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TAP CHI CONG SAN, No. 2, 1982



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

## CONTENTS

TAP CHI CONG SAN Editorial Views Party Strength (pp 1-6, 44) (Editorial).....	1
Some Opinions on Improving the Work System of Party Committee Echelons (pp 7-14) (Nguyen Khanh).....	7
Improving the Management of Cadres (pp 15-20, 29) (Pham Quan).....	15
Journal Reviews History of Party Congresses (pp 21-29) (Nguyen Van Phung).....	23
From the Nha Rong Pier to Pac Bo Cave (pp 30-39) (Ton Quang Duyet).....	30
In Commemoration of the 60th Anniversary of the Birth of the Newspaper LE PARIA: Nguyen Ai Quoc and the Newspaper LE PARIA (pp 40-44) (Nguyen Thanh).....	41
Our Lifestyle (pp 45-47) (Nguyen Trung Thuc).....	47
Thoroughly Understanding and Scrupulously Complying With the Military Service Law (pp 48-52, 64) (Dang Vu Hiep).....	51

PRC 'Multifaceted War of Destruction' Analyzed (pp 53-57)	
(Nguyen Duc Thieng).....	58
Commentary: History, A Mirror (58-64)	
(Le Xuan Vu).....	62
Poland, a Decisive Attack Against the Reactionary Powers (pp 65-70)	
(Thanh Tin).....	70



## 'TAP CHI CONG SAN' EDITORIAL VIEWS PARTY STRENGTH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese February 1982, pp 1-6, 44

[Editorial: "Increase the Fighting Strength of the Contingent of Party Cadres Members"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] When a party possesses a correct political line, the strength of its cadres and members decides all successes.

Our party has applied the general Marxist-Leninist principles creatively to the circumstances of our country, devised a correct revolutionary line and constantly perfected it.

To carry out its revolutionary line successfully, our party has paid great attention to building its contingent of cadres and members. Many directives and resolutions issued by the party Central Committee have promptly illuminated problems involving tasks related to party cadres and members. In particular, the party Central Committee Political Bureau and the party Central Committee Secretariat recently issued two resolutions on organizational and ideological tasks. These resolutions basically devised guidelines and measures for building the force of party cadres and members in the new stage.

Due to the party's efforts, our body of party cadres and members has constantly grown strong. Since the fourth party congress, the number of party cadres and members has increased by 330,000 and most of them are outstanding elements in production, combat and other tasks. At present, our party has about 1.7 million members operating in more than 35,000 party organizations and establishments. More than a million members have graduated from political and dialectical refresher courses where different programs were taught. Nearly 500,000 members have attained the general education high school level, and more than 200,000 others are college and vocational high school graduates. The issuance of party membership cards, which has taken place for the first time in our country, has positively helped to purify the ranks of party members a step further.

Our party highly evaluates the revolutionary character of its members. Party Central Committee General Secretary Le Duan has affirmed: "A great number of party members are absolutely loyal to the cause of the party, have made sacrifices and worked with dedication for the fatherland and people and are, therefore, trusted and loved by the people. Party members have always been present where the struggle is fiercest, where things are most difficult and on the hardest jobs. Many of them have been in the vanguard with their exemplary acts and have led and attracted the masses into movements for production and fighting and for the construction and defense of the country. (TAP CHI CONG SAN footnote: Le Duan: "Under the Party's Banner, Take the Country to the Height of the Epoch" -- speech delivered at the grand ceremony to mark the VCP's 50th founding anniversary, 3 February 1930-3 February 1980) The contingent of party cadres has also grown strong. Besides the force of scientific and technical cadres and economic managerial cadres, whose number has risen to as many as hundreds

of thousands and is continuing to increase speedily, the body of leading cadres at all levels and in all sectors has been strengthened quantitatively. Many of them are seasoned and experienced. Others who have been chosen over the past years are outstanding elements emerging from the realities of the socialist revolution, the building of socialism and the defense of the fatherland.

Besides these good aspects, party cadres and members are still beset by weaknesses and shortcomings. We have not had much experience in building socialism, and our leadership and economic managerial abilities are still limited as compared to the requirements of tasks. Moreover, a number of party members are still incompetent. Because they are reluctant to study and lack the determination to progress, their general knowledge and ability are very limited. They are present in the party but cannot be of any help to its leadership. As for qualities, the fighting willpower of part of the party membership is on the decline; yet they demand enjoyment and rest and care only for their own interests, paying no attention to the lives of the masses.

A small number of party members are degenerate and have committed serious mistakes. They have taken advantage of the masses' confidence in the party and of the tasks assigned to them to steal public property, accept bribes, oppress the people and collude with dishonest elements in engaging in illegal business. This has damaged the party's reputation and eroded the relationship between the party and the masses. In addition, the fact that a number of leading cadres are conservative and bureaucratic, have violated the principle of democratic centralism within the party and the people's right to collective mastery, and are declining seriously in terms of fighting willpower and revolutionary ethics has further aggravated the negative factors in the party.

The weaknesses and shortcomings of these party cadres and members, in the spheres of ability and revolutionary qualities and ethics have hampered greatly the organization of the implementation of the party's line, resulted in bad political and economic consequences and adversely affected the people's lives. Our enemy is striving to exploit these weaknesses and shortcomings in order to incite the masses and impair the party's prestige among the masses.

History entrusts our party with very glorious but also very weighty responsibilities. The party must lead our people in carrying out two strategic tasks simultaneously:

FIRSTLY, to build socialism successfully.

SECONDLY, to strengthen national defense, to firmly maintain political security and public order and safety, and to stand ready to fight and fight victoriously in defense of the fatherland.

Moreover, these tasks must be carried out during the bitter and complex struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads to settle the question "who will whip whom." The Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, in collusion with the warmongering forces of U.S.-led imperialism, are continuing to step up their activities aimed at opposing and undermining our country in all fields, and are waiting for the opportunity to launch a large-scale war of aggression to annex our homeland. Our people's enemies of all stripes are directing their spearhead at our party to sabotage it ideologically and organizationally.

The situation of the party, the historic tasks which it has to shoulder and the new conditions of its struggle necessitates a call for an INCREASE IN THE FIGHTING STRENGTH OF THE CONTINGENT OF PARTY CADRES AND MEMBERS.

Generally speaking, this means that the quality and capability of cadres and party members must be improved and that all basic conditions must be provided so that everyone may fulfill the tasks entrusted to him, thereby "proving themselves worthy of being the people's leaders and utterly faithful servants," as President Ho often instructed them.

All party committee echelons and party organizations should apply themselves to educating party cadres and members and creating all the necessary conditions for them to raise ceaselessly their Marxist-Leninist theoretical levels; hold fast to the party's line, positions and policies; and enhance their cultural standard and scientific, technical and professional knowledge, especially economic knowledge. It is necessary to organize cadres, especially leading cadres, to study economic theories, policies, organization and management, thereby creating a movement for the entire party to learn how to carry out economic work.

Along with educating party cadres and members and enhancing their consciousness and their ideological and educational levels, we must constantly attach importance to education, with the aim of improving their revolutionary ethics and quality. Under the conditions wherein the party leads the administration, belittling the requirements regarding the quality of the party cadres and members creates conditions for bureaucratism, individualism, opportunism and other negative manifestations to spring up, develop and gradually erode the party.

An extremely important requirement of the education and qualitative development of party cadres and members is TO HEIGHTEN THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE COMMUNIST IDEAL. This is the most important quality of a communist.

At present, a party cadre's or party member's understanding of the communist ideal is reflected specifically by his positive recognition that our nation's direct and dangerous enemy is the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, and his full understanding of their schemes and acts of aggression and sabotage against our country. On the basis of such recognition and understanding, party cadres and members must constantly sharpen their revolutionary vigilance and their hatred for the enemy and stand ready to fight and fight victoriously.

Party cadres' and party members' understanding of the communist ideal is also reflected in their efforts to gain a profound understanding of the general socialist revolutionary line and the line of socialist economic construction, and in their resolve to implement these lines with the greatest zeal. Their understanding of the communist ideal also finds expression in the will to constantly improve their revolutionary quality, to oppose any form of individualism and opportunism, and to resolutely overcome all decline in revolutionary quality. To satisfactorily enhance party cadres' and members' understanding of the communist ideal, the party's ideological work must be improved even more forcefully in both form and substance and in method and organization. First of all, the scientific and militant character of this work must be enhanced. The theoretical and practical bases of the party's line must be proven by scientific arguments and vivid realities. On this basis, we must raise the level of consciousness of party cadres and members, increase their reasoning ability, overcome all manifestations of dogmatism, empiricism, and so forth. We must severely criticize all viewpoints which are at variance with the party's line, promptly struggle against negative manifestations in the process of implementing party directives and resolutions, and intensify self-criticism and criticism at all echelons and in all sectors. We must resolutely frustrate all enemy schemes and acts of psychological warfare.

The implementation of the efforts to improve the quality of party cadres and members depends not only on political and ideological indoctrination but also on the ORGANIZATIONAL BUILDING OF THE CONTINGENT OF PARTY CADRES AND MEMBERS.

We must devote much effort to BUILDING THE CONTINGENT OF CADRES and consider it the key measure in raising the capacity of the party and the state for leadership and organization of implementation. This contingent must have sufficient political quality, knowledge and capacity for work to meet the requirements of its tasks. On the economic front, it must be capable of implementing the party's economic line, building a new economic structure, fruitfully applying the new mode of economic management and successfully achieving the socioeconomic targets to be set by the fifth party congress.

We must satisfactorily carry out the selection and appointment of cadres, especially the key cadres of various echelons and sectors. For this purpose, we must have a thorough understanding of various party Central Committee and Political Bureau resolutions on cadre work since this will help us acquire a correct viewpoint of the evaluation of cadres, and it will help us overcome the tendency to rate them mainly on the basis of their work records, their class origins, or their degrees, academic achievements, and so forth. We must distinctly define the specific qualities and abilities essential for each position in the party and state apparatuses, and must clearly understand the standards of each post. In these standards, we must also distinguish what is basic and indispensable from what is not and which can thus be waived. This is the best basis for us to CHOOSE THE RIGHT MAN FOR THE RIGHT JOB AND TO GIVE THE RIGHT JOB TO THE RIGHT MAN.

At present, in the contingent of leading cadres at various levels and in various sectors, there are comrades who, for many reasons, are no longer capable of meeting the requirements of their work. At the same time, highly promising cadres with sound qualities and capabilities have appeared in the movement. We must overcome manifestations of narrow-mindedness and hesitancy and promptly and boldly promote to worthy positions in organs of party and state leadership those cadres who, in practical work and fighting, have shown that they possess real quality and capabilities, especially young cadres, women cadres; cadres from ethnic minority groups, and so forth.

To satisfactorily bring into play the strength and talents of the contingent of cadres in general and the contingent of leading cadres in particular, aside from the personal efforts of each cadre and stepping up the training of cadres in all respects, we must urgently IMPROVE THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND MANAGERIAL MECHANISM AND IMPROVE THE PARTY AND STATE APPARATUSES. Irrationalities in organization, policies, systems and work procedures have hindered and continue to hinder to no small extent the development of cadres' talents and initiative. No cadre, however capable he may be, can avoid being confused when functions and duties are not clearly spelled out, work is not rationally divided, work standards and the system of responsibility are not distinctly established, and relations of coordination in work are not defined.

We must attach importance to training leading party cadres at all levels. On the basis of bringing cadre training methods up to date, we must quickly formulate plans for cadre work to meet the immediate requirements and to prepare for long-term tasks simultaneously. Along with strengthening existing leading cadres, we must satisfactorily carry out the selection of reserve cadres, give them the proper knowledge, and suitable work as a way of training and testing them, thereby helping them to develop quickly.

The quality of the party depends decisively on the QUALITY OF THE CONTINGENT OF PARTY MEMBERS. "If the party is strong, it is because its chapters are good. If a party chapter is good, it is because all its members are good." (Footnote: Ho Chi Minh: "On Party Building", Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p. 149). If each party member possesses all the necessary qualities and capabilities, is really a revolutionary militant and wholeheartedly fights in the interests of the socialist fatherland and for the people's happiness, the party will surely be stable and strong, will fulfill any task satisfactorily, and will be trusted and loved more and more by the masses.

The resolution of the fourth national party congress has spelled out five requirements concerning the qualifications of a party member. The party Central Committee has also issued documents concretely defining each of these requirements to suit the demands of the present situation and tasks. We must base ourselves on these requirements to improve various tasks in building the contingent of party members. On the one hand, we must persistently educate party cadres and members so as to raise their level of consciousness and improve their quality and ethics. On the other hand, we must resolutely and really purify the party by expelling unhesitatingly and without delay all those who are corrupt, practice bribery and exploit and bully the masses; those who exercise opportunism; and those whose revolutionary will is crippled and who have become indifferent and morally debilitated. At the same time, we must consider expelling from the party those whose level



of consciousness is too low, who have made no progress after being educated by party organizations, and who are no longer capable of leading the masses. Over the past 5 years our party has expelled more than 86,000 persons, most of them depraved and degenerate party members. This move was correct and necessary, but is still not enough. In not a few party organizations, there still are persons who are obviously not worthy of party membership. We must oppose all manifestations of being sympathetic, indulgent and protective and the "live-and-let-live" practice, and must continue to expel from the party those who are not qualified for membership.

The task of increasing the party's membership must be carefully guided. The party's ranks must be continuously broadened, especially where the number of party members is too small, such as in the southern provinces. We must pay more attention to admitting into the party people of the working class. We must, however, always attach importance to quality and oppose the tendency to pursue quantity only, because this will lead to a drop in the standards of party members. We must allow absolutely no unqualified person to gain party membership and must make every effort to prevent opportunistic elements from worming their way into the party.

To satisfactorily improve the quality and capabilities of party members, we must SATISFACTORILY CONSOLIDATE PARTY CHAPTERS. Party chapters are the cells of the party. They are the party's lowest-level units directly in charge of educating, training and admitting people into the party and sifting party members. In carrying out party building work we must pay sufficient and specific attention to the role of party chapters. Each party chapter should adopt concrete measures to educate and train its members and must resolutely struggle against all manifestations of negativism within the party.

In building the contingent of party cadres and members, we must attach importance to BUILDING AND STRENGTHENING PARTY COMMITTEE ECHELONS. Party committee echelons must be really strong and capable of leading all fields of work in their localities and units. Their strength is reflected first of all in their thorough understanding of the party's line and their ability to lay down correct and effective policies, to correctly resolve problems posed by life, and to successfully organize the implementation of the party's line. The strength of party committee echelons is also reflected in their ability to successfully promote the people's collective mastery, to satisfactorily bring into play the role of state organs and mass organizations, and to create vigorous revolutionary movements.

A party committee echelon must have a rational organizational structure to ensure the party's leadership in all fields of activity of social life. However, the question of structure must not be used as an excuse to lower the requirements vis-a-vis a party committee echelon, turning it into an organization of mixed character. Each comrade of a party committee echelon must fulfill set criteria on qualities and leadership ability, must be absolutely loyal to the revolution and the party's line and must have the ability, together with the echelon collective, to discuss and decide policies and organize their successful implementation. The abilities of each comrade in committee echelon must be developed through practical and rational division of labor, through an effective system of party activity and through the scrupulous implementation of the system of democratic centralism and the system of collective leadership and individual responsibility.

Through party congresses at all levels, it is necessary to constantly innovate certain sections of a committee echelon and attract new, outstanding forces symbolizing the growth of the revolutionary movement.

A party committee echelon must adopt a revolutionary and scientific work system. To this end, it is necessary to carry out the following tasks harmoniously: improving information work within the party; assessing information accurately in order to understand the actual situation correctly; applying a method of working according to plan; preparing and approving decisions in a scientific manner; promptly correcting shortcomings in organizing the implementation of decisions; and achieving consistency of action from top to bottom.

A precious tradition of our party and, at the same time, a source of strength of the contingent of party cadres and members is UNITY AND UNIFICATION.

For more than the past half century, in all the turning points in the revolution and faced with all dangerous ordeals, our party cadres and members have consistently maintained unity and unification within the party.

Since the fourth party congress, faced with the new ordeals of the revolutionary struggle and with the Chinese hegemonist expansionists' schemes and tricks aiming at sabotaging and sowing dissension within our party, all our party cadres and members have closed their ranks and maintained unity and unification of willpower and actions. Today, faced with new difficulties and ordeals of the cause of building socialism and defending the country, we, the Communists, must further develop the party's tradition of unity and unification. We must forever bear in mind President Ho's teaching: UNITY is an extremely precious tradition of our party and people. The comrades from the central level down to party chapters must maintain unity and unanimity within the party as they maintain the pupil of their eyes" (footnote -- President Ho's Testament).

To continue to strengthen the party's tradition of unity and unification at all levels, we must always understand the party's line and policies thoroughly, evaluate the actual situation correctly, maintain the practice of criticism and self-criticism in all party committees and chapters and improve the work system of all echelons.

Increasing the fighting strength of the contingent of party cadres and members is not an exclusive task of party committees and party organizations at all levels, but, first of all, a personal responsibility of each party cadre and member. All the care and assistance of a collective will be effective only when each person makes due efforts.

At present, our party is about to hold its fifth national congress. With the collective intellect of the entire party, the congress will adopt correct resolutions, thereby opening up a new era of development for the Vietnamese revolution. Increasing the strength of the contingent of party cadres and members is to provide a firm guarantee for the successful implementation of the resolutions of this congress.

Given this paramount significance, all our party cadres and members are resolved to overcome all difficulties and obstacles, to strive to improve their qualities and capability and to advance toward fulfilling successfully their noble mission in the new situation.

CSO: 4209/265

## SOME OPINIONS ON IMPROVING THE WORK SYSTEM OF PARTY COMMITTEE ECHELONS

BK200500 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Feb 82 pp 7-14

[Article by Nguyen Khanh]

[Text] 1. The Work System Has a Direct Influence on the Quality and Effectiveness of Leadership

The work system is a combination of the regulations and procedures which every organization or its members must observe in order to resolve correctly the relations between the individual and the organization, among the various departments of an organization, and among the different organizations of a common organizational system. The work system is closely linked with the nature, position and responsibilities of every organization. Therefore, to ensure good work performance every organization as well as every cadre must develop and carry out a work system suitable to its functions. For a leading and managerial organ, the work system has a direct influence on the quality and effectiveness of leadership and management.

The work system reflects the organizational structure and operation of an organization and the characteristics of the relationship among the various parts of an organizational system. As a result, different organizations have different work systems. For example, the work system of a grassroots organization is characteristically different from that of a leading organ at the provincial or district levels; the work system of a military organ is characteristically different from that of an economic organization or a scientific research organ; and so forth. The work system also reflects the relations among different organizations. Under a system in which "the party leads, the people exercise mastery and the state is in charge of management," general and specific ties exist among party, state and mass organizations. The work system of each organization more or less reflects the ties of leadership, guidance, coordination and cooperation within the entire organizational system of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the party leadership.

The work system of party committee echelons reflects the principled character and the sense of organization and discipline as well as the initiative, creativity and the spirit of close cooperation of a party organization in all of its activities. It also reflects its level of organization and its organizational capabilities. In reality, a leading collective can only ensure the revolutionary and scientific character of its activities if its members carry out all operations in an organized manner according to the prescribed methods and procedures -- namely, if they have an effective work system.

The basic organizational principle of the party is democratic centralism. This principle ensures uniformity in thought and action throughout the party and closely combined discipline with the spirit of democracy, as reflected by the activities of party organization. To apply the principle of democratic centralism we need ideological and organizational measures, including an effective work system.

Without an effective work system, it is difficult for the party committee echelons to apply the principle of democratic centralism correctly. For example, the principle of democratic centralism cannot be guaranteed unless the information system is ensured -- namely, unless we can satisfactorily grasp the situation and promptly report on its developments; satisfactorily collect and analyze the opinions of members of the various party committee echelons and the organizations and cadres concerned on the issues pending solution; ensure observance of the various systems concerning meetings, discussions and decision making; and correctly enforce the various regulations concerning the implementation of resolutions, inspection work and so forth.

Collective leadership is a guiding principle of the party. One of the factors for ensuring the party's correctness in political and organizational leadership is the correct application of the principle of collective leadership, which is aimed at bringing into full play the intelligence and sense of responsibility of every member of the collective. Careful consideration, analysis and deliberation by the collective will help avoid omissions and superficial and subjective outlooks. Nevertheless, to apply the principle of collective leadership fully, an effective work system is a must.

The work system is inseparable from the organizational structure and operations method of the machinery. Meanwhile, the organization of the machinery and its operational methods change in accordance with the development of the situation and tasks. Today, as the party leads the administration and the great undertaking to build socialism and defend the fatherland, its leading role in the society is further enhanced with each passing day. Since the spheres of activities under party leadership are continually expanding, the party committee echelons now have to go deeper into the economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields in exercising leadership. The work system of party committee echelons must meet the new requirements of leadership; and therefore, enhancing the scientific character of methods and the work system has become a pressing requirement. Improving the work system is one of the measures designed to reinforce the capability for leadership of the party committee echelons in the new stage.

An efficient work system will create conditions for the party committee echelons to make decisions that correctly reflect the leading role of the party and at the same time, develop the people's right to collective mastery and enhance the managerial capability of the socialist state. An efficient work system will accelerate the implementation of party decisions and improve their efficiency as it ensures strict, active and uniform observance by party, state and mass organizations as well as their close coordination.

The work system is part of the leadership method of the party committee echelons. It should not be misconstrued that the work system merely consists of trivial procedures and "administrative" regulations that may be disregarded by the leaders. As stated above, the work system consists of regulations and procedures that guarantee the organizational and leadership principles of the party. Being "systematized," these regulations and procedures are stipulations of a compulsory nature by the collective or the higher echelon, which everyone must respect and implement.

Developing an efficient work system and strictly implementing it is no simple task. It requires that the whole party committee and every leading cadre impose on themselves specific close and detailed regulations which have so often been easily brushed aside by small procedures with their handicraft workstyle. This is an act that calls for self-awareness out of a desire to improve work performance, together with the sense of organization and discipline. Improving the work system and developing a revolutionary and scientific workstyle is actually meant to change the old style and the old habit in our work conduct, and to carry out in an active and scientific manner the scientific-technical revolution in organizing our daily activities with the aim to enhance realistically the level of and capability for leadership of the party committee echelons.



## II. The Work System in the Stages of the Process of Leadership

The party's leadership involves political leadership and organizational leadership. Regarding each specific problem, leadership consists of adopting a policy and organizing its implementation. The process of resolving a specific problem always comprises three stages: preparing a decision; making it; and carrying it out. These three stages are closely related to one another. Only with careful preparations can we create the conditions for making a correct decision; and only if the decision is correct will its implementation be meaningful. The work system is one of the organizational measures for ensuring satisfactory progress in all the three stages of the process of leadership.

Preparing for a decision: No matter what the work may be, good results are impossible without careful preparations. The quality of a decision is dependent for the most part on the quality of preparatory work. The two main tasks in the preparation of a decision consist of disseminating information and making plans for a decision.

Information is indispensable to all activities of social life. Today information has become a highly developed science that envelops all spheres of man's activities. Here, we are going to discuss only the dissemination of information necessary for the party committee echelons to make a decision.

To resolve any specific issue the party committee echelons must:

First, firmly grasp the party line and thoroughly understand the viewpoints, policies and guiding thoughts of the central level and the higher echelons concerning the issue in question;

Second, clearly understand the actual situation and especially the existing status of the matter under investigation; clearly recognize the problems that have arisen as well as the possibility and practical conditions for their solution; and successfully solicit the opinions of the masses, cadres and organs connected with that issue; and

Third, possess the necessary theoretical and practical knowledge to analyze and assess the issue and to select the method for its solution.

These are indispensable sources of information that allow the party committee echelons to discuss and adopt policies in a correct manner. These sources of information must be collected and selected for dissemination to every member of the party committee echelons. Furnishing every member of the party committee echelons with the necessary information is an important objective of the work system. Unless members of the party committee echelons are well informed -- that is, unless they are well prepared with full knowledge of the actual situation -- they cannot participate in discussions and make decisions with good results.

Information concerning each specific issue that is furnished to members of the party committee echelons is somewhat similar in nature but varies in size. For the key leading comrades of the party committee echelons and those directly responsible for the issue concerned, the information supplied to them must be more voluminous and detailed.

The party committee echelon is the organ that makes policies but elaborating those policies and implementing them is the job of the entire party apparatus and in many specific cases, of state organs and mass organizations. Therefore, along with supplying information to the party committee echelons, it is also necessary to provide sufficient information to those organs and cadres responsible for preparing plans and organizing the execution of decisions. This is also an important part of the work system of the party committee echelons.

The information supplied to the party committee echelons must be of high quality so they can discuss and adopt policies. In other words:

-- It must be accurate. It must come from reliable first-hand sources at the grassroots level and must not be distorted during the process of propagation.

-- It must be timely. This means it must be supplied at the right moment when the party committee echelons need it for discussion and making decisions.

-- It must be relevant. This means the content of the information supplied must meet the needs of the leading organs at each echelon and it must be neither insufficient nor superfluous.

-- It must be analytical and integrated to enable the party committee echelons to grasp the facts behind the issue and foresee the development of the situation.

After having had a firm grasp on the situation and clearly recognizing the content of the issue pending solution, we must select plans to achieve the best results. Important work policies of the party committee echelons often need different plans to enable selection. These plans are generally classified into three categories:

-- A plan for resolving the issue under optimal conditions;

-- A plan for resolving the issue under normal conditions; and

-- A plan for resolving the issue under difficult and unfavorable conditions.

In reality, while deciding on a policy, it is impossible to foresee fully all future developments of the situation and only general predictions about the development of the situation are possible. Therefore, the plans must include provisions pertaining to the possible emergence of abnormal factors that may influence the execution of decisions. The more accurate the predictions, the easier it will be to make positive preparations and enforce necessary measures for dealing promptly with all contingencies.

To ensure the quality of plans it is necessary to correctly select organs and cadres with the best capabilities and conditions for preparing them. In this regard, we must employ the various organs and organizations according to their regular functions, develop the role of the party's specialized departments and at the same time, enlist the service of state organs -- especially when preparations are made to resolve economic issues. It is only under special circumstances that it is necessary to set up a provisional organization for preparing plans.

The organs and cadres entrusted with preparing plans must collect the opinions of the organizations and individuals concerned or those who are highly knowledgeable about the issue pending solution. When submitting plans to the party committee echelons, they must present different viewpoints so as to help the party committee echelons thoroughly understand the issue and select the best plan.

A form of guidance that is closely related to the preparation of plans is experimentation. When a solution must be found for a new and important issue, it is necessary to experiment first in some units so that experience can be drawn to help arrive at a correct policy that is suitable with the actual local conditions. In order to ensure good results from and draw firm conclusions on the experimentation, however, key leading comrades of the party committee echelons must assume direct control of the experimental work.

Holding discussions and making decisions: This is the key stage of the leadership process of the party committee echelons. Discussions held by the party committee echelons constitute one of the main measures for manifesting the principle of collective leadership. Therefore, the most important task that must be done to ensure collective leadership and at the same time guarantee the quality of decisions is to organize party committee echelon conferences satisfactorily.

First, to be successful a party committee echelon conference must have a well-prepared agenda. Only essential problems that can be resolved at the conference should be brought forward; and requirements must be clearly set for resolving each problem included in the agenda. Except in unexpected or pressing circumstances, the agenda of a party committee echelon conference should generally consist of only those issues for which solutions have been well prepared.

Second, all members of the party committee echelon must be well prepared for the conference. For important issues, members of the party committee echelon must be informed in advance of the contents of the various solution plans and the different views on each plan. Each of them should be supplied with the necessary reference documents and given sufficient time for forming his own opinion.

Third, the conference must be held according to a tight and rational schedule with specific stimulations concerning the subjects of discussion and the time allotted for presenting opinions. Conference time should be devoted chiefly to holding discussions, selecting the various plans and analyzing the pros and cons and the factors necessary for implementing decisions rather than to reviewing the situation. When conflicting opinions arise over important points, frank debates should be held for the purpose of seeking the best answer to the question.

In cases where there is a large number of party committee echelon members and the duration of the party committee echelon conference is limited, to ensure collective leadership the comrades presiding over the conference must strictly enforce the rules on discussion methods so that all or a major part of the party committee echelon members can express their views in the adoption of decisions.

The composition of participants greatly influences the quality of the conference. When the party committee echelon holds an enlarged conference, apart from the participation of members of the party committee echelon, it is necessary to request the attendance of a number of cadres who will either present programs and draft plans or express their opinions to help the party committee echelon assess the issue, and of other cadres who will assist the party committee echelon in organizing the execution of decisions. Nevertheless, it is necessary to select the attendants closely and appropriately in accordance with the agenda of each conference; and not every enlarged party committee echelon conference should be attended by representatives of all departments and sectors.

The decision taken by a party committee echelon reflects the unity of mind and action of the entire party organization. The resolution of a party committee conference must be approved and passed by the majority of its members and not necessarily by all of its members. We should not refrain from issuing a decision nor consider it a disagreement of the party committee echelon if some of the members in a party committee do not agree with the conclusion reached at the conference. In a conference, every party committee member is authorized to discuss all matters democratically, frankly and liberally. When a resolution has been adopted by the majority, all members will have to comply with it scrupulously. Even those comrades who held differing views during the discussion will also have to implement the resolution by speaking and acting in accordance with the resolution. This is to implement the principle of democratic centralization of the party organization.

The resolution of a party committee echelon is a vital means for the party committee to exercise its leadership function. It reflects the collective mind of leading organs and is a base on which to unify the thought and action of the entire party organization. As a result, the resolution -- either written or verbally transmitted -- must be clear, concise and succinct, clearly specifying the party committee's guidances for resolving the problems raised, the tasks to be done and the requirements of each task.

Organizing the implementation of resolutions: After issuing decisions, the primary duty of the party committee echelon, especially its standing committee, is to outline a specific program of action to guide the party apparatus in implementing the resolutions. The program of action usually involves the following four tasks:

-- Specify each question raised in the resolutions, that is, to elaborate on the requirements to be fulfilled and points to be emphasized in each task. With regard to those matters involving state management, they must be materialized and institutionalized into regulations of the state agencies.

-- Assign work to the right people and clearly define the responsibility of each agency and each cadre in charge of a specific job. This is a very important point in the work method and system to ensure good implementation of the resolutions.

-- Clearly determine the completion time for each job. In a resolution of the party committee echelon, there are jobs to be completed weekly, monthly, quarterly and yearly.

-- Establish a plan to control the implementation of resolutions. This plan should clearly stipulate the main objectives to be controlled and the manner of conducting inspections for each job.

After formulating a detailed program of action, the primary duty of the party committee echelon is to transmit resolutions. The main requirement of this task is to make every person involved in the implementation of resolutions clearly realize the significance and scope of the job that he himself must perform. Not only will he see the correctness of the policies set forth but he will also be firmly convinced that resolutions can be implemented. Only by doing so can we make all people volunteer to participate actively and enthusiastically in the implementation of resolutions. Transmitting resolutions well is mainly to fulfill well a key job in the ideological task to guarantee implementation of resolutions. In many circumstances, policies -- though they are correct -- have not been implemented successfully as a result of inadequate transmission which prevents people, who are responsible for implementing resolutions, from understanding their duties thoroughly.

To transmit resolutions is to guide the implementation of policies. Consequently, the key members of party committees should assume this job personally. To perform this job well, not only do we have to grasp the contents of resolutions firmly, but we must also have a good method in presenting solid reasoning accompanied by supporting documents. In this way we will be able to convince party member and the people regarding the necessity and correctness of policies and the practical feasibility of their implementation.

Each policy is implemented in a given circumstance under specific conditions. As circumstances and conditions constantly change, new ideological developments might occur in the course of implementing resolutions, even though the resolutions have been transmitted and understood well and have gained some initial confidence. The party committee echelon should therefore closely watch the thinking of cadres, party members and people in order to answer questions and remedy erroneous views and thoughts promptly by closely combining the issuance of specific guidances with the propaganda and educational tasks.

A matter of decisive importance with respect to the implementation of resolutions is how we should control and use the machinery and cadres to ensure that all jobs are correctly performed and well coordinated. This is one of the most complicated jobs in the process of organizing the implementation of resolutions.

Depending on the nature and specific contents of each policy, the party committee echelon should select the right personnel and rationally assign them work. To ensure good results, the organization of policy implementation must be assigned to the most capable and qualified organizations and cadres. First of all, the cadres should understand the policies thoroughly and should have some knowledge and experience in the field of their work. Attention should be paid to using and developing the abilities of those organizations and cadres who have practically contributed to the formulation of the selected projects.

There are two categories of organizations and cadres who assist the party committee echelon in organizing the implementation of resolutions: those agencies and cadres directly in charge of guiding and operating specific jobs; and those helping the party committee echelon follow up and control the implementation of resolutions. Although these two tasks are closely connected, there should be some distinction so that the organizations and cadres can be utilized properly.



The implementation of directives and resolutions of a party committee normally involves many sectors, authorities at different levels and organizations. In other words, this is a task characterized by its generality related to several sectors. Consequently, an important point in the work system is to organize the work well to ensure coordination and cooperation among the agencies and organizations involved in the implementation of resolutions.

Good coordination among the organizations to implement resolutions can only be secured on the basis of clearly determining the function and responsibility of each agency and each cadre who can develop his ability in line with his function in the course of coordination. Cases in which a series of cadres with different skills and holding different functions in various agencies and organizations were mobilized haphazardly to do the same job using a unified method, have actually decreased the role and operational effectiveness of the machinery and cadres.

The party committee echelon should create favorable conditions for all organizations and cadres to exercise their functions well. On the one hand, it must control closely the developments (either good or bad) in the implementation of resolutions by the authorities at different levels, by each type of cadre and by party members and the people in order to answer questions promptly and consider the suggestions of subordinates, helping them to resolve problems and overcome difficulties in the exercise of their duties. On the other, it must respect the authority of the organizations and cadres under its control, and must stimulate and develop their initiative and creativity. The party committee echelon must not slacken its leadership, must not tolerate indisciplined actions and must avoid doing the work which should have been done by subordinates or interfering into the activities which are within the latter's authority.

One of the most important leadership functions of the party committee echelon is to inspect the implementation of those policies which are currently in force. The party committee echelon must devise general stipulations for the inspection system and must adopt an appropriate inspection method for each particular policy.

Inspecting the implementation of a resolution is aimed primarily at quickly detecting and solving newly-developed problems in order to implement this resolution in a most satisfactory manner. Facts obtained from inspection activities in the past show that sometimes we have had to readjust the assignment of cadres and part of our plan for the implementation of a resolution. There have also been certain cases in which we have had to reexamine, revise and rectify those tasks and objectives which we have set forth. This means that we must rely on the real situation to ascertain the correctness of a policy. This must be regarded as an ordinary task, considering the fact that there have been some policies which were judged as totally correct at the time when they were initially put into force but later became inapplicable as the situation did not develop as had originally been anticipated, thus rendering the policy no longer suitable. Therefore, those agencies and cadres in charge of helping the party committee echelon inspect the implementation of a resolution must ascertain the real situation so as to report and suggest what needs to be done to the party committee echelon in a copious and candid manner.

One of the most important inspection methods -- also regarded as an important factor of our working procedures -- is that the key leading cadres of a party committee echelon must make direct on-site inspections regarding the implementation of important policies and must personally contact cadres and non-party members at lower echelons or at the grass-roots level for this purpose. Making frequent direct on-site inspections -- with the knowledge and the correct observation and evaluation of the cadres involved -- is regarded as the most effective method for the party committee echelon to grasp the situation firmly, stay close to his subordinates, understand cadres and the people, eliminate the ills of bureaucracy and conservatism, detect new factors and quickly solve hot problems arising in everyday life.

Improving the working method is an important demand and is regarded as having a great potential in improving the leadership qualities and efficiency of the party committee echelon. We must gradually and constantly improve our leadership skills in order to establish at all costs a scientific working system that is sensitive, reflects the spirit of urgency, promotes a fighting spirit, and is practicable and antibureaucratic, as already outlined in the resolution of the party Central Committee's fourth plenum. This is a realistic action to be taken to improve the fighting strength of the party, develop the revolutionary and scientific character of the party, and truly contribute to preparing the fifth national party congress and to implementing its resolution.

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## IMPROVING THE MANAGEMENT OF CADRES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 82 pp 15-20, 29

[Article by Pham Quan]

[Text] The correct political line and the correct cadre line are decisive prerequisites to insuring success in building and developing the corps of cadres. However, the results of cadre work are also dependent, to some extent, upon the organization of cadre management.

Concerning the importance of cadre management, Lenin pointed out that we must conduct good inspections and thorough examinations, provide a good education, "study people and find cadres who possess ability" because, if we do not perform these jobs well, "each and every order and decision will be an order and decision on paper only." (1)

Cadre management is defined by an organizational system, management procedures and principles and scientific and suitable management methods. Cadre management can only be carried out well when there is a correct economic management and state management mechanism. If the functions of each organization and the responsibility and authority of each individual are not concretely and clearly defined, there is no basis for evaluating, observing or assigning cadres. At present, now that the task of leading economic construction has become a foremost task of the party, new economic forms are being established, the mode of economic management is in the process of being changed and improved, the corps of cadres of each sector and level has developed widely, the district level has become a planning unit and so forth, all organizational work of the party must undergo a profound change in order to support the requirements of the new task well. As a result, we must also change cadre management and rapidly eliminate regulations that have become outmoded. The improvement of cadre management requires that problems be resolved in many areas in a well coordinated manner. Political Bureau resolution number 32 on organizational work set forth a specific guideline for resolving the problems in these areas. Below, we will only discuss a number of the most important areas:

a) First, there is the division of cadre management levels. Establishing the division of cadre management levels or, in other words, defining the scope of cadre

management on each level, is not work of an administrative nature, rather, it is work that requires careful, scientific calculations based on the requirements of the actual situation. Correctly defining the scope of cadre management of each level will insure that cadre work is under close, timely guidance and that the highest possible percentage of cadre forces is mobilized to support the various political tasks; at the same time, it will insure that cadre management is consistent with each type cadre and insure that the principle of democratic centralism is implemented in cadre work.

In our country, the division of cadre management levels is in the process of being revised. In the past, there was a time when every decision regarding cadres emanated from the various party committee echelons, the only staff agency of which was the organizational agency. In recent years, due to the requirements of the situation, we have gradually established cadre management levels with a view toward truly linking cadre management to the guidance of the performance of political and organizational tasks, quickly discovering talented persons in order to train and promote them and promptly replace unqualified and incompetent cadres. However, bureaucratic centralism, conservatism and delays in cadre management have been and are impeding the effort to organize the performance of political tasks and economic tasks. The scope of the cadres directly managed by the upper party committee echelons is too broad and encompasses many positions that could be put under the management of the lower echelons. At some places, the number of cadres directly managed by the provincial or municipal party committee or the party affairs section of a sector has reached 30,000 or 40,000 persons, thereby making it difficult for persons who directly manage cadres to come into contact or become acquainted with all the cadres they manage; as a result of which they often only know cadres through their files or personal histories, which are usually incomplete and fail to reflect the changes cadres have undergone. The persons who manage cadres frequently know little about the work being performed by the persons they manage. Their knowledge of cadres frequently comes from second-hand sources; they have little first-hand knowledge of cadres gained as a result of inspecting the work of cadres. In many cases, the evaluation of cadres is heavily dependent upon their past career, their academic position, their level of education, their attitude or style, not based on the final results of the work assigned to them. At some times and places, cadres are even evaluated on the basis of sentiment, inferences and whether a cadre is liked or disliked.

We have also failed to attach appropriate importance to the role played by the state agencies and mass organizations in the management of cadres. The state agencies generally only formalize the decisions of the party organization regarding cadres and do not appropriately play the role intended for them in the work involving the cadres of which they are in charge. The mass organizations generally only criticize and evaluate the cadres in charge within each agency and unit at conferences of manual workers and civil servants; they do not fully exercise their right to recall or suggest the dismissal of cadres on the various levels and in the various sectors who are considered to be unworthy or their right to introduce to the party organizations and state agencies outstanding cadres so that they can be considered for appointment to the various levels of leadership.



Cadre management also is not truly linked to the guidance of political tasks and economic tasks. In more than a few agencies and units, the persons in charge, instead of personally evaluating and observing cadres on a periodic basis, generally leave this work up to the organization agency even though they have better conditions than anyone else for understanding each cadre through the actual results of his or her work. The majority of the organization agencies on the various levels commit the shortcoming of not thoroughly understanding the political task of each sector and their style of cadre management is usually the administrative-bureaucratic style. More than a few agencies only provide cadre management within the party, consequently, there are cases in which cadres are not correctly evaluated or assigned. Because, in order to correctly evaluate an enterprise director, for example, it is not only necessary to listen to the opinions of the enterprise party committee, of the corps of cadres and party members within the enterprise, but also necessary to survey the opinions of the planning agency, the statistics agency, the finance agency and the banking agency.

Besides the manifestations of bureaucratic centralism that are found in the division of cadre management levels, there are still decentralization, fragmentation, the practice of doing as one sees fit and a lack of centralization and uniformity in the deciding of matters regarding cadres; at some places, there is even confusion in spite of the principles that exist. In some matters regarding cadre work, matters that should have been decided by the upper level, the lower level has gone beyond its authority and created a fait accompli. In more than a few cases, cadres have been assigned and promoted in a manner not consistent with the requirements of work, not based on standards or the structure of the corps of cadres; in some cases, cadres who have committed shortcomings at one place have even been given salary increases and promotions when transferred to another place; cadres who were unable to perform their tasks on the basic level have been transferred to the upper level to guide the basic level and have been given salaries and salary increases that do not comply with procedures, policies, regulations, etc. Abusing their authority, some individuals have arbitrarily decided matters related to cadres on the basis of their own personal motives; however, there have also been times when decisions regarding cadres that have been discussed by an entire leadership collective and endorsed by the majority of its members have had to be rescinded merely because of a few dissenting opinions based on unsound reasons. There have even been times when reasonable, good suggestions concerning cadres made by the leadership collective on the lower level have been set aside or rejected by a cadre of the upper level assisting the lower level without proposing a better solution.

At present, improving the division of cadre management levels is a pressing demand necessitated by changes in organization and cadres on a nationwide scale. The revision of the division of management levels must first be designed to strengthen the management of cadres in such a way as to insure centralism and unity, increase the cadre management authority and responsibilities of the leadership agencies on the various levels, especially the district and basic levels, expand cadre management to the specialized departments of the party in order to reduce the number of intermediary levels and more closely link cadre management

to the guidance of the performance of political tasks and economic tasks, to actual activities, to cadres. On this basis, the evaluation, assignment and promotion of cadres will be more accurate and rapid and the delays, conservatism, administrativism and bureaucratic centralism in cadre management will be overcome. Each level should only concentrate on managing its key cadres and should give the lower level the authority to manage the cadres that it directly utilizes while strengthening the inspections of the cadre work performed by the lower level. The key cadres directly managed by each level consist of leadership cadres, management cadres, scientific-technical cadres, leading literary and art cadres and cadres who, although they are not in charge, do perform important work. Each level must also manage the reserve cadres for the various key positions in order to adopt plans for training them.

Improving the division of cadre management levels also has the purpose of correctly coordinating cadre management by level and cadre management by sector to insure that cadre management is centralized within the party committee echelon and, at the same time, insure the strengthening of management by sector. The leading party cannot give light attention to cadre work; each party committee echelon must firmly control cadre work; these are matters of principle. The party controlling cadre work means that the party sets forth the cadre line, sets cadre standards, establishes cadre management principles and procedures, determines the selection, assignment and promotion of key cadres and inspects the performance of cadre work. the party insures that the various sectors have the necessary authority to select and assign the cadres of the sector. Each sector must manage its cadres in accordance with the standards, policies and procedures of the party. In actuality, no one understands the task of the sector or the cadres of the sector as well as the comrades in charge of the sector; therefore, the comrades in charge of each sector must bear the primary responsibility for building the sector's corps of cadres. The party committee, when deciding to assign cadres to guide the sectors under it, must respect the opinions of the concerned ministries and sectors and must assign cadres on the basis of the standards of each specialized department and sector. The ministries and sectors on the central level must closely coordinate with the various party committee echelons in planning, assigning and training cadres to lead and guide the various bureaus and services.

The new mode of economic management demands that the heads of production and business not only formulate and guide the implementation of production and business plans, but also control the management of cadres in order to support these plans. As a result, the division of cadre management levels must be designed to increase the cadre management authority and responsibility of the persons in charge of production and business installations. Enterprise directors, corporation heads and so forth must be given the authority to recruit, assign and deploy the cadres of the enterprise or corporation in an independent and timely manner in accordance with the prescribed structure of the corps of cadres and cadre selection standards, methods and regulations to insure that production and business develop in the correct direction and result in a profit. The comrades must have the authority to decide to reward or take disciplinary action

against the cadres, manual workers and civil servants of the enterprise or corporation, including firing persons who commit serious infractions of the code of labor discipline.

As regards the division of cadre management levels, it is necessary to reiterate one matter that is in the nature of a principle, namely, that the leadership agencies of the various levels and sectors must directly control cadre management. Of course, the organization agencies of the various levels and sectors must be command staffs that competently support the leadership agencies in the management of cadres but the leadership agencies of the various levels and sectors cannot rely entirely upon or leave everything up to the organization agencies as regards the management of cadres. The leadership agencies must personally acquaint themselves with the corps of cadres of which they are in charge in order to insure a high degree of independence and accuracy in the selection, assignment and promotion of cadres as well as in the prompt replacement of incompetent cadres. Together with making the highest possible use of the staff role of the organization agencies, the leadership agencies of the various levels and sectors must listen to the opinions of the mass of cadres, party members and people concerning cadre work. As the persons who are under the direct, day to day leadership of each person in charge, cadres, party members and the masses are very clearly aware of the shortcomings and weaknesses of each of their leadership cadres. They will tell the leadership agency who is a good cadre and worthy of being their leader; who is not a good cadre and must be forged more; and who has degenerated, become deviant and must be expelled from the corps of cadres. Attentively listening to and selectively accepting these opinions are a way to broaden the practice of democracy in the division of cadre management levels.

b) One important requirement in improving cadre management is to establish scientific procedures in the management of cadres, to improve the ability and the work methods of the organization agencies on the various levels. Cadre management is a science. In order to understand the strengths and weaknesses as well as the inefficient aspects of the structure of the corps of cadres, it is necessary to conduct scientific analysis based on the results of the performance of the political task of the locality or unit and on an accurate prediction of the requirements of upcoming tasks. In order to fully understand each cadre, utilize cadres well and help them to continuously make progress, we must not only keep abreast of their careers, but also possess certain knowledge of social attitudes and the science of education. In the Soviet Union and many other socialist countries, the specialized cadres in charge of party work, in general, and the specialized cadres in charge of cadre management, in particular, annually receive training in the science of organization, social attitudes and the science of education. In our country, there are still some persons who maintain the mistaken concept that cadre management is administrative, official work and that cadres only need to be loyal, possess a high sense of responsibility and display an attitude of devotion but have little need for scientific or professional knowledge. On more than a few levels and in more than a few sectors, the cadres in charge of cadre management generally work on the basis of empiricism, do not possess the necessary knowledge and do not employ scientific methods of thinking and working, consequently, they easily make mistakes and



shortcomings in the management of cadres. It has come time to train the leadership agencies of the various sectors and levels and the cadres specializing in cadre organizational work in the necessary knowledge of cadre work, in general, and cadre management, in particular. It must be remembered that when the level of knowledge is still low, it is difficult to avoid mistaken observations and decisions in the management of cadres. And, mistakes in the evaluation, treatment and utilization of personnel can inflict major losses on the revolution.

The establishment of scientific procedures in cadre management requires the establishment of cadre management rules and regulations that are scientifically based and suited to our present management conditions and level. As we know, cadre management is work consisting of many different elements, the purpose of which is to gain a systematic and comprehensive understanding of the past and the present, the person, the family and social relations, the qualities and abilities, the level of development, the health, living conditions and so forth of the cadre. Cadre management also includes appropriately criticizing and helping each cadre, treating each cadre in exact accordance with policy, utilizing each cadre correctly, assigning each cadre in a manner consistent with his qualities and abilities, etc. Each aspect of this work must be governed by rules and regulations that are binding upon everyone who is engaged in cadre management. Only with strict regulations is it possible to avoid the practice of doing as one sees fit, laxity, unfairness and so forth in cadre management. For example, in recent years, we have been following the guideline of assessing the opinions of cadres, party members and the masses when evaluating cadres now on the job, selecting reserve cadres, electing leadership agencies of the party and appointing cadres to management positions. This is a democratic method employed in the management of cadres to enable the leadership agencies on the upper level to coordinate their day to day management of cadres in order to gain a fuller and more objective understanding of cadres and promote them in a more correct fashion; at the same time, it is also designed to enable cadres and the masses on the lower level to supervise the work of cadres on the upper level.

The various levels and sectors must thoroughly inspect and control compliance with the positions and policies regarding cadres and cadre management regulations, considering them to be one of the effective guidelines for improving cadre management. If, in its inspections and control work, the upper level uncovers cases involving the misuse of authority, the failure to respect cadre management principles and regulations or incorrect decisions regarding cadres made as a result of improper motives or personal schemes, it has the authority to take stern disciplinary action and, at the same time, compel the lower echelon to cancel or amend these incorrect decisions.

The rapid, strong development of science and technology, especially of mathematics, has resulted in much that can be practically applied in cadre management. Many fraternal countries have been using scientific methods and modern equipment in establishing, collecting and storing cadre files, in compiling and integrating statistics on and analyzing the corps of cadres, in information work regarding cadres, in surveying public opinion regarding cadres, etc. We must learn and promptly apply these methods in order to rapidly eliminate the use of manual labor, which is now universal in cadre management work.

Today, cadre management cannot simply be carried out by organization agencies on the basis of old experiences and administrative work methods. As the agencies specializing in cadre management and on the basis of utilizing the various sources of information and material regarding cadres, the organization agencies on the various levels have the responsibility of integrating, analyzing and screening these sources of information and material and presenting optimum plans to the party committee and the agency providing guidance for their examination and a decision. The organization offices, departments and sections on the various levels must concentrate their efforts on helping the party committee echelons and agencies that provide guidance manage the key cadres on each level well; they must concentrate on researching and discovering reserve cadres, quickly discover talented persons when they are still very young and, on this basis, formulate cadre planning; they must help the party committee echelon and the agency that provides guidance inspect the lower level's compliance with the positions and policies regarding cadres and with cadre planning. The persons who are engaged in cadre management work must allocate much time for themselves to visit installations, to become involved in the realities of production and everyday life, to come into contact with the mass of cadres, to closely link cadre management to party member management, etc. Only in this way can they gain a deeper understanding of their work, of persons, select cadres correctly and overcome the practice of only dealing with a group of acquaintances instead of looking for many talented persons to recruit and promote.

c) One especially important aspect of improving the management of cadres is to formulate good cadre planning and to closely guide its implementation. Cadre planning is a long-term plan set forth for each level and sector for building the corps of cadres in order to effectively and promptly meet the quantitative and qualitative cadre demands resulting from the development of the revolutionary situation. Only by formulating and implementing a good cadre plan is it possible to take the initiative in providing cadres for newly established organizations, providing additional cadres where necessary and replacing cadres who no longer meet the requirements of their tasks and possible to overcome the patchwork nature, the passive nature and the lack of continuity in building the corps of cadres, especially leadership cadres and key cadres. Cadre planning must insure that the corps of cadres of each sector and level and the corps of cadres of each type (leadership cadres, management cadres, specialized and professional cadres, scientific-technical cadres and so forth) are efficiently structured, of adequate size and of the required quality. Cadre planning is an indispensable element in the present management of cadres.

Political Bureau resolution number 32 on organizational work clearly stated the jobs that must be performed in the immediate future and over the long range in cadre planning on the various levels and within the various sectors. Of these jobs, it is necessary to give special attention to correctly defining the stratum of reserve cadres for each position and doing a good job of training reserve cadres in theory, politics, ideology, specialized and professional knowledge, necessary practical experience and leadership skills so that they quickly meet standards commensurate with the positions to which they will be assigned.

Formulating and correctly implementing cadre planning will not only help the leadership agencies of the various levels and sectors firmly control the corps of cadres and deploy, assign and train cadres well, but will also create the conditions for the lower level to take the initiative in assigning its corps of cadres.

Cadre planning is carried out by each level that manages cadres, with the active participation of the cadre organization agency of the level; however, this planning must be approved by the authorized party committee echelon. If, in the course of implementation, the situation develops in accordance with planning, the lower level has the authority to make decisions concerning cadres. If changes occur that differ from the plan, the opinions of the upper level must be sought. This practice will combat bureaucratic centralism, combat laxity, decentralization, the habit of doing as one sees fit and partialism in cadre management and gradually put the management of cadres on a regular basis.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Letter to A.D. Txi-u-ru-pa," [Vietnamese phonetics], Vietnamese version, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 44, p 449.

7809

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## JOURNAL REVIEWS HISTORY OF PARTY CONGRESSES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN No 2 in Vietnamese Feb 82 pp 21-29

[Article by Nguyen Van Phung: "From the Unified Conference for Founding the Party to the Fifth Party Congress"--capitalized passages published in italics]

[Text] It is not long before our country will witness an important political event -- the fifth national VCP Congress. The fifth party congress will review activities in all respects over the past 5 years and lay down the basic tasks and the socioeconomic targets to be fulfilled by the people throughout the country in the next 5 and 10 years. The fifth party congress will be a great landmark on the road toward building socialism and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Since its founding, the VCP has held four congresses. The party has gone through a historic stage spanning 51 years. The party has spent more than 90 percent of this time either operating illegally under various reactionary dictatorial regimes or working under the conditions of war. This fact accounts for why only four congresses were held by the party during its half a century of existence. This fact also demonstrates that most of the party's major guidelines and policies have been determined not only by national party congresses but also by VCP Central Committee plenums, and occasionally by the VCP Standing Committee and VCP Central Committee Political Bureau meetings. Not only have these meetings performed the function of substantiating the resolutions of various party congresses, but they have also performed the functions of a congress. That is what history has brought about. Although the party statutes do not stipulate these functions for the party Central Committee, revolutionary requirements have compelled the committee to shoulder this responsibility in order to meet the pressing demands of history.

The party's failure to hold regular congresses is an inevitable restriction during a time when it had to operate under clandestine and war conditions. This was a deficiency in our party's political activity. However, historical facts show that all guidelines and policies charted out at these congresses and meetings were very correct and led to many great victories of historic and epochal significance. In practice, our party has been able to draw many valuable lessons on how to overcome restrictions created by historical conditions and how to develop to the fullest the wisdom of the masses.

THE UNIFIED CONFERENCE TO FOUND THE PARTY was held on Kowloon peninsula, Hong Kong, from 1 to 7 February 1930 under the chairmanship of Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc. The conference was of the size of a congress and it actually performed the functions of a congress. The great historic significance of the role of the unified conference was that for the first time in our country's revolutionary history it formed a unified revolutionary vanguard brigade for the Vietnamese working class. The conference devised the initial tactics and strategem for the liberation of our people from colonial and feudal rule and for regaining independence and freedom on the road toward socialism. Although the conference's political and strategic program prepared by Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc was sketchy, it contained the basic orientations for the overall revolution, meeting various pressing demands in the revolutionary high tide which was, at that time, springing up in various areas throughout the country.



The unified conference to found the party marked a historic turning point in the history of the Vietnamese workers movement as well as in the national history of Vietnam. It also ended the long period of suffering when our country was engulfed in "darkness with no way out." The birth of the VCP opened a way out and brought about "an organization of revolutionaries" for our people. Many glorious pages have been added to history over the past half a century, but the most glorious was the success in creating "an upheaval" in the entire colonial and semi-feudal society, thus paving the way for the founding of an independent, free and unified Vietnam following the socialist path. With its unfading images, the turning point created by the unified conference in February 1930 will live forever in our people's memory. Directed by Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc -- a leader and organizer of genius -- in the first 5 days of the year of the horse [3-7 February 1930], the conference was able to fulfill its historic mission of unifying all communist organizations in the country under a correct revolutionary line -- the Marxist-Leninist line. The state of division and dispersion within the Vietnamese communist movement was then put to an end, and the heavy historical task entrusted to Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc by the international communist movement was then fulfilled outstandingly.

The first party Central Committee plenum held in October 1930 under the chairmanship of Comrade Tran Phu, first general secretary of the party was, in fact, considered as important as a congress. The plenum adopted the civil rights program of the bourgeois revolution (the political program) drafted by Comrade Tran Phu. This 1930 manifesto was the party's relatively perfect political program on the national democratic revolution. At the time when it was adopted by the party Central Committee alone and was waiting for the party congress' decision, the 1930 political program was authorized to be circulated merely as a draft document. In reality, however, it had already become an official document of the party and our revolutionary guiding banner in the entire process of the national democratic revolution.

The 1930 political program had a great influence on the party's line and policies during the national democratic revolution. The correct guidelines and creative standpoints specified in this manifesto were actually the link that connected one party congress of the party Central Committee plenum with another. Advancing the working-class-led revolution against imperialism and feudalism directly to socialism, using the workers and peasants as the main moving forces of the revolution, strengthening solidarity with the proletarian class in all oppressed countries, and making the party of the working class firm and strong were the basic spirit of the 1930 political program. Evaluating the historic significance of this political program, President Ho said: "Imbued with Marxism-Leninism, the party has been able to adopt a correct revolutionary line. In the 1930 civil rights program of the bourgeois revolution, the party pointed to the need TO STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND FEUDALISM, to achieve national independence, and to ensure that the tillers own the land. That program is consistent with the earnest aspirations of our people, who are mostly peasants. For this reason, the party has been able to rally all major revolutionary forces to its side. As for the parties of other classes, they have either gone bankrupt or been isolated. Thanks to this, the right to leadership of our party -- the party of the working class -- has been consolidated and strengthened constantly." (Footnote -- Ho Chi Minh "Selected Works: Thirty Years of the Party's Activities." Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, volume II, page 154)

The (3 February) unified conference to found the party and the party Central Committee's (October 1930) plenum paved the way and made necessary preparations for the first congress of party delegates. While preparations for this congress -- which would have been held in accordance with a decision of the party Central Committee's October 1930 plenum -- were being made, all the party Central Committee members were arrested by the French imperialists. Comrade Tran Phu, the leader of the party at that time, was killed.

It was not until nearly 4 years later -- on 27 March 1935 -- that the first party congress was held in Macao (China). Attending the congress were 13 delegates representing 600 party members who had been reorganized after 4 years of struggling against white terror and of restoring and developing the movement.



The historic role of the first party congress was to bring all party organizations in various areas throughout the country as well as those in Laos and Kampuchea, and 11 mass revolutionary movements under the unified leadership of the party Central Committee; and to prepare the battleground for a new revolutionary high tide. However, the congress failed to accurately review the experience gained by the party since its founding. It failed to adopt a political program and to keep itself informed of the new developments and potentials of the international revolutionary movement. That is why it was unable to point out changes that corresponded with the new situation. These deficiencies were eliminated in the summer of the year that followed when the resolutions of the seventh international communist congress and of the party Central Committee's July 1936 plenum were issued.

The period between the first party congress and the (1951) second party congress saw a series of important historic events occurring in our country:

During the period 1936-39, under the party leadership, a mass movement to struggle for democratic liberties, to oppose reactionary colonialism, to demand peace, and to oppose war erupted in various areas throughout the country, rallying the support of millions of people. The success of this democratic movement led to the emergence of a mass political force which prepared material bases and battlegrounds for the August 1945 revolution. This success testifies to the total correctness of the party's line which was determined by the party Central Committee in its plenums of March 1937 and March 1938. Firmly grasping the substance of the resolution of the seventh international communist congress, our party managed to apply the resolution creatively in the specific situation of our country. It devised many policies, measures and forms which were most suitable to the historic conditions at that time.

The victory of the August 1945 revolution was of historic and epochal significance. It was "an unprecedented change of life for every Vietnamese." This victory was gained at a time when the country was a semifeudal colony, with a small population and land area, which was thousands of kilometers away from the area of operation of the Soviet army and which had no regular revolutionary armed forces; and when the proletarian revolutions in the two "colonialist countries," namely, France and Japan, were still not crowned with victories.

The great victory of the August revolution was ascribed to the fighting spirit and the sacrifices of our entire population and to the effects of the victories scored by the Soviet people and army during World War II. However, the major factor that decided this victory was the party's correct line which was decided upon at the various party Central Committee plenums held in 1939, 1940 and 1941; at the party Central Standing Committee meetings held in February 1943 and March 1945; and at the national party congress held in Tan Trao in August 1945. This line consisted of considering national liberation as a primary task; directing the revolutionary spearhead against the imperialists and fascists; relying on the strength of the main worker-peasant force to motivate the entire people to rise up; quickly seizing opportunities and using the art of staging uprising skillfully; seeking to know and use the force of revolution properly and building a Marxist-Leninist party with a correct line applicable to reality; ensuring that all party organizations were compact and politically pure, were operating clandestinely and were of high quality, and were capable of taking root among the masses. All these were the manifestations of the clear-sighted collective wisdom of the party, particularly the party Central Committee and various local party organizations.

At the time when the victory of the August revolution was just achieved, our party was not in a good position to hold a party congress right away as many "tough" problems involving the survival of the people's national sovereignty were being posed to our party. How could we defend the newly-regained national sovereignty at a time when we did not have regular armed forces strong enough to defend it, when there was no international assistance, when the rear was not prepared yet and when we were faced with an enemy having material and technical bases many times stronger than ours? The party Central Committee, led by President Ho, with its 15 years of experience in directing the revolution and of learning experiences in the world and with the development of its collective wisdom, chose a way which was proved by history to be the most

clear-sighted. This way consisted of motivating 25 million people to rise up to defend the revolutionary administration; carrying out the resistance while building forces in all respects in preparation for an inevitable war; and taking advantage of the differences in the enemy's internal ranks in a systematic manner by advocating forming a coalition government and promoting negotiations and the signing of agreements. These strategies were decided upon at the various meetings held by the party Central Standing Committee by the end of August 1945 and in November 1945 following its return to the capital; at the party Central Committee's plenum held in early March 1946 and at a conference of cadres held by the party Central Committee on 31 July 1946.

"When the French deliberately made war and when our restraint was exhausted, then the nationwide resistance began." (Footnote -- Collection of Ho Chi Minh's Works; Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980; volume 1, page 472) This observation by President Ho Chi Minh serves as an explanation of the inevitability of the nationwide resistance against the French colonialists which erupted in late December 1946. If the resistance was unavoidable, then how to fight it victoriously? We could neither wait for the holding of a party congress to solve such an urgent problem nor could we hold a party congress immediately at that time. This problem had been solved before the resistance erupted. On 18 December 1946 the party Central Standing Committee decided to stage a nationwide resistance. A directive issued on 22 December 1946 outlines a policy to conduct an all-people, all-out and protracted resistance on a self-support basis. Efforts were to be made to motivate 25 million people to rise up concertedly against the enemy; to turn "each village or hamlet and city ward into a fortress," and "each citizen into a soldier"; to carry out the resistance while building the new regime; to carry out combat missions while building combat forces; to find an appropriate fighting method; and to build the party while carrying out combat missions. This correct way reflects the most clear-sighted collective wisdom of our party at that time.

THE SECOND NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS OF DELEGATES was held in Tuyen Quang from 11 to 19 February 1951, 16 years after the first congress. The second congress met at a time when the anti-French war of resistance was recording big victories. On the battlefield, the offensive initiative belonged to our army. Our main forces were capable of completely wiping out powerful enemy task forces one by one. Tempered in combat, our party continued to develop; from a membership of 5,000 during the August revolution, its ranks swelled to 766,349 members by 1950.

The second party congress was required by history to lead the war of resistance to final victory and to reorganize the Indochinese Communist Party in such a way as to suit the new situation which was developing in each Indochinese country.

The congress responded to this requirement by advocating the organization of a Marxist-Leninist political party in each of the Indochinese countries. In Vietnam, the Vietnam Workers Party was founded. Some 4 months later, the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party was established in Kampuchea. Five years after that, the Lao People's Party was born in Laos (this name was later changed to the Lao People's Revolutionary Party). In March 1951, the alliance of the three Indochinese peoples was founded. The second party congress adopted a program for the advance of the national democratic revolution to socialism, a new party statute to replace the 1935 statute, and 12 major policies aimed at achieving total victory for the war of resistance. Thus, the second congress paved the way for the success of the 1953-54 winter-spring campaign and the Dien Bien Phu campaign.

The victory of the 9-year anti-French war of resistance, which culminated in the 1953-54 winter-spring campaign, led to the 1954 Geneva agreement, opening up a new period in our country. The basic characteristic of this new period was the fact that the northern half of the country was completely liberated from imperialist and feudal domination while the southern half temporarily remained under the rule of U.S. neocolonialism. How could the southern half of the country be liberated? How could the northern half be advanced to socialism? We faced many difficulties in trying to answer these questions. The people's national democratic revolution led by our party had gone on for 24 years (1930-54) and had

scored big victories. The party had accumulated a great deal of rich experience in the quarter century of its existence. However, we still lacked experience in fighting against a new neocolonialist imperialist power, an imperialist chieftain with the most powerful economic and military potential in the imperialist camp: the United States. In the world, there had been no precedent of any new-style colony capable of defeating U.S. neocolonialism. This was a problem for our nation, especially our party, to resolve. History also posed another equally "tough," if not more difficult, question: Could one half of the country advance to socialism when the other half was not liberated yet? If the north should advance to socialism, should it coexist for a long time with neocolonialism in the south, or should the latter be abolished forthwith? Should socialist construction in the north be aimed mainly at bringing about civilization and happiness for our people there, or should it be directed toward creating conditions for completely liberating the south?

These questions were posed directly to our party, especially to the third party congress, which was scheduled to be held toward the end of the 50's. However, many events had taken place since 1954, many pressing demands had arisen, and many new international changes had occurred both in the capitalist and socialist systems, and in order to do anything at all in the postwar period, first of all we had immediately to heal the wounds of war. Life did not give us time to find a perfect solution, for we were overtaken by reality.

The third party congress could not be held as scheduled. The two questions raised in 1954, however, had been settled before the third party congress was convened. The problem of advancing the north to socialism was resolved in the 1956 conference of the Political Bureau and the 13th, 14th and 16th plenums of the second party Central Committee held in 1957, 1958, 1959 respectively. The correct policy adopted by these Political Bureau and Central Committee meetings resulted in the movement for agricultural and handicraft cooperativization and for the socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and trade and small tradesmen in 1960. The problem of how to liberate the south in the new historical conditions was resolved in the 15th plenum of the party Central Committee held in 1959. The clear-sighted and sound policy adopted by this plenum resulted in the movement for "concerted uprisings" in the south from 1959 to 1960.

THE THIRD NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS OF DELEGATES was held in Hanoi capital from 5 to 10 September 1960. It was attended by more than 500 delegates representing more than 500,000 party members throughout the country. The congress decided on a perfect program for the socialist revolution in the north and the national democratic revolution in the south. It also adopted the guidelines and tasks of the First 5-Year Plan (1961-65), defined our country's foreign policy in the new stage, and adopted a new party statute to which were added a number of concrete points about the party's leading the administration.

The historic significance of the third party congress was that it succeeded in charting a correct path for our people throughout the country in the conditions of national partition, and in laying down two strategic tasks which were to be carried out simultaneously nationwide.

The great victory of the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation proved our party's clear-sightedness in determining its strategic line as well as in using appropriate methods to liberate the south. This clear-sightedness was reflected mainly in the party holding fast to and effectively guiding the strategy of holding high the two banners of national independence and socialism at the same time, and in carrying out two revolutionary tasks simultaneously: The people's national democratic revolution in the south and the socialist revolution in the north. These two tasks were aimed at a common objective: To complete the national democratic revolution in the south, achieve national reunification and advance the entire country to socialism. This adroit strategy gave our people an unprecedentedly great aggregate strength. Combining this strength with that of the three revolutionary currents of our time was precisely the secret formula for defeating an enemy who was many times stronger than us materially. The dual-banner strategy was translated by the third party congress into concrete policies and tasks. The congress defined the role of each strategic task and the historic mission of the two parts of the country as follows: The people's national democratic revolution in the south would play a DECISIVE AND DIRECT role in the struggle to overthrow the domination of U.S. imperialism and its henchmen; and the socialist revolution in the north would be THE MOST DECISIVE task in the development of all the revolution in our country and in the cause of national reunification.

The clear-sightedness of the third party congress is reflected in the fact that it promptly devised a correct line having the character of objective law of the revolution in our country at the time. The two strategic tasks were carried out simultaneously, with each playing its own decisive role, but the role of the socialist revolution (in the north) was the most decisive. This is a law.

This law was applied to all lines and policies of the party in the two revolutions. It was reflected clearly in the affirmation by the 11th party Central Committee plenum (in 1965) that the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle was the primary task of our entire party and all our people and soldiers. In this direction, the north devoted to the national salvation and defense war the entire strength of the socialist system. The north fulfilled outstandingly its mission as the revolutionary baseground for the entire country and, together with the heroic southern frontline, completely defeated the U.S. aggressors. On the front of transforming and building the national economy, the north also scored great achievements, ensuring the people's lives and preparing conditions for the building of socialism throughout the country in the future.

The fact that the entire country was completely independent and unified and was advancing toward socialism is a fundamental characteristic of our country following the complete liberation of the south. What were the tasks for our people in the new situation? What were the basic requirements for the country after our people won the right to be masters of the entire country? In principle, a goal of building a civilized and happy life for the people was to be set forth immediately after the ruling yoke of imperialism and its lackeys was eliminated. This was a necessity and, at the same time, the earnest aspiration of all our people. Thus a socialist revolution throughout the country was essential. By what way did the country advance to socialism in conformity with the characteristics of our country? This question was raised at the fourth party congress, and it was initially answered at the 24th party Central Committee plenum (3d tenure).

THE FOURTH PARTY NATIONAL CONGRESS was held in the capital of Hanoi from 14 to 20 December 1976. Attending the congress were more than 1,000 delegates representing more than 1.5 million party members throughout the country. It approved a perfected program on building socialism throughout the country, beginning with the Second 5-Year Plan, 1976-80. The soul of the programme was the question of socialist industrialization and socialist collective mastery. The congress paid great attention to the question of consolidation of national defense. It decided to change the party's name to the Vietnam Communist Party.

New historical conditions emerged more prominently in the wake of the fourth party congress. The question of consolidation of national defense and maintenance of national security was raised even more seriously. The Beijing ruling circles' strategy of weakening and annexing the three Indochinese countries was known before the fourth party congress was held, but it became conspicuous after 1978. This strategy is in collusion with the U.S. strategy which consists of finding a way out of the economic crisis, regaining the lost military supremacy, concentrating forces on counterattacking the three revolutionary currents and spearheading primarily at the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

From covert to overt betrayal, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists intended to bring the Vietnamese people to their knees with the launching of two strategic attacks, one from the south and the other from the north. To defend our sovereignty and territorial integrity, we were determined not to let them encroach on or undermine our independence which we had won with the flesh and blood of millions of our compatriots and soldiers over the past century and more. The most prominent event after the fourth party congress was our people's victory in the two wars of aggression masterminded and directly waged by the Chinese expansionists. Despite their humiliating defeat in these two wars, the Chinese expansionists still refuse to learn a lesson. They still nurture the design to annex Vietnam and the rest of the Indochinese Peninsula in the hope of paving the way for the realization of their dream of expansion and hegemony over Southeast Asia. At present, in coordination with and assisted by various U.S. bellicose forces, they are carrying out a multifaceted war of sabotage against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. This type of war has caused great difficulties to our people in carrying out the socialist construction program set forth by the fourth party congress, thus making it impossible for us to fulfill many planned norms.



We should have the courage to look straight into the shortcomings and errors of various party and state organizations in economic and social management. These shortcomings have prolonged the difficulties and caused imbalances in many respects. We should grimly uncover our weaknesses so that guidelines can be adopted seriously for corrective action.

However, to make an objective assessment, we must consider the economic situation on the basis of the general conditions in our country, and must take into account our difficulties in all respects, including difficulties caused by our shortcomings.

In overcoming the great and accumulated difficulties, over the past 5 years we have advanced the Vietnamese revolution to a new strategic position, thus creating many unprecedentedly great potentials for national defense and socialist construction. We have succeeded in unifying the country in all respects, in establishing the system of proletarian dictatorship throughout the country, in defeating the two wars of aggression waged by the Beijing expansionists, in strengthening the strategic alliance among the three Indochinese countries and between our country, the Soviet Union and the socialist community, and in overcoming the damage caused by the wars of aggression waged by the United States and the Chinese expansionists, thus promptly solving all urgent economic and social problems, overcoming famine, and initially improving the livelihood of the people in many rural areas. Additionally, we have been able to carry out socialist transformation in the South, and create new forces to make progress in all fields. These achievements testify to the heroic nature of our people and to the correctness of the general line and the economic line set forth by the fourth party congress.

We have many shortcomings. Our major shortcoming, however, is reflected in the way we concretize our line and the way we organize and guide its implementation.

The experience we have derived from our great victories in the past shows that the general line must be concretized right in the process of defining specific objectives for each short period, each field of work and each locality; and these objectives must be promptly amended and adjusted when the actual situation changes.

The historic experience of our country's revolution under the party's leadership also shows that if a line is to be concretized and fully implemented, the contingent of cadres must hold fast to and adroitly apply the law, and must be in firm control of the actual situation and have an adequate knowledge of the problems it has to resolve. All these qualities can be acquired only with time and through persistent efforts.

Our people still face many difficulties. To overcome them, we must firmly follow the path which has been proved correct by reality. This is the path chartered by the fourth party congress: The path of the working people's collective mastery and of national socialist industrialization. Realities over the past 5 years prove that our party has promptly detected complex developments in the situation, that it has adopted firm and judicious strategic positions, and that it has decided to take the right direction at crucial moments of the revolution. These firm strategic positions and correct directions stem from the line of the fourth party congress. These are also matters of principle of our country's revolution in the conditions of its advance to socialism from a small-scale production system and in the concrete conditions of the current international situation.

The new period imposes on our party and people extremely great, complex and weighty tasks. Our people, however, are fully capable of successfully achieving these tasks. We have overcome the initial difficulties in the new period. We now have a more profound understanding of our country and our people, a thorough knowledge of our enemy and the obstacles on our path, and a fuller perception of our strengths and weaknesses. We also have drawn useful lessons from the practice of socialist construction and national defense over the past 5 years.

These are new equipment for our entire party, people and army in the new struggle which, although replete with difficulties and hardships, is bound to be victorious.

## FROM THE NHA HONG PIER TO PAC BO CAVE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 82 pp 30-39

[Article by Ton Quang Duyet]

[Text] Throughout his life, President Ho lived and worked at many places; his footprints were left in many localities at home and abroad. In his childhood, he had to travel much because of the demands of family life. In his youth, nurturing a long held ambition to move mountains, he decided to go in search of the path of national salvation. The places at which he lived and worked, whether he was there for only a short time or for a long time, whether they were near or far away, whether they were in the North or the South, at home or abroad, in his mother's village or his father's village, are of profound significance.

In 1894, Nguyen Sinh Sac, Uncle Ho's father, received his bachelor degree and was accepted as a student at the National College in Hue. He had to take his wife and two young sons with him. Uncle Ho, then only 5 years of age, had to leave his mother's village and go with his parents to live in Hue. Nguyen Sinh Sac's allowance at the National College was very small, consequently, he was forced to find a job as a teacher and his wife worked for hire weaving cloth in order to support the family.

In 1901, due to her very hard life, Uncle Ho's mother fell ill and died in Hue; Mr. Nguyen Sinh Sac, after earning his "pho bang" degree, took his children back to his village, having finished second best in his examinations. Uncle Ho and his family travelled more than 300 kilometers across mountains and rivers to reach his father's village of Kim Lien.

A few years later, Nguyen Sinh Sac was forced to return to his former occupation, teaching, to earn a living.

In 1903, he took a job as a teacher in Thanh Chuong District, more than 20 kilometers from his home, taking Nguyen Sinh Cung (Uncle Ho) and his older brother, Nguyen Sinh Khiem, with him. Seeing that the father and his two sons led a hard life, parents of his students would ask him about his family and he would reply: "My wife passed away in Hue. The eldest of my children, my daughter Nguyen Thi Thanh, we call her Bach Lien, must stay home to take care of the house. My eldest son

is Nguyen Sinh Khien, or Khom, and my youngest son is Nguyen Sinh Cung, or Cong as we call him. Without Khom I have no food, so, I must take both of them wherever I go!"

In 1905, having been summoned to Hue to serve as an official, he and his two sons moved once again. After finding a place to live and with the help of a fellow villager who was also an official, he was appointed Secretary of the Ceremonials Office, a minor post at that time; as a result of which he was able to arrange for his two sons to attend school. Back then, it was popular to study the French language. Among Confucian scholars, there were many persons who maintained that learning the French language was an essential prerequisite to adopting European customs and becoming a servant of the enemy. At that time, there was, among the colleagues of Mr. Sac, a man named Mr. Nghe Nguyen The Song from Xuan Lieu Village, now Nam Yen Village in Nam Dan District. Having received his doctoral degree in 1898, he was a well known scholar who served as school principal in Quang Tri and frequently visited Hue. He was fluent in Chinese and also knew much about French education. He advised Uncle Ho to attend the Franco-Annamese School. Mr. Nghe Song once told Uncle Ho that in order to drive off the French pirates, it was necessary to know the written language as well as the customs and habits of France. Mr. Nguyen Sinh Sac agreed to allow Uncle Ho to enter the Dong Ba Franco-Annamese Secondary School in Hoang Thanh, which is now Phan Dang Luu Park on Phu Hoa Street (at the Dong Ba Gate in Hue). The curriculum included all three languages; Vietnamese, Chinese and French. Uncle Ho had already studied Chinese and Vietnamese and had received some instruction in French literature from Mr. Nghe Nguyen The Song. At school, Uncle Ho displayed his intelligence and ranked at the top of his class; many of his translations were recited by his teacher to the entire class. Upon his graduation from the Dong Ba Secondary School, Uncle Ho was accepted at the Hue National College.

Having arrived in Hue just as the movement swept into the Hue Citadel, Uncle Ho participated in organizing small meetings within the school, talked about uniting the masses and freedom and urged his compatriots to unite. Then, he participated in various reform campaigns, such as the campaign to wear short hair and abandon the practice of wearing hair in a bun; Uncle Ho purchased a pair of scissors and gave haircuts to compatriots at markets and along busy streets. In May, 1908, the anti-tax movement in Quang Nam-Quang Tri spread to the Hue area. In noisy demonstrations, the people marched to the gate of the governor general's office to express their aspirations. Uncle Ho led many groups of demonstrators and served as interpreter for his compatriots appearing before French officials, consequently, the French attentively observed his activities. On the morning of 14 May 1908, the French officials sent a horse-drawn wagon to the college to arrest Uncle Ho and expelled him from the National College.

Then, Uncle Ho gradually made his way to the South with the intention of making preparations for leaving in search of the path of national salvation. Roads were not good back then and he encountered numerous difficulties during his trip southward; he walked most of the distance and occasionally obtained rides on sampans.

In 1909, having arrived in Quy Nhon at a time when Binh Dinh Province was holding examinations for the position of schoolmaster, Uncle Ho applied for the examination and passed. However, when he learned that Uncle Ho had been involved in the anti-tax movement in Hue, Fries, the governor of Binh Dinh, immediately removed Uncle Ho's name from the list of persons who had passed the examination.

Taking leave of Quy Nhon, Uncle Ho travelled to Phan Ri in Binh Thuan Province to the home of Mr. Truong Gia Mo, a person who had participated in the anti-tax movement with Mr. Tran Quy Cap. When Tran Quy Cap died, Truong Gia Mo was closely followed and was forced to suspend his activities.

After spending several days at the home of Trung Gia Mo, Uncle Ho and he went to Phan Thiet and were accepted by the Duc Thanh School to teach French literature. This was a private school of the Lien Thanh Association established by a group of patriotic literati. Having come into existence at the same time as the Dong Kinh Tuition-Free School in the North, the Duc Thanh School was established in accordance with the thinking of Phan Chu Trinh. Its founders were Nguyen Thong, a patriotic scholar in the South, and several other well known persons.

We met Nguyen Duc Tra, an 86 year old scholar from Nghe Tinh who now resides at number 73 Truong Dinh Street in Ho Chi Minh City and was once a student at the Duc Thanh School. He informed us that the persons in charge of the school as well as the Lien Thanh Association were divided into two factions: one faction supported the reformist tendencies of Phan Chu Trinh while the other faction supported Phan Boi Chau's policy of rebellion and was called the "Incite Rebellion Now" faction. The two factions argued with each other intensely. At the school, only the teacher called Thanh (Uncle Ho) and the teacher Hai (a learned, progressive Eurasian) did not support either faction but, instead, expressed the desire to travel overseas to gain an understanding of the issues first.

In 1910, after spending nearly 1 year at the school, Uncle Ho left without telling anyone and travelled to Saigon where he lived at the sleeping mat store of Mr. Le Van Dat, who also had ties to the Lien Thanh Association. This was a rather large wooden building with a thatched roof; in 1920, the thatched roof was replaced with a tile roof; it is now number 185/1 Co Bac Street, Ho Chi Minh City. The 72 year old son of Mr. Le Van Dat, Le Van Tu, still has a number of articles belonging to Nguyen Sinh Huy, that is, Nguyen Sinh Sac, that he keeps as a remembrance of him.

Bidding farewell to Le Van Dat, the owner of the sleeping mat store, Uncle Ho made contact with persons within the Lien Thanh General Association and was taken to live at another house near the general association's headquarters. Then, he made his way to a worker village near the Ba Son Plant, where he looked for work to support himself while learning a trade at the plant. In this village, he made a number of new friends, a few of whom trusted him. One day, Uncle Ho confided in his closest friend and urged this friend to go with him in search of the path of national salvation. At first, he friend promised to go, but when he realized that it would be a very risky undertaking, he did not have the courage to keep his promise.(1)



In early June, 1911, possessing high determination and calling himself Van Ba, Uncle Ho boldly went in search of the owner of the ship La Touche TREVILLE of the Horse's Head Transport Company of France and asked for a job on the ship.

The preparations he made were very simple. In a small suitcase were packed two sets of seaman's clothing that had been purchased for him by friends at the Lien Thanh Association, which he insisted he should not accept.(2) Aside from this, he took nothing else. On the morning of 5 June 1911, from the Nha Rong Pier, through the door of the large, two-story building that was constructed in 1869 under the Tu Duc Dynasty, on the peak of which was a carving of two white faced dragons--the symbol of Vietnam in the feudal period--Nguyen Tat Thanh boarded the Le Touche TREVILLE, received his "petty seaman's" card, which stated his wage as 50 quan per month, and started to work as a messboy.

The truth was that petty seaman Van Ba did not know how to do anything on a ship and had nothing but his bare hands, his courage and boundless patience but he accepted any job!

The job of messboy was a hard one: at 0400 hours he had to clean the large galley on the ship and start fires in the various stoves. Then, he carried coal, removed the garbage, etc. The work was very strenuous because the temperature was not regulated: it was very hot in the galley but very cold in the hold. He frequently had to carry heavy bags while the ship was lurching on rough seas. He cleaned the heads and emptied the buckets of human waste very often.

After the ship left the Nha Rong Pier for France, it stopped at very many piers in many different seaports; the first stop was Singapore, then Colombo, Marseilles and Le Havre. In Marseilles and Le Havre, where the ship once docked for a long period of time, Van Ba took time to see the scenery and see how the people lived.

Wherever he went, Van Ba saw that the vast majority of the laboring people were poor, only the very few persons who had position and power were wealthy and happy, had spacious homes and lived extravagantly. The people, generally speaking, were good. Many of the citizens of France were good and the French people in France were better than the French in the colonies. These were Uncle Ho's first observations.

In France, he sent a letter to Hai, the teacher, in Phan Thiet, his close friend with whom he had taught and studied at the Duc Thanh School, telling him that he had gone overseas and was unable to tell him when he left because his departure had to be kept secret. Uncle Ho told him about the hard life of a messboy on a ship: washing and drying large pots and pans that were too large for a small person to pick up and which had to be dragged across the deck; cleaning fish that flipped and squirmed, splashing blood all over his hands; cleaning the washrooms and heads; working strenuously day and night... During a farewell dinner for students at the Duc Thanh School who were going to Hue to study, Hai read the letter to everyone; everyone admired the patience and endurance of the teacher Thanh. In another letter to Diep Van Ky in Saigon, a close friend from his days of study in Hue, Uncle Ho also went into rather deep detail. When describing his backbreaking work on the French ship, Uncle Ho wrote two lines of humorous poetry:

--The hero goes joyfully through his day doing what he pleases,  
Polishing the brass and the washroom and emptying the buckets of human waste!

When he first stepped foot in France, Uncle Ho immediately thought about meeting Phan Chu Trinh in order to learn about the situation and inquire about and discuss patriotic activities. Phan Chu Trinh, who received his Pho Bang degree in 1901, was a colleague of Pho Bang Nguyen Sinh Huy. He had served as an official for a while in Hue. Realizing that officialdom was corrupt, he respectfully asked that the French government reform officialdom, advocating "the punishment of corrupt officials." Advocating reform and opposing rebellion, he appealed: "Do not rebell, rebellion is death! Do not look to the outside, it is stupid!" Van Ba did not agree with Phan Chu Trinh as regards relying upon the French for reforms because asking the French colonialists to make reforms was much like asking a tiger not to eat meat, just as asking Japan to fight the French was no different than "inviting a tiger to the front door and welcoming a panther at the back door!" However, Uncle Ho still respected Phan Chu Trinh and considered him to be an outstanding teacher. This was evident in a letter he sent to him while Phan Chu Trinh was in France:

Your Excellency Hy Ma(3).

It has been along time since I heard from you; how are you and what is the state of affairs there? I would like to know if I may meet with you before I leave because I very much need a few words of advice. Please reply immediately because I will be boarding a ship in about a week and going "I do not know where."

Regards to you, M. Truong(4) and Dat(5) and I wish you all peace and prosperity.

C.D. Tat Thanh(6)  
10 Orchard Place  
Southampton, England

According to the collection of books entitled "The Youth of Uncle Ho" by Hong Ba, Ba's ship travelled to Le Havre, a seaport in northern France. Of the persons working on the ship in Cua Khau, 14 seamen and personnel quit their jobs and went on shore. When the ship reached Le Havre, the crew numbered only 58 men. In Le Havre, the Five Star Company put the ship in drydock for repairs and transferred all of its seamen and personnel to another ship for return to Indochina. Van Ba, instead of accompanying them, stayed on shore and looked for work. He found work as a gardener for the family of the ship owner. He owned a villa a few kilometers away.

Although his work as a gardener was not very strenuous and the family of the ship-owner liked him, he quit his job and returned to the trade of seaman on another freighter of the Five Star Line on a trip around Africa. He knew that the trip on the freighter around Africa would not be as calm as the other journey; it would be a very tiring and long journey but he was determined to go. He said: "I am young, I am healthy, I can make it. I want to see those countries."

The ship subsequently crossed the Atlantic and arrived in the United States, the birthplace of the 1776 Declaration of Independence with its immortal words: "All men are created equal, they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." However, he saw behind the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor the barbarious crimes of the U.S. imperialists. He worked for hire in Brooklyn and frequently visited the black people of Harlem. He witnessed the cruel discrimination of the U.S. imperialists toward the black people. He witnesses scenes of groups of white people beating and cursing a black person or tying a black person to a tree, pouring gasoline on his head, pulling out his teeth one at a time, sticking a hot poker in his mouth and then setting him afire! The black person was burned to death amidst the applause and cheers of the murderers! Concerning this spectacle, Van Ba indignantly exclaimed: "So, this is civilization!"

At the age of 25, Ba had travelled more widely than any Vietnamese in any age!

Arriving in Great Britain during the country's period of greatest prosperity, he also looked for work in London, accepting a job shovelling snow, a very hard job, at a school; the weather was bitterly cold and he did not have adequate clothing. A few days later, he took a job shovelling coal in the cellar of a british factory where he did not see the sun all day. The furnace was hot and his wage was low, but he still saved money to study English. Next, he worked for hire at the Drayton Court Hotel on "Di A-vo-niu" Street [Vietnamese phonetics] in the Oet I-linh [Vietnamese phonetics] section of West London. There, he wrote a letter to the patriot Phan Chu Trinh. In London, he joined a trade union.

A short while later, he took a job as a kitchen helper at the large and very famous Carlton Hotel on Haymarket Street, a six-story hotel that stretched for 2 blocks. He worked under the supervision of the French chef Escoffier, whose culinary skills were known throughout the West and who had been awarded the title "King of the Kitchen." Seeing that Uncle Ho was a decent, diligent and simple person, the king of the kitchen promoted him from washing dishes to making pastries and taught him how to make his famous cream pies and peach pies.

In late 1917, Van Ba left his job as kitchen helper in London and returned to France, to the city of Paris.

When Van Ba met Phan Chu Trinh in France, he was advised by Phan Chu Trinh: "You should devise a plan for raising the intellectual standard of the people, agitating for democratic rights, clearly stating your position and demanding that the government protect and enlighten the people." Not satisfied with these words of "respect and repentance," Van Ba continued to think about the matter and decided to remain in Paris to learn more.

There, he found jobs so that he could continue his patriotic activities: developing photographs, writing a newspaper and so forth. It was during this period that he wrote "French Colonialization on Trial."

World War I had just ended; the imperialists who were meeting at Versailles to share the spoils of the war received an eight-point petition signed by Nguyen Ai Quoc demanding independence for the Vietnamese. The imperialists were extremely frightened by this. The uproar in public opinion gradually spread to the colonies. The name of the revolutionary Nguyen Ai Quoc emerged and resounded loudly from Paris to Indochina. The French colonialists in the mother country, especially those in Vietnam, searched everywhere trying to find out who Nguyen Ai Quoc was. From then on, the house at number 9 Cong Poanh Lane, the private home of Nguyen Ai Quoc, was surrounded and observed day and night. In Kim Lien and Hoang Tru (Nghe Tinh), all the lackeys of the French colonialists conducted investigations to determine Nguyen Ai Quoc's background.

He arrived in Paris in time for the congress convened by the French Socialist Party to discuss participating in the 3rd International. Nguyen Ai Quoc, having studied Lenin's platform, knew that the 3rd International supported the colonies and, as a result, endorsed it.

When the French Communist Party was founded in 1920, Nguyen Ai Quoc was one of the founding members who made many contributions. The members of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, such as Cachin and Couturier, expressed confidence in and respect for Nguyen Ai Quoc. Recalling his reading of Lenin's "Thesis on the Nationality and Colonial Issues," Uncle Ho emotionally said: "Lenin's thesis moved and excited me, clarified my thinking and made me confident more than I can say! I was so happy I cried. Sitting alone in my room, I spoke in a loud voice as though I were addressing the masses: 'Suffering compatriots! This is what we need! This is the path of our liberation!'"

After 10 difficult years of wandering overseas and searching for the right answer (from 1911 to 1920), Uncle Ho had found the path of the great Lenin. To find it, he crossed the ocean from Asia to Europe, travelled around Africa to Latin America and then returned to the capital of France before achieving success!

In mid-1923, Nguyen Ai Quoc suddenly disappeared, causing his many close friends to make concerned inquiries about him; secret service agents searched for him everywhere.

In early 1924, Nguyen Ai Quoc reappeared in Moscow, the home of the October Revolution. There, he established liaison with the members of the French Communist Party with whom he had become close friends in France.

Having been able to visit Moscow and many other places, he saw that the Soviet Union was not a hell, as claimed in the propaganda of the imperialists, but was a country that was building socialism and making very much progress. There, the issue of teenagers was one for which very much concern was shown but the best was the care given to children. If Russia was not a paradise for everyone, it was a paradise for children; this is something that made a profound impression on Uncle Ho, a person who loved teenagers and children more than anyone else did!

Looking ahead and thinking about us, Uncle Ho secretly travelled to China in search of a way to return to Vietnam to spread what he had seen and learned during his journey.



One day, late in the summer of 1924, a day on which the sun was burning hot, at Sa Dien, an international concession in Canton, the bomb thrown by Pham Hong Thai, a patriotic Vietnamese youth, exploded and almost killed Merlin, a leading French colonialist in Indochina who was on a mission in China, thereby shaking the entire world "like a swallow signalling the start of spring." Late that year, Uncle Ho appeared in Canton. He established contacts with a group of patriotic Vietnamese youth in Canton, turned the Union of Hearts Organization into the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and selected outstanding elements to serve as the nucleus of the communist group. He conducted training classes and sent word to Vietnam to encourage patriotic youths to come for training as cadres and return home to conduct activities.

After attending training classes, hundreds of cadres secretly returned home to conduct activities throughout the north, central and south of Vietnam. It was at that time that Chiang Kai-shek became a traitor and began to apprehend and kill Chinese as well as Vietnamese communist party members. The training classes had to be moved and became clandestine training classes. Uncle Ho had to turn over all of his work to the central office of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and stay away from Canton for a while. In 1928, impersonating a Chinese merchant, he travelled to Thailand and made contact with the overseas Vietnamese organizations there and the elderly Vietnamese revolutionary in Thailand, Dang Thuc Hua, who was nicknamed Co Di(?) and used the pseudonym Ngo Sinh. A branch of the association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth was established in Thailand and exerted much influence. After the Vietnam Communist Party was founded, Co Di became an active communist party member and served as the nucleus of the Vietnam Communist Party chapter in Thailand.

The French Secret Service, sensing his whereabouts, had their lackeys search for Uncle Ho in Thailand; they were very close to him many times but thanks to the protection provided by overseas Vietnamese and the local people, Uncle Ho evaded the enemy's dragnet.

In 1929-1930, after the modern Vietnamese youth organization had been smashed, the French colonialists in Vietnam conducted a campaign of ruthless terror; arrests occurred daily from the North to the South, thereby creating a tense situation at many places, especially in the factories in all cities, the plantations in the South and at Truong Thi and Ben Thuy as well as in many rural areas of Nghe Tinh. Then, various communist groups were established, which engaged in propaganda and organized activities together: the Indochina Communist Party in Bac Ky, the Annamese Communist Party in Nam Ky and the Indochina Communist League in Trung Ky. All three of these groups engaged in intense activities at the same time, and competed with one another for influence. The French colonialists made every effort to suppress them in a vain attempt to crush the movement. The laboring masses at many places panicked and wavered. In the face of this situation, Uncle Ho, in the name of a representative of the Communist International, summoned the various communist groups in the country to Kowloon (China), organized the first Unification Conference and founded the Vietnam Communist Party on 3 February 1930.



In 1930 and 1931, under the leadership of the Indochina Communist Party, a revolutionary movement was launched throughout the country, the pinnacle of which was the Nghe-Tinh Soviet. Although the French imperialists submerged the 1930-1931 revolutionary movement in a sea of blood, due to the tremendous influence of the Nghe-Tinh Soviet, the Indochina Communist Party was recognized as a chapter of the Communist International.

Overseas, Uncle Ho was intensely pursued by the French and British imperialists and imprisoned in Hong Kong. Thanks to the wholehearted help provided by the British lawyer, Loseby, Uncle Ho escaped prison. The French imperialists conducted an intense manhunt in a vain attempt to recapture him. With the help of Loseby, Uncle Ho, disguised as a wealthy Chinese merchant on vacation, managed to flee Hong Kong.

The world situation was changing. In France, the rise of the people's Front to power had a large influence upon the countries of Indochina. In Vietnam, many political prisoners were released from the prisons and exile camps and friendship associations, transfigured revolutionary organizations and mass organizations were established. A rather large number of public and semi-public newspapers were published in Hanoi, Saigon and Hue. While the movement was developing, the leaders of these organizations frequently received letters from overseas offering opinions. The public newspapers of the party, such as LAO DONG (LE TRAVAIL) Newspaper, occasionally received articles for publication signed by different persons, persons whom their readers did not know. Many persons guessed that they were written by Vietnamese revolutionaries overseas who did not dare reveal their true identities.

The world situation then changed again in favor of the Vietnamese revolution. In the mother country, France surrendered to fascist Germany. In the colonies, the colonialists in Indochina surrendered to Japan, thus opening the Sino-Viet border to a new aggressor army and helping them crush the Vietnamese revolution.

Uncle Ho secretly moved to the border area to establish contacts with the Chinese Communist Party and prepare to return to Vietnam to conduct activities in order to seize the favorable opportunity that might be at hand, as he had predicted, for mobilizing the masses to stage an uprising and seize political power.

One morning in early spring, 1941, the Party Central Committee sent a number of comrades to the Sino-Viet border to meet Uncle Ho at kilometer marker number 8. The place was in Ha Quang District in Cao Bang Province across from Nam Quang Village in China.

Using a cane, Uncle Ho walked quickly, followed by a few of our cadres. When he reached border marker number 8, he stopped, paid his regards to his comrades, peered at the scenery along the country's border and then everyone walked several more kilometers to Pac Bo Cave. After examining the cave, Uncle Ho stood up and inscribed in Chinese the date of his return to the fatherland (8 February 1941) on a layer of rock. It had been 4 months less than 30 years since the day he left the fatherland until the day he returned.

It had truly been a long time and his search for the path of national salvation had been very difficult. But no one knows precisely how many localities, from Asia to Europe, from Africa to the United States, he visited or how many thousand of kilometers he travelled by every means available in his journey and his search for the path of national salvation.

Pac Bo became the revolutionary base of the entire country. Deep within the mountain ranges, Uncle Ho became the elder Thu and then Mr. Ke of the local ethnic minorities. Although he had to concern himself with the great issues of the revolution, he still relaxed by writing lines of immortal poetry:

--At the bank of the stream at dawn, in the cave at night,  
My rice gruel, corn and bamboo sprouts are prepared!  
At my tilted stone desk, I translate the history of the party,  
The path of revolution is truly bright!

In May, 1941, Uncle Ho convened the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee at Khuoi Nam, a few kilometers from Pac Bo, to evaluate the world and domestic situations, set forth the line of the revolution, establish the Viet Minh and lead the people of the entire country in carrying out the successful August Revolution and establishing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, now the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Tran Dan Tien: "Accounts of the Active Life of President Ho."
2. In 1946, in a delegation of patriotic intellectuals from the South in Hanoi to visit Uncle Ho, there was a person named Truong Gia Ky Sanh, also known as Truc Vien (who is now 75 years of age and lives beside Nguyen Van Troi Market in Ho Chi Minh City). After hearing Huynh Thuc Khan introduce Sanh as the nephew of Hoang Gia Mo, Uncle Ho recounted this incident and inquired about the several families that had provided him with clothing.
3. Also known as Phan Chu Trinh.
4. The lawyer Phan Van Truong, a patriotic intellectual of ours at that time in France.
5. Phan Chau Dat, the nephew of Phan Chu Trinh, studied in France, became ill and returned home in 1919, passing away in the Hue Hospital in 1921.
6. C.D. is Cuong Diet, a term indicating his intensity.
7. Dang Thuc Hua, a person who was skilled in walking during his youth, was commonly called Di by his overseas compatriots; later, he was called Mr. Di and in his elderly years he was called great grandfather Di.

#### Captions to Photographs:

1. Picture of Uncle Ho in the Soviet Union's TIA LUA NHO Newspaper (1923)(p 31).

2. The ship Cac Li-ep-nech that took Uncle Ho from Hamburg to the Soviet Union (1923)(p 32).
3. Uncle Ho at the Congress of the Peasant International (1923)(p 33).
4. Caricature of Uncle Ho drawn by a German artist in 1923 and Uncle Ho's autograph on the caricature (p 34).
5. Document certifying Uncle Ho as a member of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International (1924)(p 35).
6. Invitation from the Communist International inviting Uncle Ho to attend the 1 May ceremony at Red Square in Moscow (1924)(p 36).
7. Uncle Ho and comrades of the German Communist Party (1924)(p 37).
8. Uncle Ho and comrades of the Hungarian Communist Party (1924)(p 38).

7809

CSO: 4209/265

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF THE NEWSPAPER "LE PARIA":  
NGUYEN AI QUOC AND THE NEWSPAPER " LE PARIA"

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN 11. Vietnamese No 2, Feb 82 pp 40-44

[Article by Nguyen Thanh]

[Text] After participating in the founding of the French Communist Party (December, 1920) and working in the Colonial Studies Department of the Party Central Committee, Nguyen Ai Quoc and a number of foreign friends launched a campaign to found the Inter-Colonial Union (May, 1921) which, according to its statutes, was "the mass organization of the natives in all colonies," and decided to publish the newspaper LE PARIA [THE OUTCAST] to serve as the organ for propagandizing, mobilizing and uniting the peoples of the colonies in the struggle for national liberation and liberation of the class against imperialism.

On 1 February 1922, Nguyen Ai Quoc and a compatriot named Stephani wrote an appeal which read in part: "For the sake of justice, truth and progress, it is necessary to abolish the artificial gap separating friends. LE PARIA is the first newspaper to have the purpose of carrying out this difficult task."

LE PARIA was published through contributions made by the members of the Inter-Colonial Union. Nguyen Ai Quoc accepted the task of organizing the editorial board and staff and invited the distinguished writer H. Bac-buy-xo [Vietnamese phonetics] to head the paper. As a result of this struggle, issue number 1 appeared before readers on 1 April 1922.

Nguyen Ai Quoc always closely associated his responsibility and feelings with the glorious history of the newspaper from the time it was born until it ceased publication following several stages of his activities, not only in France, but also in the Soviet Union, Canton and so forth.

During the period he spent in France, Nguyen Ai Quoc, for 14 issues of the newspaper, from issue number 1 to number 14 (May, 1923), was the editor-in-chief, the treasurer, the distributor and salesman of LE PARIA.(1)

As editor-in-chief, he wrote articles, edited articles and laid out the newspaper. In addition to articles and illustrations signed Nguyen Ai Quoc, he also wrote

articles under the name LE PARIA, edited articles sent in by collaborators and wrote short stories and news briefs to fill the pages of the newspaper. The first article signed Nguyen Ai Quoc, which was entitled "Zoology," was printed in issue number 2 (1 May 1922) and the final article, which was entitled "The Colonial Academy," was printed in issues number 12 and 14. There were some issues in which he wrote four articles (for example, issue number 5 on 1 August 1922 contained articles entitled "Enlightened Murder," "Special Tastes," "Vietnamese Women and French Rule"(2) and "Open Letter to Albert Sarraut, Minister of Colonial Affairs").

The articles written by him fully reflected the thinking of V.I. Lenin concerning the colonial question, exposed the heinous, barbarous crimes of the colonialists in the colonies and denounced the racism of the white colonialists against the colored peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. By means of actual quotations, these articles exposed the scheme of the colonialists to hide behind the billboard of enlightenment and civilization while considering the colonial peoples to be animals, while using their sweat and blood to make the industrial capitalists wealthy and beating and murdering the natives whenever they wanted. And, ironically, every manifestation of racism, every prohibition against freedom of speech, the poisoning of persons with alcohol and opium, the maltreatment of women and so forth, instead of being denounced by the colonial state, were actually praised by it!

The maltreatment and murder of colonial subjects were not individual, accidental acts, rather, they were systematic, conscious actions based on the colonial policy, the instructions of the Minister of Colonial Affairs, A. Sarraut, and the governors general.

With his profound knowledge of French literary language, Nguyen Ai Quoc employed very skillful, amusing and biting satire in political articles rich in imagery and presented, by means of very concrete evidence, the places where tragedies and crimes occurred as well as the criminal and the victim, thereby causing readers to feel deep pain and intense hatred of the country-robbers. He provided proof that even A. Sarraut had to admit to their crimes. And, the absurd argument of Leon Acsimbo, a French Member of Parliament, that the crimes of the French colonialists in the colonies should not be mentioned because there was much more injustice in France than in the colonies was sternly refuted by Nguyen Ai Quoc as being a deceptive argument. He wrote: "So, Mr. Acsimbo, permit me to say that you should not be so presumptuous as to teach lessons in equality and justice to others at a time when you do not practice these lessons in your own country. This is simply basic logic, is it not, sir?"(3)

Nguyen Ai Quoc pointed out that only communism could save the peoples of the colonies and mankind, in general, from the yoke of national and class oppression by closely linking the liberation of the colonies to the struggle of the working class of the various countries to topple imperialism and build socialist society.

The article written to commemorate the first anniversary of the founding of LE PARIA, which was printed in issue number 14, coincided with the conclusion of Nguyen Ai Quoc's activities in France. The article concluded with the appeal:



"French friends, colonial subjects living in the mother country, and native brothers and sisters in the colonies, respond to our appeal.

For the sake of LE PARIA, for the sake of the fight against dictatorship, against the colonialist sharks, let's get started!

Long live the cause of liberating the laboring people of the colonies!

Long live the cause of liberating native peoples!"

An "amateur" artist, Nguyen Ai Quoc drew a number of pictures for LE PARIA illustrating the antagonism between the colonialists and the natives, such as pictures entitled "Civilized on the Outside," "The Colonial Exhibit" and "Pull the Wagon Quickly!"

As regards financial activities, Nguyen Ai Quoc made very generous contributions, such as a regular monthly contribution of 25 francs; he used his skill in photography to "present to each reader who obtained 25 long-term subscriptions to LE PARIA a very beautiful photograph enlarged to 30 x 40"; and he encouraged the persons with whom he was living in France to donate money to support the newspaper. The lists of contributors and the amount of money contributed by them printed in LE PARIA showed that Vietnamese constituted the majority of the contributors and contributed the most money. This proves that LE PARIA had rather wide influence among Vietnamese, primarily within the stratum of laborers; on the other hand, it also gives an indication of the strong activities and tremendous prestige of Nguyen Ai Quoc among his compatriots.

Nguyen Ai Quoc personally wrapped and addressed the newspapers being sent to subscribers, tried to build newspaper sales and raised funds for the paper. Before leaving France and travelling far from his friends and comrades, far from the building used as the editorial office that he visited each day, he left behind a letter in which he observed: "Our common efforts, the Inter-Colonial Union and LE PARIA Newspaper, have achieved good results. They have showed France, genuine France, what is happening in the colonies. They have given France a clear understanding of how the colonialist sharks have been using the reputation and honor of France to commit unimaginable crimes. They have awakened our compatriots. At the same time, they have also made our compatriots see the true face of France, the France of liberty, equality and fraternity. However, there is much more that we must do." He urged his friends to "strengthen the Inter-Colonial Union" and "develop our LE PARIA Newspaper."

In May, 1923, Nguyen Ai Quoc took leave of Paris in order to visit the first socialist country in the world. In the Soviet Union, although he had to spend most of his time participating in important international activities and in studying Marxist-Leninist theory, Nguyen Ai Quoc still maintained close ties with the French Communist Party through letters. At the same time, he maintained close ties with LE PARIA Newspaper.

From Moscow, the first article that he sent to be printed in LE PARIA was entitled "The Arbitrary System in Indochina." (4) Later, employing the same line of thinking and a flexible writing style, he continued to write on colonial issues. Included among them were the articles "The Yoke of Oppression Has Regard for No Race" (5), "The Bankruptcy of French Colonialism" (6), "The Beauty of French Civilization" (7), etc. He also translated the article "Autonomy for Africa" from the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN (8) and wrote articles about his fatherland: "The Plight of Vietnamese Peasants" (9) and "Indochina and the Pacific." (10)

Before leaving the Soviet Union to travel to Canton, China, Nguyen Ai Quoc wrote an article entitled "Hands Off China." (11)

During his days in the Soviet Union, feeling deep grief over the death of V.I. Lenin, he wrote an article entitled "Lenin and the Peoples of the East" (12), which expressed the grief and gratitude of the colonial and dependent peoples in the East to Lenin, the great leader, the father of the proletariat and all oppressed peoples and which promised to follow the path charted by Lenin and struggle to liberate themselves from national and class oppression.

Although he received a meager subsidy while in the Soviet Union, which was still encountering numerous difficulties in the early stages of building the new society, Nguyen Ai Quoc still sent money to France to contribute to LE PARIA: issue number 28 of LE PARIA Newspaper published in August, 1924, reported that Nguyen Ai Quoc had contributed 96.25 francs.

In Canton, where he sought to establish communications with Vietnamese revolutionaries, began the work of building the first Vietnamese revolutionary organization under the light of Marxism-Leninism and undertook many important jobs for the Communist International, Nguyen Ai Quoc still regularly corresponded with the French Communist Party and wrote articles for Le PARIA Newspaper.

Still employing the same line of thinking and his familiar style, which had been developed more deeply and reflected more experience, he sent his first article from Canton, "The Turtle," which represented a new genre for him, and then wrote series of political articles, such as "The Domination of Great Britain, China, India and the Sudan" (13), "French Imperialism in the Far East, Varen and Indochina" (14) and the final article "Rediculous Games or Varen and Phan Boi Chau," which were printed in issues number 36 and 37 in September and October, 1925.

Issue number 38, the final issue of LE PARIA Newspaper, which was published in April, 1926, printed the introduction to Nguyen Ai Quoc's "French Colonialization on Trial."

Through LE PARIA Newspaper, Nguyen Ai Quoc and his comrades-in-arms received the wholehearted support and assistance of the French Communist Party, began to establish solidarity between the colonial peoples and the proletariat of countries, especially the Russian proletariat, and carried out the struggle to liberate nations and races, to liberate the laboring people from the yoke of imperialist oppression.

LE PARIA Newspaper had rather widespread influence among the colonial subjects living in France, influence which spread from there to their homelands; at the same time, it was sent to many colonies, primarily the colonies of the French imperialists. Through LE PARIA, the French communists, the French proletariat and all of the democratic people of France who loved freedom and equality learned about the suffering in the colonies and felt shame because the genuine civilization of France had been sullied by the colonialists.

The French colonialists made every effort to block the influence of LE PARIA Newspaper and tightly controlled the routes by which LE PARIA Newspaper was sent from France to Vietnam. Considering LE PARIA Newspaper to be "banned nationally," they looked for ways to terrorize its readers, to convict anyone who circulated the newspaper of serious crimes, etc. However, despite each of their prohibitions, LE PARIA Newspaper secretly passed from the hands of patriotic seamen on ocean vessels to Vietnamese revolutionaries.

Issue number 1 of LE JEUNE ANNAM, the national liberation tribune, published on 23 March 1926 in Saigon (this newspaper was banned after a few issues) reprinted Nguyen Ai Quoc's "French Imperialism in the Far East, Varen and Indochina," which was printed in issue number 35 of LE PARIA Newspaper in order to widely disseminate the progressive political viewpoints and revolutionary thinking of the newspaper within Vietnam.

Although 60 years have passed, the image of LE PARIA Newspaper and the reputation of Nguyen Ai Quoc are still deeply imprinted in the memories of the elders of the Vietnamese revolution, who were, at that time, patriotic youths. The articles and illustrations of Nguyen Ai Quoc in the various issues of LE PARIA Newspaper are not only literary and artistic heritage of the Vietnamese revolution, but also a valuable heritage of the revolutionary literature and art of the world that is anti-colonialist and in support of the cause of liberating the oppressed peoples.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. According to a speech by Uncle Ho at the 2nd Congress of the Association of Vietnamese Journalists held on 16 April 1959.
2. The original French title was: "Le femme annamite et la domination francaise."
3. See: "Open Letter to Mr. Leon Acsinbo" printed in issue number 10 of LE PARIA NEWspaper, dated 15 January 1923 (not in the 15 April 1923 issue as stated in a number of previous documents).
4. LE PARIA Newspaper, issue number 16, July, 1923 (not the 18 July 1923 issue as stated in a number of previous documents).
5. LE PARIA, number 17, August, 1923.
6. LE PARIA, number 25, May, 1924.

7. LE PARIA, number 27, July, 1924.
8. LE PARIA, number 22, January, 1924.
9. LE PARIA, number 21, December, 1923; this article was printed in LE PARIA Newspaper before being printed in DOI SONG CONG NHAN(LA VIE OUVRIERE) Newspaper.
10. LE PARIA, number 24, March and April, 1924; this article is different from the article of the same name printed in "INTERNATIONAL NEWS" published in volume I of the "Collected Works of Ho Chi Minh."
11. LE PARIA, number 30, October, 1924.
12. LE PARIA, number 27, July, 1924.
13. LE PARIA, number 33, April and May, 1925.
14. LE PARIA, number 35, August 1925.

7809

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## OUR LIFESTYLE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 82 pp 45-47

[Article by Nguyen Trung Thuc]

[Text] Every lifestyle corresponds to a specific social system; every social system has its own style of life.

The society that we are building is socialist society. Our social system is the socialist system. Therefore, our lifestyle must be the socialist lifestyle.

The socialist lifestyle demands, above everything else, that man possess the correct attitude toward labor. This correct attitude is expressed in working in a voluntary, willing, organized, disciplined, technical, creative and highly productive manner. The worker must be fully conscious of the fact that he is working not only for the sake of his personal interests, but also for the sake of the interests of the collective, of all of society; working is not only an obligation, a rule of life binding upon each and every person, but is also a right, a pressing need, a source of glory and happiness of each individual. The correct attitude toward work is also expressed in respecting the work of others, in practicing economy in production and consumption. The socialist lifestyle does not accept the attitude of laziness, a lack of organization or a lack of discipline in work. It rejects the thinking of only being concerned with oneself, only trying to better one's position without giving thought to the interests of the collective, of society. It is steadfastly opposed to theft, misappropriation, waste, bureaucracy, enjoying things at the expense of others, not respecting the work of others and so forth.

The socialist lifestyle demands a very high spirit of collective ownership on the part of everyone. This spirit of ownership does not stop at consciousness, but must be expressed in concrete, day to day actions. It is political and spiritual unanimity, mutual help and cooperation in labor, work and everyday life. It is determination to firmly protect the socialist fatherland in conjunction with building socialism; it is being vigilant against and ready to smash every scheme and act of sabotage and aggression of any enemy. It is being fully conscious of one's obligations and rights and voluntarily fulfilling obligations to society, to the state and to the collective. It is displaying the correct attitude in one's



relationships with everyone else. It demands that each individual display the highest possible level of initiative.

The socialist lifestyle demands ardent socialist patriotism harmoniously combined with the pure proletarian international spirit; stern opposition to bigoted nationalism, chauvinism and big country hegemony; opposition to the violation of the interests of other nations, colonial enslavement and wars of aggression, negligence in the fulfillment of international obligations and so forth.

The socialist lifestyle also demands true socialist humanitarianism as manifested in deep love of the working people; knowing how to unite, cooperate and help one another in labor, combat and the building of the new life; making the struggle for the freedom and happiness of each working person one's noble ideal and *raison d'être*; building happy families on the basis of a happy society, families in which there is a full sense of responsibility and genuine love between husband and wife, a high sense of responsibility in the raising of children to be new, socialist persons and so forth.

Our socialist lifestyle is a lifestyle that originates in the fine nature of our society, in the pure ethics of the working class leading the government and in the necessary demands of the system of socialist collective ownership. This lifestyle is also a brilliant expression of the crystallization and development of the very best of the soul and essence of Vietnam that has been forged in our 4,000 year history.

Very many of us have set bright examples of this beautiful lifestyle. However, it is very regrettable that more than a few persons either practice or are under the influence of the non-socialist lifestyle.

Some persons maintain that they live their lives in a way in which the persons around them cannot find fault and then ignore everyone else. As a result of this outlook, they are indifferent in the face of negative phenomena and things in society that are contrary to one rule or another. They realize what is correct but do not protect it and see mistakes and negative phenomena but do not struggle against them. They only know how to take care of themselves and will not help others even if a house in their village is on fire.

Other persons maintain that, in view of the difficult conditions that exist now, every person must take care of himself, take care of his family and that caring for everyone is the responsibility of the party and state. As a result of this attitude, they have separated themselves from collective life, sometimes are opposed to the collective and only know how to take care of their own personal interests. Each of their thoughts and actions is based on personal interests and designed to further their personal interests; as long as they satisfy themselves, no one else matters. They evade every obligation to the fatherland, the state and the collective. They look for every way to live an idle life. They are ready to do things that are unethical, to violate the law provided that their ordinary personal desires are satisfied. Also as a result of subscribing to the philosophy that "I must take care of myself," they have no love of the working people, of

their comrades and friends; they do not unite or cooperate with or help one another in their labor, work and the building of the new life; they do not find happiness in the wholesome, good deeds of others. The persons who hold this attitude are the ones that demand the most of the party, the state, the collective and others. In the face of the difficulties and negative phenomena that still exist in society, they constantly complain. They do not see that they have any responsibility whatsoever to help reduce these difficulties and eliminate these negative phenomena.

Even more deserving of reprimand is the fact that more than a few persons express an attitude of support for this lifestyle. They maintain that everyone lives this way today; it is the only way to live that is "in keeping with the times," that is consistent with present social circumstances.

It is a mistake to approve such a lifestyle. Because, this style of life is not consistent with our social system at this time; it is the complete opposite of the socialist lifestyle. Maintaining that everyone is living this way today is even more of a mistake. Because, such a statement is an arrogant distortion of our people, a serious insult to our people. If this were true, how could we explain why so many persons have been and are working devotedly in all sectors, levels, localities and fields of social life without ever giving thought to personal considerations. They work not only for the sake of their own interests, but also the interests of all of society, for the sake of a much higher goal, working for the fatherland, for the inevitable victory of socialism. They work in a dedicated manner, happily accept the temporary difficulties we are encountering at this time, do not complain about these difficulties and do not allow them to reduce their will to fight or their revolutionary heroism. They willingly accept shortages and hardships because they understand that shortages and hardships are unavoidable in the period of transition to socialism, a period in which production capacity is low during the initial stage and the amount of wealth being produced by society is still small. How is it possible to mention all of the mothers, wives, fathers and so forth who happily encouraged their closest relatives to leave their homes to fight in defense of the fatherland and build socialism? How is it possible to mention all of the bright examples of genuine, pure, noble and loyal love and care for one another, comradeship, friendship and love between man and woman? What are all of these things if not brilliant manifestations of our noble lifestyle--a socialist lifestyle that embodies the color and essence of Vietnam?

Some persons ask why there are still so many manifestations of the non-socialist lifestyle in our society at this time. This question is not difficult to answer. Surely, each of us knows that our economy is still primarily an economy of small-scale production that is only in the initial stage of the process of advancing to large-scale socialist production, an economy whose material-technical bases are still very underdeveloped. When a society is still in a state of development in which the economy is primarily one of small-scale production, the attitudes, style, livelihoods, lifestyles and so forth of the persons within this society naturally embody the "color and flavor of small-scale production" to one extent or another. On the other hand, the 30 continuous years of extremely fierce warfare left our country with very serious aftereffects in many areas. In the South, although the exploiting classes have virtually been transformed, the poisons

of the slave culture and the social ills caused by U.S. neo-colonialism as well as the influence of bourgeois thinking and the remnants of the bourgeois style of life are still prevalent in society. From a subjective point of view, we have committed certain shortcomings, such as political and ideological education that is not timely or responsive to the situation, economic management that is still lax; there are manifestations of rightism in the struggle to overcome the remnants and manifestations of the non-socialist lifestyles and so forth.

The effort to establish the socialist lifestyle cannot be separated from the struggle against the non-socialist lifestyles. Because, only through this struggle can the strongpoints of the socialist lifestyle be widely and profoundly expressed. Struggling against the non-socialist lifestyles and establishing the beautiful socialist lifestyle are not only the responsibility of the party, the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat system, but also the responsibility of each of us. The cadres and members of the party must be in the vanguard in this field; they must always set bright examples of the socialist lifestyle.

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## THOROUGHLY UNDERSTANDING AND SCRUPULOUSLY COMPLYING WITH THE MILITARY SERVICE LAW

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 82 pp 48-52, 64

[Article by Dang Vu Hiep]

[Text] The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam states: "The state taps the patriotism and revolutionary heroism of the people, implements a system of military service, develops the national defense industry and mobilizes manpower and materiel to build powerful people's armed forces and constantly improve the ability to defend the country. All state agencies, social organizations and citizens must fulfill the national defense and security task defined by the law"(Article 54).

In the more than 30 years of war, several generations of our people, especially the various strata of youths, eagerly fulfilled their task of defending the fatherland. Millions of our youths fulfilled their military obligation in a glorious manner. Ardent patriotism and revolutionary heroism are the strongest spiritual forces inspiring the citizens of Vietnam to fulfill their military obligation well. The pages of our people's brilliant history of resistance against foreign aggression prove that defending the fatherland is one of the fine traditions of we Vietnamese. It is implemented in the closeness between rights and obligations and the most noble consciousness and the most sacred of feelings. Today, our people are carrying out two very large strategic tasks: accelerating socialist construction and always maintaining the highest possible level of combat readiness in order to firmly defend the fatherland in every situation while actively contributing to the struggle to maintain peace throughout the world. Our country is in a situation in which it is at peace but must deal with a comprehensive war of sabotage of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists; at the same time, we face the possibility of a major war breaking out.

In the face of the requirements of the new situation and tasks, the Military Service Law promulgated by the National Assembly is designed to enhance our people's fine tradition of defending the fatherland, upholding the right of collective ownership of the people in the work of building a comprehensive, modern national defense system and, at the same time, creating conditions for citizens to fulfill their military obligation, thereby helping to build our army into a powerful force



that possesses an increasingly high level of regular force, modern development, possesses strong standing forces and powerful reserves and is ready to win victory over every enemy aggressor and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

The Military Service Law recently promulgated by the National Assembly represents the experiences of decades of obligatory military service among our people; at the same time, it represents the full codification of the military service system and meets the new requirements of the present situation. The law sets forth general regulations in the nature of principles and regulations regarding the basic matters involved in the fulfillment of the military obligation, such as the regular military service of non-commissioned officers and soldiers, preparing young men for regular service in the military, joining and being discharged from the military, the rights and obligations of military personnel, registering for the military draft, the execution of general and partial mobilization orders and so forth.

The promulgation by our country's National Assembly of the Military Service Law in the present situation is of very important significance. It promptly meets the demands of the revolutionary situation and tasks in the new stage and the requirements of a people's war to protect the socialist fatherland. It is also very consistent with the actual situation of the country, of our people's present work of building up the army and strengthening the national defense system.

The recently promulgated Military Service Law both reflects and is defined by the nature of the socialist system, of the dictatorship of the proletariat state and the right of socialist collective ownership of our people; at the same time, it reflects the nature of the national defense system and the will and aspirations of our people.

The Military Service Law states: "Protecting the socialist fatherland is the sacred obligation and noble right of the citizen. The citizen has the duty of fulfilling his military obligation and participating in building the national defense system"(Article 1).

Facts have proven that building socialism in conjunction with protecting the socialist fatherland is a universal law of the socialist revolution; building the country in conjunction with defending it has been a law of the survival and growth of our nation in the several thousand years of its history. After winning total victory in the several decade war to liberate the nation, we had hoped to build the country in peace but, shortly after the country was totally liberated, our people had to contend with the Chinese expansionist aggressors. The task of protecting the fatherland, consequently, has become a very important and pressing task; at the same time, it is a long-range task of our nation, of our youths. Protecting the fatherland--one of the most sacred obligations of our people--has its origin in antiquity. Generation after generation of our forefathers made every effort to build, develop and defend the Vietnamese fatherland. The ardent patriotism, the precious virtues of the Vietnamese and the spiritual values of our nation that were formed and developed in the 4,000 year history of building and defending the country have been handed down from one generation to the next



and become the material strength of our entire nation. The strength of our people's patriotic tradition is seen in the spirit of giving one's life for the country; this spirit has been increased many times during the several decades we have been under the leadership of the party. Today, patriotism has assumed a new quality, a new essence now that the fatherland and socialism are one; it is patriotism closely linked to the love of socialism, genuine patriotism closely linked to the love of socialism, genuine patriotism closely linked to the pure proletarian international spirit. To the working people of our country today, protecting the fatherland also means protecting socialism, protecting the party, protecting the dictatorship of the proletariat state and protecting their own right of collective ownership and also helping to protect the world socialist community. The formation of such a concept of the socialist fatherland will lead to the conscious awareness of one's basic and pressing obligation in protecting the fatherland, which is the foremost, sacred obligation of each citizen.

Protecting the socialist fatherland is not only a sacred obligation, but is a noble right of the citizen as well. Our people waged an arduous struggle for many years in order to win this noble right. It expresses our people's ownership of the country. Only male youths who are 18 years of age and who pledge their loyalty to the fatherland, the people and the state of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam are inducted into the military. Highly evaluating the role played by women in the struggle against foreign aggression and upholding the glorious tradition "when the enemy is at the doorstep, even the women fight," the Military Service Law states: "Women who work in the public health sector or another sector required by the army are registered for the military draft and are summoned for training; in peace time, they may voluntarily join the army. In war time, in accordance with a decision by the Council of Ministers, women are inducted into the army to serve in appropriate positions"(Article 5).

According to our country's constitution, every citizen is equal under the law; citizens must fulfill their obligations to the state and society. Consequently, the Military Service Law states: "All male youths, regardless of their nationality, social stratum, religious beliefs, level of education, occupation and place of residence, must serve in the Vietnam People's Army"(Article 4). Thus, every male citizen who meets all qualifications has both the obligation and right to serve in the army. Rights and obligations are closely linked to each other. The law insures that everyone fulfills this obligation and exercises this right in an equal manner. As an obligation, the obligation to serve in the army is one that must be fulfilled by everyone; there are no special rights that exempt someone from this obligation and no one may evade this obligation. The obligation and right to protect the fatherland also reflects the unity between the law and ethics in the obligation of each citizen. Protecting the fatherland is one of the most important expressions of the new ethics. The will, sentiment and aspiration of the citizen to participate in protecting the fatherland have been defined by the law as a noble obligation and right. For this reason, serving in the people's armed forces is a legal obligation as well as an ethical responsibility of a citizen of the DRV. The failure to uphold this ethical standard is also a violation of a legal standard. In order to insure strict compliance and insure fairness,

certain articles of the law define cases in which induction into the army may be postponed or a person's military obligation may be waived and also define how the implementation of the law should be organized. Military draft councils have been established in the villages, districts and provinces, with each echelon having clearly defined tasks. These councils consist of the comrades in charge of the various sectors in the government and in charge of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Vietnam Women's Union. The councils operate on the basis of the collective principle and council decisions must be approved by more than one-half of the council's members. Council decisions concerning inductions or the waiver or postponement of inductions must be publicly announced so that the people can observe and supervise their implementation; complaints by the people, if any, must be examined and resolved.

In terms of awareness, the most important base underlying the fulfillment of this obligation is increasingly high political enlightenment and correct knowledge of life on the part of the citizen. This base, together with the standards of socialist ethics are the basic prerequisites to everyone complying with the Military Service Law in a voluntary manner. In actuality, however, not everyone meets these basic prerequisites; therefore, it is necessary to develop the voluntary spirit and employ persuasion; on the other hand, we must insure the compulsory, strict nature of compliance with the law. Therefore, any person who fails to register for the draft, fails to appear for a medical examination or does not comply with an induction order or a training order, any person who impedes the registration for the military draft, medical examinations, the call-up of reserves or the induction of citizens and any member of a military draft council or personnel assisting a council that lacks a spirit of responsibility or abuses his position and authority by intentionally violating the law, especially during war time, will be prosecuted. Conversely, any locality, unit or person that records many achievements in implementing the military draft system will be commended.

After becoming military personnel, all citizens have the obligations and rights of persons in the army. Professional military personnel, non-commissioned officers and soldiers in the regular army and the reserves have the following obligations: to be absolutely loyal to the fatherland and the people and complete every task assigned to them; to display a high spirit of revolutionary vigilance and be ready to fight and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland; to protect the life and property and respect the right of collective ownership of the people; to set good examples in complying with the lines and policies of the party, the laws of the state and the orders and regulations of the army; to forge a sense of organization and discipline and a regular-force style; and to regularly study politics and military affairs and engage in physical training in order to constantly improve their fighting skills. At the same time, these military personnel are eligible for a number of systems established by the Council of Ministers and enjoy a number of privileges. These obligations and rights have the purpose of molding cadres and soldiers who possess the abilities and the qualities to complete their tasks and mold new, socialist persons within the army. Absolute loyalty to the fatherland and the people, an awareness of

protecting the interests of the people, the sense of organization and discipline and the spirit of routinely studying in order to improve one's fighting skills are the most basic qualities of a revolutionary military man and create the quality of our army; at the same time, they are the most important requirements that make our army truly a great school training the various generations of youths.

In order to strengthen the national defense system, build a powerful people's army and win victory in a people's war to protect the socialist fatherland, we must regularly make preparations in every area, which includes preparing all the people, especially youths, to fulfill their military obligation, their obligation to defend the fatherland. Lenin taught: "War is a challenge to each and every economic force and organizational force of every nation."(1)

In the several decades of continuous fighting against colonialists and imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, the ringleader of the imperialists, our people became deeply aware of the fact that war is a decisive, comprehensive challenge to the entire nation, the social system and each person. Today, if our people must wage a modern people's war to defend the socialist fatherland against aggression carried out by the big country expansionists and hegenonists of China in collaboration with the imperialists and other reactionaries, it will be a major challenge in many areas of life. Therefore, the preparation of morale, will, organization, skills and so forth must be carried out in peace time, in the process of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, carried out in a fundamental, routine and long-range manner for all the people, the young generation, each sector and each social organization. This is not merely the work of the military sectors and agencies, but is also the responsibility of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system. The Military Service Law states: "Within the scope of their function, the state agencies and social organizations have the task of encouraging, teaching, organizing and creating the conditions for citizens to fulfill their military obligation"(Article 11).

Above everything else, it is necessary to encourage and teach citizens in a practical, effective manner. By means of interesting forms of activity and suitable themes, efforts should be focused on building socialist patriotism, the proletarian international spirit and the spirit of collective ownership among our people, among our youths. In particular, we must thoroughly teach to youths the ideals of communism, boundless loyalty to the fatherland, to socialism, political steadfastness, communist confidence and the current matters of importance regarding the communist philosophy of life.

It is important to truly raise each citizen's level of socialist awareness, the essence of which is having confidence in and love for the socialist system; having a deep hatred of the enemy and distinguishing between the nature of the socialist system and the exploiting systems, the nature of the people's army and the armies of the imperialists and reactionaries; having love for troops and voluntarily participating in the effort to strengthen the national defense system; maintaining revolutionary vigilance and fully complying with the military draft system.

Closely coordinating the effort to widely propagandize and teach the line and viewpoint of the party with regard to strengthening the national defense system and building the people's armed forces in the new stage, the Constitution and the Military Service Law of the state with the struggle against the psychological warfare arguments of the enemy that distort the positions and policies of the party and state and the struggle to overcome the backward, mistaken attitudes and thinking that adversely affect the enthusiasm of youths to join the army is a very important and pressing requirement at this time. We must generate correct public opinion among the various strata of the people regarding the implementation of the Military Service Law and must struggle to overcome pacifist thinking, the fear of hardships and sacrifices, the phenomenon of evading one's obligation or protecting deserters and so forth. Importance must be attached to teaching the nation's unyielding, heroic tradition and the steadfast revolutionary tradition of our working class, our party and our army in order to maintain and heighten the pride in having fulfilled one's sacred obligation to protect the fatherland.

In ideological work regarding the obligation to protect the fatherland, the most important requirement is to give each party member, primarily the members of the party committees of the basic organizations of the party, a deep understanding of the situation and tasks and their responsibility to strengthen the national defense system and build the people's army in the new stage of the revolution so that they play an exemplary-vanguard role in complying with the military draft system and serve as the nucleus in the implementation of this system by the masses. The propaganda and educational work of each party organization, each stage agency and each social organization cannot be highly persuasive, cannot achieve high results if cadres and party members do not set bright examples, if their actions do not match their words.

In order to implement the military draft system well, the leadership work of the party organizations and the management and guidance provided by the government cannot merely be limited to propaganda and education, but must also focus upon the successful performance of other important jobs. They are: inspecting and supervising the organization of universal military training for young men at agencies, enterprises and basic units before they reach military age; organizing close coordination among the various sectors and mass organizations in order to do a good job of regularly educating the various strata of people, correctly implementing the army's rear area policies and correctly performing each job in the induction phase; mobilizing and organizing the people to exercise their right of collective ownership in fulfilling their obligation and their right to supervise the implementation of the Military Service Law by the responsible agencies and persons; and attaching importance to praising and encouraging good examples while being determined to struggle against every negative phenomena and harshly deal with every violation of the Military Service Law.

In order to protect the socialist revolution, protect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, air space, ocean waters, borders and islands of the fatherland, our people must make every effort to build a strong national defense



system and powerful people's armed forces. The work of building and strengthening the national defense system must be closely linked to the entirety of the socialist revolution and socialist construction and must be considered the task of all the people, of the entire army, of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system. It is important that each of our citizens clearly recognize his political responsibility in protecting the fatherland, in implementing the Military Service Law. We must always remember the teaching of the revered Uncle Ho that "the Hung Kings performed the service of building the country, we must work together to defend it." In order to be ready to contribute all our energies, our intelligence and, if necessary, even our lives to the cause of building and protecting the fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1979, Volume 39, p 363.

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## PRC 'MULTIFACETED WAR OF DESTRUCTION' ANALYZED

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Feb 82, pp 53-57

[Article by Nguyen Duc Thieng: "The Multifaceted War of Destruction Waged by the Chinese Expansionists and Hegemonists"]

Following the tragic and shameful defeat of the truculent war of aggression which they waged from 17 February to 6 March 1979, the Chinese reactionaries have realized that they cannot annex our country through mere military measures. They have shifted then to a multifaceted war of destruction against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) in order to weaken us and, whenever possible, wage a large-scale war of aggression.

In the past 3 years, implementing the strategy of a multifaceted war of destruction against Vietnam, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have maintained their military pressure and war threat continuously in several guises along the northern border.

They have regularly massed a large military force close to the border, dug trenches and built roads to move weapons, equipment, food and troops to various strongholds along the border. At times, they have sent troops to attack us, nibbling at our territory and occupying some of the heights along the border. They have thus far occupied 30 additional points in Lang Son, Cao Bang, Ha Tuyen and Hoang Lien Son Provinces. They want to control a large area deep inside Vietnamese territory, use it as a springboard from which to nibble at and occupy more areas of our territory continuously turning them into hot spots of protracted battles and absorbing more of our forces there so as to weaken our forces in other places and be able to further their land-grabbing operations.

To occupy the various heights and grab land has become an increasingly notorious goal of China's military attacks. The attacks to occupy Height No 1992 in Xin Man, Ha Tuyen Province in November 1980; Height 400 in Cao Loc, Lang Son Province; and Heights Nos 1800A and 1800B in Vi Xuyen, Ha Tuyen Province in May and June 1981 are the most notorious ones.

They further sent troops deep into villages to loot crops, fell trees, dismantle and take away houses, lay ambushes and plant mines to kill our troops, cadres and people going back and forth to work, causing a permanently tense and unstable situation. Then they accuse us of adopting a "scorched earth policy" to oppose China.

The Chinese reactionaries' military activities are aimed at pushing the war onto the Vietnamese side of the border area, creating a so-called border situation which will permit them to legalize openly the grabbing of some of our territory. They also hope that such a situation will enable them to send their spies and reconnaissance agents to our country to survey the situation here, conduct underground activities and psychological warfare, and stir up counterrevolutionary riots.

Moreover, through their military operations, especially their land-grabbing attacks on the border areas, the Chinese reactionaries want to improve their military deployment and further perfect their battle positions to the advantage of their war of aggression. At the same time by combining its war provocations with its slanderous campaign against our country, Beijing plots to stimulate the chauvinistic and expansionist psychology of its troops, directly preparing for a large-scale war.

Using the trick of "thief crying, stop thief," Beijing has passed the buck to us; rejected talks and continued to implement the strategy of multifaceted destruction against our country even more intensively.

Beijing's military acts of sabotage against Vietnam can be said to be carried out in several guises. They are aimed at many specific immediate objectives and combined closely with various cruel, fundamental and long-range plots.

The political and ideological attack constitutes a particularly important part of the multifaceted war of destruction waged by the Beijing reactionaries against the SRV. The war of spies and the psychological warfare not only support the military offensive but has been upgraded by the Chinese reactionaries to a strategic measure to attack our interior, muster the reactionary political forces and build disguised socialism and Marxism-Leninism in order to oppose and attack the Vietnamese revolution.

The Chinese reactionaries have further taken advantage of a small number of people still affected by the vestiges of Maoist ideology or those who are irresolute and dissatisfied, some reactionaries among the ethnic minority people and bad elements among the Vietnamese of Chinese descent, and have coordinated with the U.S. intelligence network to try and establish new reactionary organizations inside and outside our country. They have further sent thousands of scouts to the border areas of our country to survey the situation there and plant their agents among the ethnic minority people and in those border areas where many Chinese-born Vietnamese people are living.

They have used these elements in their distorting and divisive propaganda in order to undermine the confidence of the masses in our party and government. They have also used Lauke Hoang Van Hoan to justify their aggressive activities, attract Vietnamese residents in China and exert a psychological influence on the people living in the border areas (former revolutionary bases) in order to attract some people into the so-called "Hoang Van Hoan armed forces." They have organized scores of camps and stations in the provinces bordering on our country in order to train reconnaissance agents, commandos and spies, and infiltrate them into our country.

It is clear that the Chinese reactionaries have purposely undermined the morale of each specific objective. With regard to comprador bourgeois, landlords and puppet troops dodging rehabilitation, they try to stir up a psychology of regret for the former regime in order to muster some opposition forces. With respect to workers and other laboring people, they attempt to instill a "bourgeois concept of trade unions" into them. As for the scientific and technical cadres, they contact those who are faced with a difficult livelihood, irresolute ideologically and degenerate qualitatively and tell these cadres that they have been exploited and that our regime pays no attention to intellectuals. Several times, they have spread false rumors saying that some of the famous social activists and scientists have left the country in order to cause confusion and suspicion among the people. They have incited some retired cadres to blame the party and the state.

The Beijing reactionaries in collusion with the U.S. imperialists have concentrated on undermining the morale of our youths and teenagers -- their main target -- to smear the thoughts and emotions of the young generation and destroy our future forces and the latent potentials of our revolution. They have driven erring youths into the clandestine counter-revolutionary organization of quisling Hoang Von Hoan. They have further cruelly plotted to lead the children of our leading cadres and revolutionary families into committing wrongdoings and crimes in order to impair the prestige of the revolution.

The Chinese reactionaries in collusion with the U.S. imperialists have used the Vietnamese reactionaries who have fled abroad to publish reactionary books and magazines smearing our regime and beautifying the exploitative regimes of Western societies in order to incite more of our people to flee abroad. They trained those people who had been coerced and deceived by them to leave for China and have sent these people back to Vietnam to conduct their psychological warfare operations, organize espionage and sabotage our country.

They have paid much attention to using mass information facilities to conduct their reactionary, slanderous propaganda. The local radio stations and the 25 wired radio stations which China has built along its border with our country beam their broadcasts in different tribal dialects to the northern border of our country for three or four hours daily in order to poison the thinking of our ethnic minority people in the border areas.

The Beijing reactionaries have also emphasized the use of leaflets printed in beautifully attractive colors on good paper which contain specific and concise counterpropaganda themes suitable to different times and localities. They have sought every way and facility (aircraft, balloons, shelling, floating rafts downstream) to disseminate these leaflets. During 1981, they scattered more than 50 different types of leaflets in 10 northern provinces of our country.

They have also used small yet no less dangerous forms of propaganda such as spreading false rumors, telling dirty "political jokes" and composing folk songs and sayings to disseminate their reactionary themes. Such other forms as prophecy, fortune telling, ear-to-ear whispering and verbal transmission have also been used to sow suspicion among the people who cannot tell right from wrong and finally spread the news for them free.

The Beijing reactionaries' openly hostile activities to attack Vietnam politically and ideologically in the past fall in with their consistent strategy of sabotaging Vietnam and other Indochinese countries from several standpoints. They have taken advantage of the situation, in which our people are encountering economic and living problems resulting from decades of destructive wars, to attack us -- spearheading their attacks on our party and state -- in order to make some segments of our people suspicious and confused, thereby lessening their vigilance against the nation's enemy. They have also rekindled the vestiges of the former society which we have not eliminated completely in order to make our society insecure and disorderly, and pervert our lifestyle.

Economic sabotage to weaken Vietnam is also one of strategic objectives of the Chinese reactionaries' multifaceted war of destruction against Vietnam. More than 5,000 cases of armed provocations along Vietnam's northern border in the past 3 years have destroyed many houses, storage facilities, shops, hospitals, schools, crops and orchards of our people, forcing some of our people in the border areas to evacuate and leaving some areas uncultivated.

To weaken Vietnam's economy, the Beijing reactionaries have organized 20 markets along the border, selling commodities very cheaply or on credit and flooding our country with luxury items. At the same time, they have bought our goods at high prices, have raked in our gold and gems, and have bought some of our people into removing landmines in exchange for their commodities, and into selling eyes and horns of water buffalo, corn silk and anis root to them. All of these activities are aimed at destroying our production.

They have spread false rumors about increases in commodity prices and plans to replace currency. They have had their henchmen speculate in and hoard commodities, disrupting domestic markets. They have bought some of our cadres or have sought to corrupt some of our high-ranking cadres in order to cause negative manifestations in our production and life. The enemy's reconnaissance agents and commandos have coordinated with its henchmen inside our country to organize the sabotage of our economy, machinery, storage facilities and such important construction projects as ports and communications roads. Moreover, some Chinese-born Vietnamese and their lackeys have counterfeited money and food ration stamps, have falsified products and have played up the trick of exchanging it for the old currency in order to devalue the Vietnamese dong, destabilizing our economy. The enemy has further released epidemic-affected livestock (pigs, chickens and horses) across the border in order to kill our livestock and poultry. It has even taken advantage of the wind direction to cause several forest fires in Land Son and Hoang Lien Son Provinces.

The Beijing reactionaries in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other international reactionaries have carried out an economic embargo against our country in order to sabotage our international economic relations. They have distorted our party's correct international line to urge capitalist countries to cut their aid to our country and to cancel loan and trade contracts already concluded with our country.

Beijing hoped that its aforementioned acts of economic sabotage would worsen Vietnam's originally weak economy and that sooner and later we would no longer be able to bear its military pressure.

The destructive war waged by Beijing against Vietnam is very cruel from the military, economic, ideological, cultural, social and diplomatic standpoints. It is aimed at destabilizing our economy, weakening our country and creating favorable conditions for Beijing to wage a large-scale war whenever possible.

All of these hostilities fall in with Beijing's long range plan to "bleed" Vietnam, undermine the solidarity bloc of the three Indochinese countries and pave the way for a larger scale aggression to annex our country and Indochina as a whole and for expansion into Southeast Asia.

If imperialism is generally stigmatized by its reactionary and stubborn characters, China's expansionism and hegemony not only is reactionary and stubborn but also is badly treacherous. If the imperialists' regional plot is to invade Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries, taking them old or new colonialists, to seize all resources, exploit labor, establish military bases and sabotage the revolution; then the Chinese reactionaries' plot is to weaken and annex Vietnam and Indochina as a whole, carry out genocide and national assimilation, and create a springboard from which to expand themselves into Southeast Asia and to advance toward global hegemony.

The Chinese reactionaries' plot vis-a-vis our country, Laos and Kampuchea is notoriously cruel, dangerous and relentless, since the plot constitutes their main guideline for expansion and Indochina is the main stronghold and key area to be occupied in order to expand themselves farther into the south. If Vietnam and Indochina as a whole cannot be annexed, in the immediate as well as distant future, the Chinese reactionaries will have no other way to realize their dream of expansion into Southeast Asia and the world. The Chinese reactionaries have long nourished the plot to annex Vietnam and other Indochinese countries. During our former resistance struggle against the United States, the Chinese authorities still considered the United States as their enemy and were forced to help "the enemy of their enemy." However, ever since that time, they have prepared gradually to carry out their cruel scheme to annex Vietnam. No sooner had we extricated ourselves from the long and destructive war with wounds all over to be healed and with countless difficulties caused by the war, then the Beijing authorities already exposed themselves as the worst traitor. Expansionism and hegemony -- the core of Maoism -- has turned the Beijing rulers into traitors who betray Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese people, and into aggressors and saboteurs very dangerous to our country.

The Beijing reactionaries will leave no stone unturned in preparing for a large-scale war of aggression to annex our country whenever conditions so permit. The multifaceted war of destruction being waged by them is designed to create such conditions. So long as the Chinese authorities have not relinquished their expansionist and hegemonist dream, this multifaceted war of destruction will go on and the large-scale war to annex our country is still likely to occur. Our struggle against the expansionist and hegemonist plot of the Chinese reactionaries for national defense is a long, complicated and relentless struggle for survival during which we absolutely can not slacken our vigilance for a minute. We have entrusted our party and people with the mission of countering this dangerous enemy. This is a duty that we cannot shirk. For the sake of the country's independence and freedom, the people's happiness and the noble international obligations, let all our party and people tighten our ranks around the party Central Committee headed by respected Ho Chi Minh and Le Duan, and resolve to devote all our effort to building socialism successfully and defending the socialist Vietnam Fatherland firmly.

## COMMENTARY: HISTORY, A MIRROR

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 82 pp 58-64

[Commentary by Le Xuan Vu]

[Text] Everyone who studies history knows that Vietnam has always had to contend with foreign aggression. Since the 3rd Century B.C., the nation of Vietnam has had to continuously resist aggression by the rulers of China. In the 3rd Century B.C., the China of the Han, following thousands of years of aggression during which they annihilated and assimilated many small countries and peoples in their region, expanded down to the border of Vietnam; from then on, aggression by the Chinese emperors always weighed heavily upon the succeeding generations of Vietnamese. The Chinese feudalists once forced Vietnam to be "dependent" upon them for thousands of years, thus turning Vietnam into one of their precincts or districts. They proclaimed themselves to be emperors, to be a royal dynasty. When they were strong, they committed aggression against Vietnam, considering people everywhere to be "their people"; when they were weak, they also committed aggression against and encroached upon the soil of Vietnam in order to "maintain tranquility at home by fighting foreigners"; once they even surrendered and welcomed an entire aggressor army so that the Chinese emperor could maintain the oppression of the Chinese people and continue to nurture the dream of expanding to the south.

The scheme of the Chinese feudalists to annex and assimilate Vietnam was truly an unchanging scheme. It was truly malicious, cruel and barbaric. Despite this, in the 22 centuries preceding the 19th Century, they were unable to conquer Vietnam. The Vietnamese people quickly developed a deep consciousness of their independence, a strong love of their country and homes, an unshakeable will, close unity and harmony from top to bottom; the entire country was one and bravely fought against foreign aggression; when one generation failed to drive off the enemy, the next generation continued the fight and fought until "the enemy had been routed and could not raise an army in 10,000 years..."(1), "fought for history to record that the heroic South was independent."(2) As a result, the history of Vietnam has been the history of the continuous fight against foreign aggression by a tenacious, unyielding people whose only desire is to live in peace in order to build an independent and free country and friendship with other nations.



All of these facts are recorded in history books.

However, none of these facts are pleasing to the supporters of big-country expansionism and hegemony in Beijing. While not denying that China waged wars of aggression against Vietnam, they have had no choice but to say that they were regrettable. However, they have also intentionally given everyone the mistaken impression that these wars were nothing more than sporadic and accidental: "In the course of development of Sino-Viet relations, regrettable incidents have occurred, including aggression against Vietnam by a few feudal dynasties of China." (3) Why do they say this? It must be repeated that history clearly records that all Chinese feudal dynasties, with the exception of none, from the Tan, Han, Ngo, Tan, Luong, Tuy, Duong and Nam Han to the Tong, Nguyen, Minh and Thanh Dynasties, committed aggression against Vietnam. The Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, proclaiming themselves to be "taking the proletarian international stand," have denounced the unjust wars waged by Chinese feudal rulers against neighboring countries but why must they artfully conceal the scheme, the unsatisfied "great ambition" that were common to all Chinese emperors, namely, to annex Vietnam in order to continue expanding into the South? Why do they not agree with Hoa Khon, the person who reported the following to King Kien Long of the House of Thanh following the defeat of Ton Si Nghi in Vietnam: "Ever since it began, China has never been able to achieve its ambition in the South. The Tong, Nguyen and Minh ultimately met with defeat. This is a clear indication of things to come"!

Moreover, the supporters of big country expansionism and hegemony in Beijing have also played the game of "tit for tat" and slandered Vietnam as an aggressor. They say: the Chinese feudalists committed aggression against Vietnam but the Vietnamese feudalists also committed aggression against China.

This is truly a brazen distortion of fact.

History clearly records the truth! In the relationships between Vietnam and China for more than 2 dozen centuries, the only wars were the wars of aggression waged by one Chinese feudal lord after another against Vietnam; never once did a Vietnamese feudal lord wage a war of aggression against China.

As proof of the so called "Vietnamese aggression against China," the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists cite but one event that occurred in 1075, the attack by Le Thuong Kiet against the Tong army in the provinces of Kham, Ung and Lien.

What actually happened?

The House of Tong's (960-1279) first war of aggression against Vietnam (981) met with defeat; in the 11th Century, they again decided to wage another war of aggression against Vietnam. Vuong An Thach, the prime minister of Tong Than Tong, figured: "When our army (that is, the Tong army) destroys Giao Chi (that is, Vietnam) we will gain prestige. Then, we shall report to Thien Tay that the army and people of Thien Tay are on the momentum of victory. On the momentum, we

will easily win a victory over the country of Ha..."(4) They made thorough preparations for this war of aggression against Vietnam. Military bases and rear bases used as staging areas for the aggressor armies were constructed close to the border, like so many knives pointing directly at the body of Vietnam. As the minister of war, Le Thuong Kiet could not sit idly by and wait for the enemy to crush his country; instead, he immediately organized a large attack on the land of the Tong, destroyed the enemy's bases of aggression and then rapidly returned to defend the country. The successful attack on Ung Province, the major staging area of the aggressor army, before they could launch an attack was nothing more than an act of positive self-defense. It was an integral part and the first stage of the war of resistance against the Tong aggressor army (prior to April, 1076), which created favorable conditions for the army and people of Vietnam to take the initiative and defeat the Tong aggressor army in the next stage of the war on the Cau River defense line (which began in late 1076). How can this attack by Ly Thuong Kiet be called a war of aggression against China? When the Mong That army advanced southward to intimidate both the House of Tong and Vietnam, the House of Tong, being in imminent danger, had to direct its efforts toward the front to resist Hot Tat Liet; the cavalry of Mong That swept into the provinces of Ung and Quang while the enemy in the South arose and swept across the Vietnam border. The king of the House of Tran in Vietnam then sent troops to pursue and annihilate the enemy in order to help the Tong restore order and security in its rear area; he then turned this area back over to the army of the Imperial Court of the House of Tong, which had come down to take over its management. It is even less plausible to call this a case of "Vietnamese feudalists committing aggression against China"!

The supporters of big country expansionism and hegemonism in Beijing are also extremely aggravated by the teaching of national traditions, especially the patriotic tradition of resisting foreign aggression in Vietnam. They cannot stand it when Vietnam holds ceremonies to commemorate the glorious victories won against foreign aggressors, when the press, literature and art of Vietnam praise examples in the history of Vietnam of persons bravely fighting foreign aggression with no thought for themselves, when persons who symbolize the spirit and will of the nation of Vietnam, such as Ly Thuong Kiet, are respected by Vietnam as national heroes. Is this not very strange?

They, themselves, recently remarked that in April, 1966, a high ranking leader of theirs advised Vietnam: "Why has Vietnam recently been making such a propaganda fuss about past history, about the period when Chinese feudalists invaded and occupied Vietnam... Now, the basic issue is fighting the imperialists!" According to them, this was "anti-Chinese," was "using the past to discredit the present," "creating a historical basis for lies about the so called Chinese threat," etc.

Are presumptuous of them! Who gave them the right to intervene in the internal affairs of Vietnam, to prohibit Vietnam from reviewing the glorious tradition of the nation and using it as a source of spiritual motivation in resisting the war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists that was spreading throughout Vietnam?

They knew the circumstances of Vietnam at that time better than anyone else: they had given the green light to the United States to directly commit aggression against Vietnam when they said "Don't touch us and we won't touch you." They refused to implement the secret military treaty between Vietnam and China on sending pilots to help Vietnam protect Hanoi. They undermined every united action supporting Vietnam against the U.S. aggressors. They posed very large difficulties to the transportation of aid goods from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries being trans-shipped through China to Vietnam. They sought ways to "adjust" aid in order to limit Vietnam's ability to launch a large-scale attack. They schemed to undermine the united front of the peoples of the three countries of Indochina and so forth. Amidst these circumstances, it was even more necessary for Vietnam to display the strength of Thanh Giong, to more strongly uphold its patriotic tradition of resisting foreign aggression and follow the teaching of President Ho: "Our people possess ardent patriotism. This is a precious tradition of ours. Since antiquity, every time the fatherland has been invaded, this spirit has become intense and formed an extremely strong and large wave that has overcome every danger and difficulty and drowned all traitors and country-robbers."(5)

Vietnam's patriotic tradition of resisting foreign aggression is an inexhaustible storehouse, one that we must continue to exploit, not one about which too much has been said. This tradition has indeed involved China, but it was the China of the feudal lords, not of the Chinese people. The feudal lords would pass but the people would go on forever (despite this, whenever referring to this matter, Vietnamese books and newspapers of the time were careful to use the words "aggression from the North" in order to avoid flatly stating "aggression by China"). If, in fact, they "are determined to take the side of nations that are the victims of aggression and oppression," as manifested in Chou En Lai's "laying a wreath at the Temple of the Trung Sisters in Hanoi--the Trung Sisters' uprising was launched by these two Vietnamese women at the mouth of the Hat River in Me Linh against the national oppression by the Han, not "launched by Chinese and Vietnamese ancestors together" as they incorrectly maintain--why do they writhe like a leech covered with lime whenever they see Vietnam teaching its national traditions, especially the patriotic tradition in our history of resisting foreign aggression? Why do they become angry when they hear the words "aggression from the North"?

There can only be one answer: a sore spot has been touched because they, too, are supporters of big country expansionism and hegemonism just as the bygone emperors of China were. Did not Mao Zedong say: "It is natural for us to continue the cause of the Chinese emperors" and "We must conquer Southeast Asia, including all of South Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and Singapore... After conquering Southeast Asia, we can increase our strength in this region and then we will have the power to contend with the Soviet-East European bloc, then the wind will blow from the East to the West"?

As big country expansionists and hegemonists who are, therefore, unwilling to sever themselves from the history of aggression and expansion of the former rulers of China, they still have the old habit of considering Vietnam and the small,

neighboring countries to be vassal countries of theirs, as seen in the concept expressed by Mao Tse-tung in his book "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," which was written in 1939 and reprinted in June, 1949 by the New China Bookstore (Duc Nam): "After defeating China, the imperialists occupied the vassal countries of China: Japan occupied Korea, Taiwan, Luu Cau, the Banh Ho Islands and Luu Thuan. Great Britain occupied Burma, Butan and Hong Kong. France occupied An Nam." In the relations between the two countries of Vietnam and China, they have sought, by every intricate means imaginable, to bring Vietnam into their orb, to make Vietnam their "vassal state," their "buffer" as they did in the past, to make Vietnam "lend them the road" for advancing into Southeast Asia.

However, the people of Vietnam, imbued with the truth "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" and for the sake of the vital interests of the nation, for the sake of socialism and world peace, refuse to follow their orders. They immediately imitated the Chinese emperors who attacked Vietnam in ancient times by issuing an edict (much like the one issued by Emperor Tong: "...Should not people go back with you? It is an insult to not be received graciously. We are preparing our horses, chariots and troops and preparing our gongs and drums. If you submit, we will let you go; if you disobey our order, we are determined to attack.") that they would "teach Vietnam a lesson." And, following the traditional strategy of the Chinese emperors, they attacked Vietnam from both the south and the north. But the results on both fronts were tragic for them. The three countries of Indochina aligned themselves even more closely together. The truth about Sino-Viet relations over the past 30 years has also been widely publicized by Vietnam. They are just like a leech with two suckers, both of which are covered with lime, thus giving an appearance that is both tragic and comical: they talk at great lengths about the good they have done and express sadness over the state of Sino-Viet relations so that they can then make a great fuss about Vietnam undermining Sino-Viet friendship. How do they view Sino-Viet friendship? They do not view it as genuine friendship but as "friendship" within their clutches.

Vietnam and China are two close neighbors and the peoples of our two countries have a long standing tradition of friendship. In the struggle against imperialism, the peoples of the two countries have always been close to each other, have always helped and encouraged one another for the sake of the interests of the revolution of the people of each country. The Vietnamese value this friendship very much and always want to maintain and strengthen it. Since antiquity, the Vietnamese have stood ready to take in Chinese fleeing tragedies in their country; "Minh Huong," "Thanh Hong," the overseas Chinese that have happily lived in Vietnam for generations, have taken Vietnamese citizenship and so forth are eloquent proof of this. Even during the wars of aggression waged by the Chinese lords against Vietnam, the people of Vietnam alertly distinguished between the persons who started the war and the Chinese people who were pushed into war, "the innocent people who have been dying year after year at the places where fighting has occurred, the precious pearls trampled upon year after year"(6) who still struggled for a quick end to the war "so that the two countries could avoid the suffering of the past, so that their country (the country of the Minh) could avoid being the only country armed in peace time"(7), released hundreds of thousands of prisoners and provided them with the means to travel back to their country, thus



bringing happiness to the soldiers of both countries. When Vietnam won its independence and then the People's Republic of China was established, when even better opportunities existed for more strongly developing the friendship between the two countries, the Vietnamese valued this militant, fraternal friendship even more and continued to coordinate with the Chinese people in their revolutionary struggle, never infringing upon the independence, sovereignty or territory of the Chinese, never intervening in the internal affairs of China. Amidst very difficult circumstances, the people of China dedicated some of their labor to help the Vietnamese in the wars of resistance against France and the United States and helped build the country; this is something that, regardless of the situation, the Vietnamese will never forget, even though we know that this help was mutual help, was reciprocal. Even in the present, when the leaders of China have committed aggression against Vietnam, have occupied the Paracel Islands of Vietnam, are always engaging in provocation along the border, threatening to "teach Vietnam another lesson," to "inflict a permanent wound upon Vietnam" and are ambitious of undermining the traditional friendship between the peoples of the two countries, the Vietnamese still are grateful for the help received in past years from the Chinese people and are very hopeful that genuine friendship between the peoples of the two countries will quickly be restored.

The "friendship" in word only of the big country expansionists and hegemonists in Beijing is, in actuality, designed to tie Vietnam to China, to force Vietnam to bow before them, is contrary to the interests of the peoples of the two countries and the revolutionary movement in the world and is not needed by Vietnam. Considering "friendship" with Vietnam to be nothing more than a favor done by China for Vietnam, the expansionists and hegemonists in Beijing have said, without thinking, that Vietnam is Chinese soil, that the first king of Vietnam was Chinese, etc!(8) Even today, they continue to think the same old way, saying that countless production techniques, from farming techniques to the techniques of ceramic production, casting, sericulture, architecture and so forth were handed down by the Chinese to the Vietnamese. They act as though they do not know that Vietnam had the Lac agriculture, which involved a rather high level of intensive cultivation and two rice crops per year; that Vietnam had an ancient pottery trade that employed potter's wheels and reached a brilliant stage of development in the time of the Hung Kings; that Vietnam had iron implements besides the copper spearheads found at the foot of the Co Loa Fortress of the Au Lac period. They act as though they do not know that the Chinese books "Hau han thu" and "Thuy kinh chu" record that "Ma Vien...was subsequently cast on the Lac-Viet bronze drums in Giao Chi in the image of a horse and given as a present to the king." They act as though they do not know that there were drawings of houses with arched roofs on the famous Dong Son bronze drums. In summary, they consider Vietnam to be uncivilized, to be the "southern barbarians" waiting for the Chinese lords to enlighten them! Following the same line of big country thinking, they have used aid for Vietnam as both a "carrot" and a "stick," depending upon their political needs at the particular time and used Vietnam as a chip in their bargaining with the United States, sometimes encouraging Vietnam to "wage a protracted struggle," sometimes preventing Vietnam from launching large-scale attacks and sometimes



telling Vietnam not to be too hasty to negotiate with the United States; after the Paris Agreement was signed, they asked Vietnam to stop fighting for "one-half year, one year, one year and a half or two years," "five or ten years would be even better," so that the "United States would not suffer a defeat in Vietnam." What kind of "friendship" is this? The spy Le Xuan Thanh, who was captured on 30 March 1973, revealed that a top secret document of the Central Military Commission of the Chinese Communist Party stated:

"...Our country and the Vietnamese have had a national hatred for each other for thousands of years.

...We cannot consider them to be genuine comrades of ours or turn over all our liquid capital to them. To the contrary, we have had to look for every way to put their country into a position in which it is neither strong nor weak in order to put them into the position that they are in now.

...On the outside, we have dealt with them as our comrades but, in spirit, we must prepare for them to become our enemy."

So, this is the "friendship" advocated by the supporters of big country expansionism and hegemony in Beijing! Yet they, feigning regret, say that Sino-Viet friendship was ruined because Vietnam was ungrateful, because Vietnam took the side of the Soviet Union, opposed China and practices regional hegemony, so that they can provoke the people of China into joining them in opposing Vietnam, in "punishing Vietnam."

One fact is that circumstances changed long ago. Their deceptive tricks have been increasingly exposed within China itself. Their betrayal by collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and sacrificing the interests of the Chinese people has been exposed more with each passing day. What is good for them is totally contrary to that which is good for the people. The Chinese people surely will not be deceived forever. The genuine friendship between the peoples of Vietnam and China will surely be restored and developed.

History is a large mirror on life. It is futile to try to conceal, distort and change history!

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Truong Han Sieu's Phu Song Bach dang.
2. Words spoken by Quang Trung while visiting his generals in Thanh Hoa when going to fight the Man Thanh aggressor army.
3. Excerpt from an article entitled "The Truth About Sino-Vietnamese Relations" printed in the Chinese journal INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, No 2 (1 October 1981) and printed in excerpt form in BAC KINH CHU BAO, Nos 41, 42 and 43. All passages within quotations that are not footnoted are taken from this document.

4. Le Dao: "Tuc tu tri thong gian truong bien," by Dam Chung Lan, Book 276, pp 2b-3a. Taken from "the History of Vietnam," Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume I, p 171.
5. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap, tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi," [For Independence, Freedom and Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 116.
6. Nguyen Trai: "Quan trung tu menh tap," History Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, p 40.
7. Ibid., p 45.
8. Quang Duy Cuong: "Su thay doi cua moi tinh Trung-Viet," [The Changes in Sino-Viet Relations], THE NEW INTELLECTUAL (Beijing), 28 July 1978.

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## POLAND, A DECISIVE ATTACK AGAINST THE REACTIONARY POWERS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 82 pp 65-70

[Article by Thanh Tin]

[Text] The revolutionaries and progressive people of the world have been attentively following the latest developments of the Polish situation with profound joy.

The Military Council for National Salvation was established in accordance with a decision by the Polish Council of State in order to take urgent revolutionary measures to prevent a bloody civil war caused by the reactionary lackeys of imperialism. The Military Council for National Salvation declared martial law throughout the country at zero hour on 13 December 1981 and took a number of measures to stop and punish the acts of sabotage, disruption and provocation by the reactionaries, especially the counter-revolutionaries at the head of the Solidarity Trade Union.

The situation in Poland has gradually stabilized, following more than 17 months of economic and social stagnation and chaos. The revolutionary forces in Poland have brought about a turning point of decisive significance in protecting the accomplishments of the revolution and leading the country in restoring the economy, strengthening social order and security and continuing down the path of socialist development.

### Imperialism's Malicious Counter-Attack

In the face of the latest events in Poland, the imperialists have been very alarmed and bitter; U.S. President Reagan and his close advisors in the White House have expressed particular indignation over the defeats of their reactionary lackeys in Poland. This is because Poland is one of the key targets for the counter-attack by the Reagan administration to undermine the socialist system and push back the three revolutionary currents in the world today.

For 4 or 5 years, the ringleaders of the imperialists have considered socialist Poland to be the weakest element in the socialist system, to be a place where they could carry out their scheme for peaceful change.

They flung themselves into opposing and undermining socialist Poland with all the insanity of anti-revolutionaries, anti-Soviets and anti-socialists and with the most malicious sense of class revenge. All counter-revolutionary "gray matter," the most powerful bosses of the CIA and the fathers of U.S. psychological warfare were sent to Poland and the areas around Poland in order to make the political situation in Poland more chaotic and cause a further decline in the economic situation in accordance with the guideline set forth by Washington: "The worse the situation is, the better." Tens of millions of dollars have been dispersed to dozens of radio stations, such as Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe and Voice of America Radio, dozens of satellite fed television stations and hundreds of newspapers, journals and centers printing and distributing leaflets in order to provoke the mass of workers in Poland to stage strikes, commit sabotage and oppose the socialist state and system in Poland. In August, 1980, the imperialist ringleaders in Washington rejoiced over the fact that they had brought Poland within the desired orb: the political situation was becoming more chaotic with each passing day, order and security were deteriorating, the economy had stagnated and the reactionary leaders of Solidarity were acting at will.

In early 1981, after Reagan entered the White House and established the bellicose foreign line and policy of the U.S. administration for the next 4 years, a basic element of which is opposing the Soviet Union and undermining the socialist system, the counter-revolutionary activities in Poland were intensified to an insane degree.

In early December, 1981, domestic reactionaries as well as reactionaries overseas maintained that the situation had ripened to the point where they could raise the matter of directly seizing power and completing their insidious plan of removing Poland from the socialist system and returning it to capitalism. They had both the intention and a plan to hang tens of thousands of genuine communists and terrorize law-abiding citizens under a program of the most insane class revenge. They arrogantly stated that in order to win complete victory for their counter-revolutionary cause, they were ready to submerge Poland in the blood of a civil war.

The imperialist powers in Washington no doubt felt that they faced a decisive opportunity in Poland. They thirsted for a victory in their plan to counter-attack the three revolutionary currents following towering defeats at home and abroad. They were elated that, this time, the socialist community would be smashed from within, thereby starting the process of the collapse of the world socialist system.

Clearly, the Polish gamble by the imperialists and the reactionaries has been a major gamble, one involving international and epochal plots, designed to reverse their extremely disadvantageous position and restore their power.

When a scheme is sinister, the tragedy that ensues is profound. On 13 December 1981, the Polish revolution dealt an appropriate blow to the imperialists and reactionaries, won a decisive victory and completely changed the situation, thereby

ensuring in a new period so that the communists and people of Poland can consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, totally defeat the insidious scheme of reactionaries at home and abroad, maintain the accomplishments of the revolution and continue to develop along the inevitably victorious path of scientific socialism.

The spearhead of the strategically significant counter-attack by imperialism and the reactionary powers was defeated by the revolutionary forces, the army, the security forces and the people of Poland.

They Do Not Know the Meaning of the Word Surprise!

The counter-revolutionaries in Poland as well as their bosses in Washington and the sinister powers supporting them overseas were taken completely by surprise. They were surprised by the timing of the revolutionary measures taken to suppress the counter-revolutionaries. The counter-revolutionaries were convinced that, on 15 and 16 December 1981, the Polish National Assembly would meet to ratify a law prohibiting strikes and give the government special powers to suppress the counter-revolutionaries; they were going to immediately call a general strike throughout the nation on 17 December 1981 and then stage an uprising to seize political power, despite the fact that a bloody civil war might occur. Throughout the week preceding 13 December, the government played over the radio tape recordings of the meeting held by the counter-revolutionary leaders in Radom, recordings which revealed to the people their fully criminal and despicable nature and which caused the majority of the people to feel very upset and call for the punishment of the criminals; some persons who had been deceived by the counter-revolutionaries began to wake up to reality. The decision by the Military Council for National Salvation to take determined steps to block the reactionaries on zero hour on 13 December 1981, that is, after their entire criminal scheme had been exposed and revealed and before they took action, was a very wise decision.

Being very subjective, the counter-revolutionaries did not consider the possibility that the revolution would forthrightly punish them under state law by means of the most decisive measures of dictatorship. They rejoiced at the fact that the government had been retreating since August, 1980, and thought that it would have to continue to retreat. Because the revolution had carried out a number of large-scale organization efforts in strict secrecy, the reactionaries, spies and espionage agents were unable to dampen, even by a little, the harsh blow that was about to fall upon their heads.

The counter-revolutionaries were convinced that they controlled the majority of the working people, especially in the industrial centers and the large rural areas, and would control them permanently. They had a vast network of personnel, which had plans and slogans for provoking the people into opposing the government. They did not suspect that after the tape recordings of the meetings they held in Radom were widely broadcast over the radio, the majority of the people would begin to denounce them, to oppose their scheme and support the necessary measures taken by the state. The revolution turned public opinion around and created an opportunity for strong actions by the state to punish the rebels.



The Polish counter-revolutionaries had too high an evaluation of their forces. They bragged that they had established strong activist forces that were tightly organized, had an appropriate plan of action, were tested in challenges and were experienced, consequently, when the government cracked down, they would immediately and successfully retaliate. However, at zero hour on 13 December 1981, the reactionary leaders were put in handcuffs and communications among them were cut; many reactionaries in the localities surrendered to state agencies and a number of persons who had mistakes began to repent. They only offered scattered resistance at a few places in the two regions of Gdansk and Silesia but this opposition was crushed. Their power has rapidly declined.

The Polish counter-revolutionaries and their bosses did not suspect that the tools of dictatorship used against them would be the people's army and the security forces of Poland. They had frequently boasted that their huge psychological warfare apparatus had paralyzed the morale and will and broken the organization of these tools; they were convinced that they would be successful in rendering the army and the security agency of the state ineffective. They rigidly thought that if forces suppressed them, these forces could only be units of the Soviet army and the armies of the Warsaw Pact. For this reason, for more than 1 year, dozens of U.S. spy satellites, AWACS reconnaissance planes and their rather large espionage and spy system in Europe only paid attention to the status of the Soviet army and the armies of the countries participating in the Warsaw Pact. The diplomatic response of the Reagan administration was also only prepared on the basis of this single possibility. This tremendous surprise explains why U.S. President Reagan did not react until more than 2 weeks later by taking brazen, completely ineffective measures to "punish the Soviet Union" by suspending trade, aviation and maritime relations between the two countries, thereby inflicting heavy losses upon U.S. businessmen; these measures were not supported by the "allies" of the United States and have tragically isolated the United States.

#### The Art of Skillful Action

Since 13 December, the Polish revolution has performed a large volume of political, ideological, military, security, administrative, economic and other work; however, the vital work that opened the way for the change that has occurred has been military work. Basically, this has been a very decisive, emergency military action carried out under the personal leadership and command of the Military Council for National Salvation, the chairman of which is Senior General Jaruzelski, the first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of national defense. The Military Council for National Salvation, which consists of 15 generals and 5 senior colonels and lieutenant colonels, acting under the leadership and command of Senior General Jaruzelski, carried out the rather enormous amount of ideological and organizational work involving the units participating in the suppression of the counter-revolutionaries in an urgent and highly effective manner and in absolute secrecy. Staff planning activities were very detailed and precise. Command activities were carried out in an urgent and decisive manner. Many members of the Military Council for National Salvation were appointed to vital positions in the various ministries and

sectors, the key regions and the important localities and given clear authority; they performed their work very successfully and, together with the state apparatus, have resolutely punished the reactionaries, maintained social order and security and rapidly restored a normal life of work. Many factories have again achieved rather high productivity. The supply of grain and food is more regular. The military courts have been working in an urgent and strict manner. The prison system has been very humane toward prisoners. The Polish Ministry of Interior has reported that about 5,000 persons have been arrested nationwide; meanwhile, the psychological warfare loudspeakers of the imperialist countries have proclaimed that hundreds of thousands of persons have been thrown into prison in Poland!

The units of the Polish army and security force completed their task in a very excellent fashion. Nearly all reactionary ringleaders were systematically apprehended; the reactionary powers have lost their leadership and are frightened. Their liaison system has been shattered. Stubborn reactionaries have been harshly punished. The state has adopted a policy of clemency toward persons who chose the wrong path and repent. While directing the thrust of its efforts toward the reactionary lackeys of imperialism, the Military Council for National Salvation has adopted a flexible attitude toward the church; at the same time, it has adapted the policy of prosecuting under the law former leaders of the party and state who made serious mistakes and persons who have become deviant. Their mistakes and loss of revolutionary qualities created the conditions for the counter-revolutionaries to act at will, to provoke the people and sabotage economic and social life. This policy proves that the Military Council for National Salvation has a high spirit of responsibility, is very faithful and devoted and is absolutely loyal to the interests of the people; as a result, it has won the sympathy and confidence of the people. The changes that have taken place in the Polish situation since 13 December 1981 show that the Military Council for National Salvation created and made full use of an opportunity to rapidly change the situation from one of stagnation to one of initiative, from one of a defensive posture, surrenders and retreat to a position of an unrelenting, strong and continuous attack, thereby firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, crushing the resistance of the reactionaries, maintaining the socialist system and protecting the free life of the people.

#### 1. Number of Useful Lessons

The Polish situation is returning to normalcy and stability. However, many difficulties still exist. The more than 17 months of willful destruction by the reactionaries in every aspect of economic and social life left behind serious consequences that will require time to overcome. Obstinate enemies at home and abroad have not abandoned their ambition of opposing and undermining the Polish revolution. The Reagan administration has decided to suspend aid and prohibit the shipment of American grain, food and goods to Poland with a view toward generating pressure in a crude manner. The psychological warfare apparatus of the U.S. imperialists and the neo-fascists in West Germany has been extremely agitated and distorting the truth; through slander, they have vainly tried to discredit the Military Council for National Salvation in Poland.

However, the present Polish situation cannot be reversed. Through personal experience, the Polish people have come to clearly see the decadent, malicious and anti-popular nature of the reactionaries within Solidarity and the other reactionary organizations and have come to increasingly understand that dictatorship over them is very necessary in order to protect the safe life of the people, protect the socialist democracy. Every vague understanding of and attitude of concession toward them led to major losses for society, to the danger of the destruction of the revolutionary accomplishments that the people of Poland worked so hard and shed so much blood to achieve.

According to reports that have been received, following the complex developments of the recent past, the Polish United Workers Party is being consolidated in order to truly be a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, the vanguard unit of the Polish working class and worthy of its historic role of leading the socialist revolution and socialist construction in Poland. Within the party there will be no room for persons who have degenerated or become deviant, for persons who have vague attitudes or waver, for persons who are not steadfast, for persons who confuse the revolution and counter-revolution or for the disciples of opportunism. The party will forever be a united bloc and not allow class enemies to monopolize, divide or undermine it.

Economically, the imperialists established an entire program to make very large loans to Poland and, on this basis, controlled the economy and gradually controlled Poland politically. In the recent past, the imperialist countries have taken advantage of Poland's 27 billion dollars indebtedness to them, a very large amount of which must be repaid in 1981, to create the conditions, both overt and indirect, to force the agencies of the Polish state to allow Polish reactionaries to act at will under the requirement of "respecting the broad democratic rights of each citizen so that different political tendencies can coexist"!

As regards ideological activities, Poland is undergoing very necessary and urgent reorganization to defeat the very malicious psychological warfare schemes of the imperialists and domestic reactionaries and trying to achieve a high degree of ideological and spiritual unanimity within society based on Marxism-Leninism. The issues of bourgeois democracy and socialist democracy are being illuminated among the classes of workers and farmers and among the circles of intellectuals, writers and artists. The Polish comrades have gained profound experience concerning the need to clearly inform the people of the country's situation, both its achievements as well as its difficulties, to explain their causes as well as the measures for developing upon the achievements and overcoming the difficulties of the country... They are spiritually preparing the working people to attack their work with high productivity in order to bring prosperity back to the country and bring happiness back to themselves while preventing mistaken tendencies to pursue the consumer style society of western capitalism.

The recent Polish situation has pointed out to everyone that, in the course of building socialism, it is necessary to fully and creatively apply the laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in order to resolve, once and for

all, the question of "who defeats whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism in the areas of politics, economics, ideology and culture. At the same time, it is necessary to strictly comply with the Leninist principles of internal party life in order to build a party that is ideologically stable and strong and organizationally pure.

We believe that, when the difficulties and complications of the situation have been overcome, the Polish revolution will undergo a new stage of development and be worthy of being an important element of the world socialist system, a dependable part of the Warsaw Pact.

All communists and progressive persons in the world celebrate the changes that have occurred in Poland over the past 2 months. In actuality, a broad front has been formed that strongly supports the necessary measures taken by the Military Council for National Salvation to prevent a bloody civil war and return Poland to a free life of work in order and security and in accordance with the socialist law and Constitution. World opinion is exposing the fact that the bloody hands of the imperialists have been involved in Poland for several years and demanding that they end their intervention and respect the sacred right of self-determination of the Polish people.

The communists and people of Vietnam, who are thoroughly educated in proletarian internationalism, have been very attentively following the developments of the Polish situation for the past year and a half.

We are proud to be in the ranks of those who strongly support the communists and people of Poland, who promptly exposed and denounced the imperialists and reactionaries as the enemies of the Polish people. We resolutely support the necessary measures that the Military Council for National Salvation of Poland has taken and is taking. We are very happy to see that the Polish communists firmly grasped the effective weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, punished the reactionaries for their crimes, reversed the situation, took the initiative and are continuing to attack class enemies until total victory is won.

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