fuels. At present, the Soviet Union supplies 30 percent of the uranium needed to operate the nuclear reactors of the western European countries. According to agreements signed in November, 1981, between 1985 and the end of the decade, the Soviet Union will annually supply to these countries 40 billion cubic meters of natural gas, which amounts to 25 percent of the natural gas needs of western Europe. Generally speaking, East-West economic cooperation annually provides work for some 2 million persons in the capitalist countries, a rather large percentage of whom are in the western European countries. Against this background, the Reagan administration's intensification of the arms race and creation of a tense international situation made the disputes over interests between the United States and its western European allies sharper and more comprehensive, including even strategic issues, such as war and peace. The western European countries clearly see that their interests are harmed if they yield to U.S. pressure to broaden the scope of the activities of NATO to the Persian Gulf, to coordinate the armies of the western European countries with the rapid deployment force of the United States, to increase their military budgets and to deploy medium range nuclear weapons and neutron bombs in western Europe. For the first time in the history of NATO, the meeting of the defense ministers of the member states held on 9 December 1981 resulted in no joint communique and was a failure. Together with the antagonisms between the Reagan administration and the leaders of western Europe, the bellicose policy of Reagan has caused the development of the largest and broadest anti-war, anti-nuclear weapons peace movement ever. Deserving of attention is the fact that this movement has absorbed an entire contingent of the circles and parties in power in western Europe. This movement, although not led by the communist parties, does have the positive support and participation of the communist and worker parties. The movement is directed toward the United States, against U.S. military bases and U.S. officers in West Germany, against the military bases of NATO in Greece and against Spain's participation in this aggressive bloc. CIA forces and reactionaries within western European ruling circles have been making every effort to direct this movement against the Soviet Union but have failed in this attempt. Demonstrations by tens of thousands of persons continue to take place even after Reagan delivered his 18 November address and promised to open negotiations with the Soviet Union on the reduction of nuclear weapons. The anti-war peace movement in western Europe and North America is a blow to the "reverse is true" argument of

Reagan and Beijing that the Soviet Union is the source of war. To the contrary, more and more persons in the West are recognizing that the Soviet Union represents good will and peace while the threat of war originates in Washington. This also shows that the trend of peace and moderation has deep roots in the life of western European society and has become a strength helping to push back the danger of war in Europe and helping to safeguard world peace. Although the ruling circles of western Europe are still closely tied to the United States in Atlanticism, concerning the issues of war and peace, very many persons have taken a neutral stand and separated themselves from the bellicose policy of the United States. They want to expand the process of reducing tensions with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Of course, they must talk about moderation in order to protect their own class interests. Although they advocate reducing tensions, they essentially still oppose the Soviet Union, oppose socialism and advocate stronger cooperation with the United States and the strengthening of NATO. Despite this, in the fields of the arms race, preparations for war and East-West economic cooperation, increasingly sharp disagreements exist between the United States and western Europe. It can be said that during the 1950's and 1960's, western Europe joined the United States in unleashing the cold war against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. During the 1970's and in the early 1980's, many countries of western Europe have been advocating the reducing of tensions and increasingly separated themselves from the scheme of the United States to start a war. This is one of the differences between the present situation and the cold war during the 1950's and 1960's.

The collaboration between the United States and China from a position of weakness and crisis has caused the world situation to become tense and threatens international peace and security but cannot reverse the trend of development of history. The collaboration between the United States and China, the two largest reactionary powers in history, is a salient characteristic of the present day international situation. It is the reason for the increasingly tense and complex world situation, the increasing danger of war and the serious threat to world peace and security, primarily in Southeast Asia and Asia. Especially serious is the fact that, in the middle of this year, following the trip by the U.S. Secretary of State to China, the United States decided to sell weapons to China and arrogantly talked about Sino-American military cooperation. However, the situation during the final months of the year has increasingly showed us that not every aspect of Sino-American relations is without problems. While collaborating with each other to oppose the Soviet Union and the world revolution, both the United States and China, finding themselves in a position of weakness and crisis, have pursued their own strategic interests and want to use each other to advance their interests. The strategic objectives of the reactionary ruling group in Beijing is to join the United States in opposing the Soviet Union and opposing the world revolutionary movement with a view toward pushing the United States and the Soviet Union into opposing each other, undermining East-West relaxation of tensions, undermining the relaxation of tensions in Europe and fomenting worldwide rebellion in order to acquire capital and technology from the West for the modernization of China and achieve an advantageous and "ruling" position for China in order to make China the largest superpower in the world and achieve worldwide hegemony. In their weakened position in the post-Vietnam period, the U.S. imperialists have found in China a new ally capable of helping them oppose the Soviet Union and the world revolutionary movement. The United States is using the Chinese traitors to help it



to maintain its remaining positions in Asia and the world amidst a situation in which the United States has been forced to withdraw its military from the Asian continent and still maintain U.S. interests in Asia and using the Chinese market to resolve the economic crisis of the United States. The United States is also playing the China card in order to achieve the position of strength in its relations with the Soviet Union. Sino-American collaboration has been developing for 10 years. Having begun with the visits to China by Kissinger and Nixon in 1971 and 1972, Sino-American collaboration has undergone many stages of development and each stage has proven that this collaboration is a product of weakness and filled with contradictions. This collaboration failed to rescue the United States from its weakened position during the period from 1970 to 1975. China did not help the United States to maintain the puppet government in South Vietnam, has not weakened the Soviet Union or the world revolutionary movement and has not undermined the relaxation of East-West tensions. To the contrary, Mao Zedong himself had to admit that the United States relied on the back of China to negotiate with the Soviet Union. This was the reason for the stagnation in Sino-American relations during the period from 1975 to 1977. During the past 3 years, Sino-American collaboration was reached a new pinnacle and caused many complex difficulties to various nations, especially those in Asia and Southeast Asia. However, as everyone has seen, although Sino-American relations have strengthened, the fact that relations between the Soviet Union and western Europe have developed strongly and increasingly moved toward the reduction of tensions ultimately forced the United States to negotiate with the Soviet Union and go against the intentions of China. In Asia, Sino-American collaboration has not helped to reverse the situations in Afghanistan, Kampuchea or Iran. During the past year, the Taiwan issue revealed the betrayal of the nation and the cowardly submission by Deng Xiaoping and his clique in the face of the U.S. imperialists. However, this issue has still caused Sino-American collaboration to encounter obstacles and caused difficulties to the U.S. sale of weapons to China. The allies of the United States in Asia, such as ASEAN and Japan, as well as other countries in Asia, such as India, maintain that the sale by the United States of weapons to China is an action that will have many adverse consequences for the United States. The countries of western Europe that are intensifying the process of reducing world tensions and improving relations with the Soviet Union also do not see much of benefit in the U.S. sale of weapons to China for the purpose of opposing the Soviet Union. This indicates the limitations of Sino-American collaboration. The year 1981 also showed that the political and social situation in China is unstable and that China's economic plan met with failure. This increased the skepticism within imperialist circles concerning the value of the China card. While Sino-American relations are encountering difficulties and in the face of the possibility of a dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States as well as in the face of the trend toward reducing East-West tensions, China has been forced to open the door to negotiations with the Soviet Union. The China card is still an important point in the strategy of the imperialists, primarily the U.S. imperialists, to weaken the Soviet Union and the world revolutionary movement. However, the realities of the past 10 years have shown that in view of the fact that the balance of power in the world has changed in a manner favorable for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, Sino-American collaboration, although it has made the situation tense and complex and made the struggle by the people of the world against imperialism more decisive, cannot reverse the trend of development of history in the post-Vietnam period.



The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are increasingly playing the role of the pillar of world peace and the dependable base of the world revolution. Although they are encountering certain difficulties as a result of crop failures for 3 years in a row and the undermining of the Polish situation by the imperialists and the reactionaries, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries enter the 1980's with a strong spirit and are continuing to strongly develop their economies and display the superior nature of socialism. All socialist countries have set forth guidelines for development during the 1980's and plans for the next 5 years. In particular, the 26th Congress of the CPSU was of extremely important political significance in the life of the Soviet country and the world. The peace platform set forth at this congress satisfies the aspiration for peace of the peoples of all countries. The important peace initiatives set forth by the congress have won over public opinion in western Europe and had a positive effect upon the maintenance of the relaxation of tensions in Europe.

Today, in contrast to the 1940's and 1960's, the political and diplomatic positions of the Soviet Union are much stronger as a result of the strong development of the Soviet Union in a number of economic and national defense fields. It can be said that this is the firm foundation of the process of reducing tensions in the world. Many western European countries and Japan see their vital interests as being closely linked to the relaxation of tensions. In less than 1 year, the new peace platform of the Soviet Union has had an important impact. The process of the relaxation of tensions in Europe, although still encountering many difficulties and obstacles and although the Madrid Conference is deadlocked as a result of the obstinate attitude of the United States, is clearly a favorable trend.

In order to intensify the struggle to implement the new peace platform, the Soviet Union is attaching very much importance to consolidating and strengthening the solidarity of the socialist community. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are paying particular attention to coordinating strategy and tactics concerning international issues, especially the issues of war and peace, relations with the United States and China and the other important issues. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have strongly supported the struggle for independence of the nations in the Middle East, Latin America and South Africa and have expanded the anti-imperialist world front to protect peace. The influence of the Soviet Union and the socialist community is now being expanded in virtually all regions of the world. It can be said that in the decisive class struggle throughout the world in the past year, especially regarding the issues of opposing war, safeguarding peace, opposing Sino-American collaboration, protecting national independence and so forth, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have played a large role as a primary factor determining the favorable trend of development for peace and the security of all mankind.

The year 1981 was also a period in which the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America developed strongly and fiercely resisted the counter-attack by the U.S. imperialists and the international reactionaries. The aspect of this movement most worth mentioning was the struggle by the people of Central America and the Caribbean, the Middle East, South Africa, Southeast Asia and South Asia.

In Central America and the Caribbean, the El Salvador revolution has constantly grown and begun to strongly attack the lackey dictatorship of the United States. This has

been one of the reasons for the recent furious reaction by Washington against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and the other nations of Latin America.

In the Middle East, the Palestinian resistance war movement (PLO) is exerting greater influence than ever before. In the face of the reactionary policy of the United States and Israel's continued denial of the Palestinians' right to self-determination, the people of the Arab countries and other countries have increasingly tightened their ranks and resolutely supported the Palestinians. The assassination of Egyptian President Sadat was a serious blow to the reactionary strategy of the United States in this region and Israel. The reactionary policy of the United States toward this region, which has the support of Beijing, has caused progressive countries within the region to align themselves with one another in the common struggle as seen in the anti-imperialist alliance among Ethiopia, Libya and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The Arab countries in this steadfast front are a positive factor bankrupting the schemes of the United States and the reactionaries. The Arab countries are increasingly realizing that the Soviet Union and the other genuine socialist countries are their reliable friends. The bellicose policy of the United States toward the Arab countries also does not have the support of U.S. allies. A number of countries in western Europe and Japan having become increasingly aware of the fact that the U.S. solutions to the Middle East problem do not take their interests into consideration at all, are establishing various forms of relations with the PLO.

The non-aligned movement developed strongly during the past year on the momentum of growing opposition to the reactionary policy of the United States. The struggle for a new international economic order has also been raised to a new level of development. Never before were the U.S. imperialists criticized as strongly as they were in the document of the conference of foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries held in New York (the United States) in October, 1981. The United States was also strongly criticized in the various "North-South" economic forums, especially at the Cancun Conference in Mexico. The developing countries are increasingly realizing that the U.S. government never has any good will with regard to helping them resolve their economic difficulties and establish with them equal economic relations. The objective of the United States in its economic relations with the developing countries is only to help the United States to resolve its economic crisis and enrich the multi-national corporations of the United States. Although they have not abandoned their neo-colonialist intentions, the other imperialist countries do not endorse the stand of the United States and have been forced to adopt more flexible tactics in order to dampen the struggle of the developing countries. In the struggle for peace and national independence, the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America have increasingly realized that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are their trustworthy friends. Contrary to the intentions of the United States and China, the relations between the developing countries and the socialist countries have constantly been improved and developed.

Generally speaking, these are regions in which the situation is very complex and filled with changes. Besides the positive aspects, there are very complex antagonisms within the anti-imperialist forces in these regions. The imperialists and the Beijing reactionaries do everything they can to take advantage of these antagonisms to serve their interests. However, the revolution is continuing to develop strongly in these regions.

In 1981, the revolution in the three countries of Indochina continued to develop well. As a result of their peaceful foreign policy, the just cause of the peoples of the three countries of Indochina has increasingly become more clearly understood by public opinion. Through the combined strength of the three nations together with their comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community, the alliance of the three countries of Indochina is increasingly playing the role as a decisive factor of peace and stability within the region. In 1981, after two consecutive years of defeats in their scheme to reverse the situation in Kampuchea, China and the United States persuaded a number of ASEAN countries to direct major efforts toward opposing the Kampuchean people in a comprehensive manner. To date, however, their sinister schemes have virtually been defeated. Although the United States, China and the ruling circles of some ASEAN countries have not abandoned their intention of opposing and undermining the Indochina revolution, the growth of the Indochina countries has increasingly revealed the antagonisms among China, the United States and the ASEAN countries. Time is against them.

In our evaluation of the world situation in 1981, we cannot fail to mention the situation in China. The year 1981 marked a new stage in the unstable political, economic and social situation in China. Capital construction was reduced by 40 percent in 1981 compared to 1980, the energy industry stagnated and agriculture was hit by the worst natural disasters in several decades. Hundreds of millions of persons are hungry.

In foreign affairs, China has supported the bellicose policy of Reagan toward the Soviet Union in a vain attempt to undermine the relaxation of East-West tensions; China has fiercely opposed the three countries of Indochina and created opposition within Southeast Asia. However, in the past year, the traitorous, counter-revolutionary face of the ruling circles in China has been further exposed.

Economic difficulties and setbacks in foreign affairs have caused the struggle for power among the Beijing reactionary rulers to become more intense. The Deng Xiaoping faction is temporarily in a victorious position but this position is limited to the level of top officials and intellectuals. The cultural revolution faction represented by Hua Guofeng is temporarily in a weak position; however, one-half of the party members and the forces that emerged during the cultural revolution are still in power in all localities, especially in the countryside and within the army. Deserving of attention is the fact that the Chinese army, with the exception of a few persons on the upper echelon, opposes the Deng faction. There have been phenomena that have shown that the cultural revolution faction has temporarily withdrawn to bide its time and avoid revealing its forces. On the other hand, even among the supporters of Deng, there are many persons who do not agree with him on many issues, especially the economic construction line. Another phenomenon that was virtually non-existent or had not yet developed during the time of Mao is the crisis of confidence and the opposition on the part of the masses to the policy of the authorities. The political and economic instability of China persists with no end in sight.

In summary, in 1981, the world situation was very tense, especially during the months in the middle of the year. The cause of this situation was the bellicose policy of the Reagan administration. The characteristic of the U.S. administration under Reagan is

that many representatives of the military-industrial complex directly participate in the ruling apparatus. Reagan, Bush, Allen and Haig are representatives of the military-industrial complex. The philosophy of revenge and the big country chauvinism that emerged in the United States following its defeat in Vietnam stimulated the bellicose nature of U.S. ruling circles. Sino-American collaboration, in which the Chinese reactionary rulers are voluntarily serving as the largest counter-revolutionary assault force, is an important factor in increasing the bellicose and adventurous nature of U.S. imperialism.

However, the obstinacy of the Reagan administration encountered an anti-war force of unprecedented strength. The ability to prevent war and safeguard peace is a real ability. To begin with, the growth of the Soviet Union and the socialist community is the factor of decisive significance. The worker movement and the struggle for national liberation and economic sovereignty, which developed vigorously in 1981, are a major obstacle to the scheme of the imperialists and the international reactionaries to start a war. The peace movement that is developing feverishly in the world is an important strength. Facts have proven that the counter-attack by the U.S. imperialists is based on a position of weakness and that the process of the relaxation of tensions which began in the 1970's has gradually been strengthened and cannot be reversed by any reactionary power. In the immediate future, the imperialists and the reactionaries will continue to use a number of issues, such as the so called Afghanistan issue, the Kampuchean issue, the temporary difficulties in Poland, the El Salvador revolution, the Middle East issue and so forth to undermine the effort to reduce tensions in the world. However, because the struggle by nations is winning more victories with each passing day, the ability of the imperialists, primarily the U.S. imperialists, to create tensions is limited. The ability to safeguard peace and repel world war is much greater than the ability to start a war.

7809

CSO: 4209/ 231

END



**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

~~RE~~ April 2, 1982

