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TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 6, 1979



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

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MAKE GOOD PREPARATIONS FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF THE THREE MAJOR ANNIVERSARIES
IN 1980

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 79
pp 1-8 EK

[Editorial--passages in single slantline are printed in boldface]

[Text] In 1980 there will be three ~~major~~ anniversaries: the 50th founding anniversary of the Vietnamese Communist Party (3 February 1930-1980), great President Ho Chi Minh's 90th birthday (19 May 1890-1980) and the 35th founding anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV-2 September 1945-1980), now the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV).

The party Central Committee Political Bureau has already issued a resolution on the commemoration of these three major anniversaries.

These major anniversaries mark the important political events of all our party, people and army.

The great victories that our people have won in the past half century or so are closely associated with the birth and activities of our party and with the shining fame and undertakings of President Ho.

Our party has gone through a long, difficult and dangerous yet glorious revolutionary struggle. Born out of a small group when it was just founded and was operating clandestinely, our party has now become a party of a broad mass nature, comprising 1.5 million members and a stable organizational system throughout the country. The party has led our working class and people to victoriously carry out the national democratic revolution, has become a ruling party throughout the country and is leading our people to build socialism and defend the socialist fatherland.

The history of our party and nation in the past half century is a history of extremely glorious struggle in our country.

At a time when our country was striving hard under the shackles of colonialism, our party, headed by President Ho, was founded. As a product

of the combination of Marxism-Leninism with the Vietnam workers movement and the patriotic movement in the revolutionary era of the proletariat, our party, inspired by the truth of the era, led our people to rise up for national salvation. Profoundly imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology, our party, upholding the banners of national independence and socialism, led our people to stage one of the most profound, radical and fierce revolutions of our era. Our party led the three revolutionary upsurges (footnote: the 1930-31 Soviet-Nghe Tinh upsurge, the 1936-39 democratic front upsurge and the 1940-45 Viet Minh front upsurge) which brought about the victory of the August Revolution and won the administration over to our people, founding the DRV, the first people's democratic state in Southeast Asia. The August Revolution was a great stride marking an extremely great change in our nation's 4,000-year history. It smashed the oppressive shackles of the century-long colonialist regime, abolished the thousand-year long feudalistic domination and started a period of the most glorious uprising in our national history. The August Revolution awakened and encouraged the nations enslaved by colonialism to rise up, fight and liberate themselves.

Developing the glorious traditions of the August Revolution, the party has led our people to defeat one aggressor after another and to victoriously carry out two revolutions: the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Our people have fought the aggressors while struggling against internal enemies and have fulfilled both national duties and international obligations.

With the victorious resistance struggle against the French imperialists, the Vietnamese people were the first to defeat old colonialism and to trigger the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. With the victorious anti-U.S. resistance struggle, the Vietnamese people were again the first to defeat neocolonialism and to signal its inevitable collapse throughout the world. Our people's total and complete victory in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance struggle was praised by the whole progressive mankind as an immortal armed exploit. This great victory has brought our people up on a par with the vanguard nations struggling for mankind's lofty ideals and has contributed to actively accelerating the three revolutionary currents in the world.

Shortly after the end of our anti-U.S. war of resistance, in order to carry out its expansionist and big-nation hegemonistic scheme, the reactionary Chinese ruling clique began to use the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime to wage a war of aggression against our country in the southeast. Early this year, it directly launched another war of aggression against our country from the north. However, with a steel-like will to defend the fatherland's independence and freedom and by employing its correct and creative policy in combining the national strength with the epochal strength, the party has led our people in defeating the Chinese reactionaries' war of aggression.

Our party has encountered many difficulties and ordeals not only in the liberation and defense of the country but also in the socialist transformation and construction process. We have carried out the socialist revolution, which is in fact a difficult and complex undertaking, at a time when the country is advancing from a small-scale production and the people have just gone through many years of both construction and struggle against the aggressors, as well as at a time when the south has just emerged from a new-type of U.S. colony. However, with its revolutionary and scientific nature and its absolute loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and with firm confidence in the invincible strength and creative skills of the masses, the party has led our people in overcoming all difficulties and ordeals, thereby enabling the socialist construction process to advance gradually and steadily throughout the country.

Forged and tested by the revolutionary storm and through several decades of struggle against many types of cruel enemies to regain and firmly maintain the country's administration, improve the old society and shape a new society, and defend the beloved fatherland, our party is worthy of its role as the vanguard contingent of the Vietnamese working class and the loyal representative to protect the interests of the working class, the laboring people and the nation. It has also become a genuine Marxist-Leninist party and a stalwart contingent of the international communist movement.

The success of the Vietnamese revolution is the brilliant success of Marxism-Leninism which our party has creatively applied to the situation in Vietnam, a backward agricultural country and a former semi-feudal colony. With the achievements recorded by the Vietnamese revolution, our party has made valuable contributions to further enriching the dialectic treasure of Marxism-Leninism.

Compared with the nation's 4,000-year history, 50 years is just a short period of time. However, for the past 50 years under the party's correct leadership, our people have developed to a high degree their heroic and revolutionary nature and wisdom and have written the most glorious pages in the nation's golden book of history.

The brilliant pages of history recorded by the Vietnamese revolution over the past half a century will always remain closely linked with the name of President Ho Chi Minh, our party's founder and trainer and a gifted leader of our working class and people as well as a great national hero and outstanding fighter of the international communist movement. Throughout his life, President Ho devoted himself to the liberation of our people and the unification of our fatherland as well as to the cause of our party and nation and the noble and fine ideals of socialism and communism. His achievements have glorified our country and left behind immortal heritages for us and for future generations. Proud of our party, people and country, and with boundless gratitude to beloved and respectable President Ho, let us prepare for the observance of the three major anniversaries in such a way as to make them worthy with the history of the party's 50 years of

glorious struggle, with the national growth like that during the Phu Dong [a legendary Vietnamese hero] era, and with Uncle Ho's great revolutionary life.

We are preparing to commemorate the three major anniversaries of our party, working class and people in the new historic conditions.

No sooner had the southern part of our country been totally liberated and our country looked forward to a bright future, the reactionaries within the Beijing ruling circles promptly exposed their sinister schemes. They have considered the stability and strength of the Vietnamese revolution and the prosperity of an independent and unified Vietnam as big obstacles to their plots of big-nation expansion and hegemony against Southeast Asia. They have colluded with imperialism and other reactionary forces to frenziedly oppose and sabotage our revolution. Most seriously was that on 17 February 1979, the Chinese ruling clique arrogantly waged a war of aggression against our country. Heavily defeated both militarily and politically, it was forced to withdraw its troops home. However, with their big-nation expansionist plot against Indochina and Southeast Asia, the reactionaries within the Beijing ruling circles have continued to intensively increase their military activities and to mass more than half a million troops close to our country's border, threatening to invade and annex our country.

Our nation once again faces a new historic ordeal. The primary and general mission of our revolution is to: fully mobilize patriotism, love of socialism, the traditional solidarity against foreign aggression and the self-reliant spirit of all our party, people and army; firmly grasp the dictatorship of the proletariat; develop the laboring people's right to socialist collective mastery; defeat all of the reactionary Chinese ruling clique's plots of aggression against our country; and continue to vigorously accelerate socialist construction throughout the country.

In the present stage, our people's historic mission is to defeat all the plots of aggression and sabotage by the big-nation expansionism and hegemony of China seeking to oppose and undermine the Vietnamese revolution. Only by fulfilling this historic mission can our people protect national independence, quickly, vigorously and steadily advance the entire country toward socialism, and contribute to promoting the development of the world revolution and to protecting the clarity of Marxism-Leninism.

Therefore, the most important requirement of the preparatory drive to commemorate these anniversaries is to /conduct a political education campaign in width and depth among/ all the party, people and army in order to make every person /fully aware of the new situation and tasks, and the reactionary nature of the Chinese and their cruel designs against our country/. Through this campaign, we will profoundly educate the people on the conception of /"nothing is more precious than independence and freedom,"/ enhance their patriotism and love of socialism,

sharpen their revolutionary vigilance and determination to fight and win, and tighten the unity of millions of people around the party Central Committee in order to resolutely defeat all the Chinese reactionaries' plots of aggression and sabotage and to firmly defend the beloved SRV homeland. At the same time, we must overcome all difficulties and ordeals and continue to vigorously accelerate socialist construction so as to remain worthy of the glorious and heroic struggle traditions of our party and nation.

Since we entered the new stage a few years ago, our people's revolution has /won new great victories/. The founding of the SRV was a great achievement of the revolution in our country following nearly half a century of struggle. It marked a new era for our nation: the era of independence, unification and socialism which opens unprecedentedly fine prospects for the development of our country.

Our country's participation in CEMA and the signing of the Vietnam-Soviet treaty of friendship and cooperation are important events marking a new and magnificent development in relations between Vietnam and other fraternal socialist countries and creating new favorable conditions for our people to advance steadily in the struggle to build socialism and defend the fatherland. The great victory recorded by the fraternal Kampuchean people under the leadership of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation [KNUFNS] in toppling the tyrannical Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime--henchmen of the Chinese reactionary clique--to completely liberate their country is considered as a particularly great source of encouragement for our people in their struggle to build and defend the country. The success of the Lao people under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] in frustrating an attempt instigated by the reactionary clique within the Beijing ruling circles to carry out insurgent and subversive activities against the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] is also considered as a great source of encouragement for our people. The great achievements scored by the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea over the recent past have made the position of these three countries stronger and their solidarity steadier than ever.

In light of the party's resolutions, our people have in the recent years struggled very courageously to overcome numerous difficulties and have scored praiseworthy achievements in the political, economic and cultural fields as well as in national defense and security and domestic and foreign affairs. We have succeeded in satisfactorily restoring our economy and healing the wounds of war inflicted by the U.S. imperialists as well as in gradually restoring production and stabilizing the people's livelihood along with overcoming the consequences of the war waged by the Chinese reactionary clique. As socialist transformation has been accelerated in the newly liberated areas in the south, the exploiting classes are being eliminated and new production relations are being

established among various economic sectors. Meanwhile, cultural, educational and public health activities have also been developed vigorously. Efforts are now being made to do away with the poisonous neocolonialist culture in the south, to restore human dignity, to shape a healthy cultural life, and to initially improve human relations. While we were able to firmly maintain political security and social order, consolidate national defense and duly punish the aggressors, we were also able to fulfill our international obligation in a satisfactory manner.

However, compared with the norms set forth in the second 5-year 1976-1980 plan, the achievements recorded over the past years are still poor. In addition, we have encountered new difficulties as a result of the cruel war waged by the Chinese aggressors. In view of this, one of the most important and urgent tasks which have been set forth for our party, state and people is /to further develop the revolutionary struggle spirit and the sense of self-reliance in an effort to fulfill to the highest degree all the tasks and norms outlined in the second 5-year plan/ in accordance with the spirit of the fourth party congress resolution.

Meanwhile, in the face of the new situation, all echelons and sectors must intensively reexamine various drafted plans for agricultural and industrial production and communications and transportation activities, and so forth. It is also necessary for them to combine production with combat and the effort to insure combat readiness, the economy with national defense, and production with organization and management in such a way as to be in line with the requirements of the revolutionary task in the new stage.

To commemorate these anniversaries, the party committees at all levels throughout the country must launch a movement /to emulate in carrying out production labor, practicing thrift, building socialism, and engaging in combat and maintaining combat readiness/ in most vigorous, enthusiastic, continuous and extensive manner. This is to satisfactorily fulfill the second 5-year state plan, stabilize and improve the people's lives, insure order and security, build the material and technical bases of socialism, and fulfill our international obligation.

Constantly forged by the struggle to simultaneously carry out socialist transformation and construction nationwide and to defend the socialist fatherland over the recent years, our party has been able to make new progress in the political, ideological and organizational fields. It has also been able to promptly and correctly solve various problems concerning socialist transformation and construction as well as domestic and foreign policies for the new stage, thereby meeting the demand for the progress of our country's revolution. The party's leadership has now begun to prevail over all activities of social life. Its organization has been established on a uniform basis throughout the country and its forces have been expanded to all newly liberated areas in the south, while its unity and unanimity have become stronger than ever.

Apart from these fundamental strong points, our party also has some weaknesses: its organizational ability and leadership over the implementation of party lines and policies is still weak, its placement of cadres has not met the requirements of the revolutionary tasks in the new stage, there still are many weak party bases and finally the ability and quality of some party members have not been commensurate with the requirements of advancing the present revolution--worse still, some party members have become deviant and degenerated. Party leadership is the fundamental factor which decides all victories of the revolution. The primary condition for advancing our people's revolution is to develop the strong points and to overcome weaknesses of the party. Since the party is ruling, its strength does not reside in itself only, but is closely associated with the role of the masses in exercising their collective mastery and with the managerial effectiveness of the state.

Consequently, one of the important requirements of the drive to commemorate these anniversaries is to /conduct a centralized campaign to make the party politically, ideologically and organizationally strong and wholesome, and to consolidate the people's administration/ in order to further enhance party militancy, the people's ability to act as collective masters and the managerial effectiveness of the state. The main requirement of the drive to commemorate these anniversaries is /to develop and consolidate party organizations and the administration at grassroots level/.

All party committee echelons must devise plans and specific measures to effectively implement the Fourth Party Central Committee plenum resolution on improving organization and working method and on meeting the requirements of the new situation. They must attentively emphasize the education of the people on Marxism-Leninism, the party lines and the revolutionary tasks which have been stipulated in the fourth party congress and other subsequent resolutions of the party Central Committee so as to increase the level of knowledge, ability and revolutionary quality of cadres and party members.

We must use the political education campaign and mass movements and rely on the revolutionary masses to develop and consolidate party organizations and to organize the administration. We must recruit party members from among those outstanding and advanced people of the revolutionary movement and those who are enlightened by communism, especially the young ones. We must struggle hard so that by the end of 1980 /all of such installations/ as factories, hamlets, villages, combat units, schools and hospitals have /strong and wholesome party chapters/. We must resolutely eliminate those unqualified party members and deviant and degenerated elements from party membership. The southern party organizations must further satisfactorily protect the party in accordance with the spirit of the party Central Committee guidance. They must place the /really capable and qualified/ cadres, especially the young ones, in all the leading organs of the party and administration at all echelons, and must put old and new cadres together so as to give the party new militancy.

There must be a rational organizational structure and a pattern of close coordination among party organizations. The state and the mass organizations must reflect /the correct relationship among leadership by the party, control by the people and management by the state /so as to fully develop the systems of proletarian dictatorship and the people's collective mastery at all levels and in all sectors.

/President Ho's lifetime activities constitute a model of revolutionary offensive spirit and a very shining example of revolutionary ethics./ All organs of the party and state and all the people's organizations must accelerate their propaganda and educational activities among our cadres, party members, army and people, especially within the party and the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, in order to make them well aware of President Ho's thinking and ethics, so that they can "live, struggle, work and study after great Uncle Ho's examples." On this basis, we will educate the people and enhance communist idols, communist conception of life and socialist lifestyle, and will resolutely struggle against negative manifestations.

These three major anniversaries constitute an occasion for us to praise and promote fine traditions and the great victories of our revolution and to mobilize and encourage all our party, people and army to strenuously emulate in scoring many achievements in building socialism, defending the country and fulfilling international obligations. Let us further develop the heroic and glorious struggle traditions of our party and nation, enhance our absolute confidence in party leadership and our nation's bright future, continue to implement President Ho's sacred testament and strive to emulate in scoring many outstanding achievements in production, combat and all other activities to realistically commemorate these major anniversaries in 1980.

CSO: 4209

LET US DO A VERY GOOD JOB OF FORMULATING THE 1980 PLAN FROM THE INSTALLATION AND DISTRICT LEVELS UPWARD

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 79 pp 9-12, 23

[Unattributed article]

[Text] During the final months of this year, together with accelerating the implementation of the 1979 plan, we have the very important task of doing a good job of formulating the 1980 plan from the installation and district levels upward so that the state plan is truly integrated from the installation and district levels upward. This represents a change of direction of major significance in planning; developing economic potentials and better meeting the requirements of the new situation and tasks by upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people on the basic level.

We are beginning the formulation of the 1980 plan amidst an atmosphere of excitement and enthusiasm on the part of the people of our entire country over the tremendous victories won on the political, economic, military and diplomatic fronts; in the work of building the socialist economy, we have new, extremely large and basic advantages in our favor.

Following the victory of the Kampuchean revolution and the victory on the northern border of our country over the Chinese aggressor army, a new and very strong and solid strategic position has emerged, one based on the unprecedented advantages of the revolutions of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. The southwestern border of our country is at peace. The three countries have strongpoints that supplement and support one another, thereby insuring the continued construction of socialism in every situation.

On the momentum of victory and in response to the Appeal made by the Party Central Committee and the General Mobilization Order of the state, the people of our entire country have been enthusiastically accelerating production and construction, have won important victories and have achieved good results in winter-spring agricultural production. The industrial, artisan and handicraft sectors have continued to move forward through new achievements in the use of domestic raw materials and the full use of discarded materials and rejected products.

The cooperation and mutual assistance between our country and the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries within the Council for Mutual Aid have been strengthened and have reached a new stage of development. This is an important source of forces helping us to further develop our strengths and accelerate our economic construction.

The new, large and basic advantages mentioned above are being converted by the various party committee echelons, the various levels of government and our people throughout the country into economic and military strength and are further stimulating the socialist emulation movement in all fields of activity.

Of course, we cannot give light attention to the difficulties and imbalances within our country's economy or the new difficulties resulting from the hostile actions taken by the reactionary disciples of Chinese great nation expansionism and hegemony. Under the clear-sighted leadership of our Party Central Committee and by relying upon the tremendous strength of the system of socialist collective ownership of the working people, we will surely overcome our difficulties and continue to move our country's economy forward.

The plan that is formulated for 1980 must take these advantages and difficulties into full consideration and set forth positive and sound guidelines and objectives together with practical and effective measures to insure that the economy is reoriented in keeping with the requirements of the new situation and tasks.

The 1980 state plan occupies a very important position because it is the plan for the final year in the work of carrying out the tasks and meeting the objectives of the 1976-1980 Five Year Plan and preparing for the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan. The formulation of the 1980 plan must clearly reflect the requirement of "truly bringing planning, in terms of both content and methods, up to date" as set forth in the resolution of the 5th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee. The basic guidelines for bringing planning up to date are:

--In terms of content, planning must more fully reflect the line of the party, better apply the objective economic laws and be based upon mobilizing and developing each domestic economic potential and making good use of our labor, arable land, natural resources and existing material-technical bases while broadening our economic relations with foreign countries, especially the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and the other fraternal socialist countries, gradually building an industrial-agricultural economic structure for the entire country, for each province and municipality and the district agro-industrial economic structure and closely coordinating economic construction with the strengthening of the national defense system.

--In terms of methods, the balancing of the plan must principally be based on our labor, arable land, forests, ocean waters and other existing instruments of production. We must broaden the independence of the installations, localities and sectors in order to enable them to be the masters of their plans,

formulate a good state plan from the installation and district levels upward and correct the situation of bureaucratic centralism simultaneously marked by decentralization and a lack of responsibility in the formulation of the plan and the guidance of its implementation. The economic positions taken by the party must be reflected in the form of economic-technical proposals and importance must be attached to the economic returns from the plan and to gradually correcting the overlapping of echelons within management. We must make good use of the method of planning by quotas and standards, the method of coordinating programs by objectives, the joint sector balancing method and so forth and make bold use of mathematical economics and electronic computers in planning.

This is a comprehensive, far-reaching effort to bring planning up to date and is closely linked to the improvement of all elements of our country's socialist economic management system.

At present, the reactionary disciples of Chinese great nation expansionism and hegemony have been heavily defeated in their war of aggression against our country; however, their basic and long-range scheme remains unchanged. They are making frantic preparations for another war of aggression against our country and routinely threatening the peaceful construction of our people. In the new situation, our entire country must firmly adhere to its two strategic tasks: accelerating socialist transformation and socialist construction while maintaining combat readiness and fighting well in defense of the fatherland. We must successfully perform the three common tasks set forth by the 5th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee:

--Accelerating production and socialist transformation while stabilizing and maintaining the standard of living of the people;

--Strengthening the national defense and security systems and protecting the fatherland;

--Continuing to build the material-technical bases of socialism.

Together with these three tasks, we must fulfill our international obligation to the two neighboring countries of Laos and Kampuchea well.

One matter of particular importance is that of establishing the proper relationship between the economy and the defense of the nation in the new situation. In the face of the malicious schemes and tricks of the Chinese reactionaries, we must urgently strengthen the national defense system while accelerating economic construction. Economic strength is the basis of a strong national defense system and a strong national defense system is designed to firmly protect our economic achievements. To develop the military forces needed to defeat the aggressor army in every situation while still developing the economy and stabilizing and maintaining the life of the people well, the basic guidelines are: rapidly raising social labor productivity on the basis of making good use of our labor, arable land and existing material-

technical bases, considering this to be the source of the material wealth needed to meet national defense requirements, improve the standard of living and increase the accumulation of capital for the economy; on the other hand, the army must do everything it can to perform economic work, actively produce wealth and gradually achieve self-sufficiency in troop support operations.

In 1980, in order to fully carry out the resolution of the 4th Party Congress and the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, we must continue to carry out the economic tasks set forth within the resolution of the 5th Party Plenum, the center of which is the production of grain, food products, consumer goods and exports; and, to insure the completion of this extremely important economic task, we must truly bring our methods of thinking and working up to date, must change the way we guide and manage the economy and must truly begin at the installation, at the district in order to accelerate economic activities, resolve the difficulties we face and meet requirements.

Because planning must be brought up to date, positive steps must be taken beginning at the lower levels to fully utilize the material conditions needed to balance the plan; therefore, recently, in the assignment of 1980 plan control figures to the various sectors and localities, the central level only set forth principal requirements, tasks and objectives for the sectors and localities and stated the material capabilities of the state; the sectors, localities and installations must fully utilize each of their capabilities and endeavor to reduce the consumption of materials in production and construction in order to produce many more products and meet the requirements of the economy using limited capital and supplies.

For this reason, in the process of formulating the 1980 plan, we must attach particular importance to the formulation of the plans of the installations and districts; the 1980 state plan absolutely must be formulated and put together from the installation and district levels upward.

Formulating the 1980 state plan from the installation and district levels upward is a major position of our party and state, one designed to resolve the extremely large problems of the economy, primarily the problems involving grain and food products, and gradually build the agro-industrial economic structure of the districts in order to advance to large-scale socialist production, build the new socialist countryside and build the districts into fortresses protecting the fatherland.

Formulating the 1980 state plan from the installation and district levels upward is a method of planning based on the spirit of self-reliance, on upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people at the installation, on our tremendous strengths, namely, our abundant labor, our arable land, forests, ocean waters and existing economic bases and on coordinating the development of domestic natural resources with economic cooperation with foreign countries in order to accelerate the development of production, raise labor productivity, increase the social product, raise national income, resolve the pressing problems in everyday life, support

the needs of combat and the maintenance of combat readiness in order to win victory over the Chinese expansionist aggressors and continue to build the material-technical bases of socialism.

This time, the formulation of the plans of the districts and installations is closely linked to the building of the district level and the strengthening of installations; however, we will not be building the district level in a comprehensive manner because much of what is involved in this effort will take many years to accomplish. However, on this occasion, it is necessary to closely link the formulation of the plan for 1980 with leading the effort to carry out the three revolutions in the countryside and with building the party, strengthening our organization, building the corps of cadres and mobilization work in support of combat and combat readiness on the district and installation levels.

The plan of the district is a comprehensive plan and the formulation of a comprehensive plan for the district level is something that must be achieved gradually over many continuous years. In the immediate future, due to the above mentioned requirements of the tasks of the 1980 state plan, the formulation of the plans of the districts for 1980 will only be partial in scope, centering around successfully formulating the agricultural plan and the other plans related to agriculture and focusing on the most important objectives, especially grain, food products, consumer goods and exports. With regard to those districts whose economy consists primarily of forestry and fishing, it is necessary to formulate good plans for the development of both forestry and fishing; the other related plans must also support the forestry and fishing plans. Along with the production plan, particular importance must be attached to the plans for the purchasing and delivery of products to the central level and the fulfillment of the district's obligation to contribute to the entire country in order to help meet the needs of the national economy.

The 1980 plan of the district must set forth the task of balancing the supply of grain within each district to insure a supply of grain to the people (including state cadres, manual workers and office workers) within the district with contributions to the state and an effort to establish grain reserves. Of course, if the districts that have centralized industrial crop areas producing raw materials for industry or exportation or districts characterized by other sectors and trades cannot establish a grain balance on their own, the province must balance their supply of grain and adopt plans for redistributing grain within the scope of the province.

Together with the economic plan, importance must be attached to formulating a good cultural plan and good plans for the organization of life and the transformation and improvement of socialist production relations in the countryside, especially in the districts of the South.

The formulation of the plans of the installations and districts is principally the responsibility of the district level and the provinces and municipalities; however, all central sectors have the responsibility of coordinating with the

province in closely guiding and creating favorable conditions for the installations and districts to formulate good plans. The party cadre affairs sections of the related ministries and general departments must send cadres to work with the provinces in helping the districts formulate the plans of the sectors within the district beginning at the installations (state-operated enterprises, cooperatives and village or hamlet production committees). Through the assistance of the province and the central sectors, the ability of the districts to formulate plans will gradually be improved and the district party organization as well as the party organizations of the installations will gradually mature in their leadership of economic construction.

We will surely formulate good 1980 plans from the installation and district levels upward, thereby bringing about a new change within the economy and insuring the successful performance of the task of building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland.

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ON THE OCCASION OF THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VICTORY OF DIEN BIEN PHU:
THE VICTORY OF DIEN BIEN PHU WILL FOREVER BE A SOURCE OF PRIDE FOR THE VIETNAMESE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 79 pp 13-23

[Article by Truong Chinh]

[Text] The victory of Dien Bien Phu victoriously concluded the long and heroic resistance by our army and people against the French colonialist aggressors supported by the U.S. interventionists.

The victory of Dien Bien Phu hurled back and overturned a contingent of world imperialism in Vietnam, thereby helping to stimulate the struggle by the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

This year, we celebrate the 25th anniversary of the victory of Dien Bien Phu at a time when our people have "driven off the Americans and brought down the puppets," are completing the reunification of the country in every respect and are making every effort to implement the resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party.

We are celebrating the 25th anniversary of the victory of Dien Bien Phu at a time when our army and people have been continuously recording brilliant feats of arms: defeating the Kampuchean reactionary aggressors on the southwestern border; helping the people of Kampuchea escape genocide by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the lackeys of Peking's great nation expansionism; and winning victory over the Chinese reactionary aggressors on the northern border.

We are celebrating the 25th anniversary of the victory of Dien Bien Phu at a time when our entire party, all our people and our entire army are urgently building socialism throughout the country, fighting, maintaining combat readiness and carrying out the Appeal by the Party Central Committee and the General Mobilisation Order of the state in order to protect our beloved fatherland.

We are now better able to see the great significance of the victory of Dien Bien Phu in the nation's history as well as in the course of development of the world revolution.

The year 1953, the 8th year of the war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors, was a year in which our resistance organization grew, the people's war movement in our country developed everywhere, the Vietnamese people's armed forces gradually grew and a contingent of our main forces were organized into centralized units to perform the mission of strategic mobile forces; our army and people were accelerating the counter-offensive on all battlefields, pushing the enemy's troops into a defensive posture.

After the cease fire agreement was signed in Korea (1953), the French and American warmongers formulated a plan to intensify and widen the war of aggression in Indochina in a vain attempt to win decisive victory within the space of 18 months. This plan had the approval of the U.S. imperialists, who bore 80 percent of its cost, and was assigned to the French general Navarre to be implemented.

Under the Navarre plan, the French and American imperialists intended during the fall and winter of 1953 to use offensive tactics to implement a defensive strategy on the battlefield of North Vietnam with a view toward seriously depleting our strategic mobile forces there so that they would be free in the summer of 1954 to send their strategic mobile forces into the South to attack and occupy the free zones of Interzone 5 and pacify the entire battlefield of South Vietnam. Then, in the fall and winter of 1954, they planned to send their strategic mobile forces back to the North and conduct a strategic offensive for the purpose of destroying an important contingent of our forces in the North and winning decisive victory on the Indochinese battlefield. According to them, the Navarre plan would be a success and Indochina would continue to be a colony of French imperialism and a military base of the U.S. imperialists.

To implement the plan bearing his name, Navarre decided to "assemble his forces, take the offensive and rewin the initiative" and brought in nine mobile battalions from France and Korea, made every effort to develop the puppet army (from 54 battalions in 1953 to 108 battalions in 1954), withdrew all forces from the Na San base system, abandoned many scattered positions in the Red River Delta and sent troops from Nam Bo, Trung Bo, Laos and Kampuchea to Bac Bo, thereby increasing the forces concentrated in Bac Bo to 112 battalions, that is, nearly 50 percent of their forces in all of Indochina. Of these 112 battalions, 44 battalions, that is, more than 50 percent of their strategic mobile forces in Indochina, were strategic mobile battalions. These strategic mobile battalions were to be concentrated in the Red River Delta in order to block and attack our strategic mobile forces when our forces launched attacks.

Together with strengthening and amassing forces in the manner mentioned above, Navarre launched successive military sweeps along the left and right banks of the Red River, launched attacks on our free zones, such as Lang Son and Nho Quan, and parachuted thousands of bandits into the northwest to threaten Lao Cai and our Viet Bac base area. In November 1953, the French colonialists

sent paratroop forces to occupy Dien Bien Phu and develop this strategic position into the strongest base system in Indochina and the center of the entire Navarre plan.

The enemy occupied Dien Bien Phu in order to support Lai Chau and protect Thuong Lao, the most important mobile strategic areas in Indochina, and draw out and deplete our strategic mobile forces; more importantly, they intended to turn Dien Bien Phu into a springboard for a strategic offensive in the autumn of 1954 against Son La, Na San and Hoa Binh in coordination with an offensive launched from the right bank of the Red River in order to destroy an important contingent of our forces and win decisive victory in accordance with the Navarre plan. And, after winning this victory, the U.S. imperialists were going to build Dien Bien Phu into the most important air base of theirs in Southeast Asia.

In the face of this situation, at the cadre conference held in November 1953, the Central Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party deeply analyzed the war situation in Indochina, set forth the new difficulties caused to us by the Navarre plan and, at the same time, emphasized the contradictions and weaknesses of this plan. To thwart the Navarre plan, the party advocated adherence to the following guidelines: taking the initiative, displaying dynamism and being both mobile and flexible; assembling forces for offensives in those directions in which the enemy was vulnerable; annihilating the enemy in those directions in which they could deeply penetrate and attack our free zones; and accelerating the guerrilla war on all battlefields. On 19 April 1954, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee issued a resolution that analyzed the important significance of the Dien Bien Phu campaign and resolved: "To put all of our reinforcements into the Dien Bien Phu campaign and do everything necessary to win total victory in this campaign." (1)

In the winter of 1953, we began sending troops to Tay Bac and continuously launched offensive campaigns through which we annihilated large contingents of the enemy's forces in Lai Chau and liberated Lai Chau; we attacked and annihilated large contingents of the enemy's forces at Kontum and liberated all of Kontum Province. The people's war movement was strongly launched on all battlefields of the country.

In Laos, in the longstanding spirit of close unity in combat, our army coordinated with the army and people of fraternal Laos to launch a campaign to liberate Thakhek and advanced to the eastern bank of the Mekong River; forces advanced to destroy a major contingent of the enemy forces at Nam Hu and then advanced on Luang Prabang in upper Laos; the enemy was destroyed at Attapeu and all of the Bolovens Highland in lower Laos was liberated.

On the Kampuchean battlefield, the army and people of Kampuchea, with our assistance, accelerated their activities and depleted and destroyed the enemy.

Meanwhile, we advanced our troops close to Dien Bien Phu and prepared for an offensive to annihilate the enemy on this key battlefield.

Having been hit by annihilating attacks launched by us at the many places mentioned above, Navarre was forced to redeploy his forces among Dien Bien Phu, Seno, Pleiku and Luang Prabang and turn these important positions into bases for dealing with us.

Thus, the 44 main force battalions which Navarre had determinedly assembled to use as a strong strategic mobile force to attack us and win the initiative in the Red River Delta had to be dispersed into numerous defensive positions in the Red River Delta and at four very widely separated places in the mountainous forests. When the enemy wanted to centralize their forces, we forced them to decentralize and vice versa. This was the position of initiative and strength, the victorious position of our army and people.

After the enemy decentralized their strategic mobile forces into five large blocs to deal with our strategic counter-offensive and especially after they saw that we were in upper Laos, they concluded that our offensive had been stopped, that our 1953-1954 winter-spring campaign would go no further and that the objectives of the first period of the Navarre plan had been achieved. As a result, they immediately issued an order to "change strategic direction" and assembled their remaining mobile forces for an attack on our free zone in Interzone 5 in order to achieve the objective of the second period of the Navarre plan. And, on 12 March 1954, they attacked Quy Nhon so that they could send their forces to the North at the end of the rainy season and achieve the final objective of the Navarre plan.

However, both the French colonialist aggressors and the U.S. imperialist interventionists did not know that only 1 day after they attacked Quy Nhon, our offensive campaign to annihilate them at Dien Bien Phu and liberate Dien Bien Phu would begin. They were even less aware of the fact that the sound of our artillery attacking and destroying the defense base of the French at Him Lam (2) was the first death knell for French imperialism in Vietnam and old style colonialism throughout the world. Also during that period, our soldiers on all battlefields in Bac Bo, Trung Bo and Nam Bo together with our forces fighting beside the patriotic forces of Laos and Kampuchea attacked and annihilated the enemy in order to coordinate with Dien Bien Phu, the key point in the strategy of the army and people of our entire country in the war of resistance against the French colonialists.

The historic battle at Dien Bien Phu involved 55 days and nights of continuous fighting. The entire 21 battalion force of the enemy, a force consisting of 11 infantry battalions, 6 paratroop battalions (that is, the entire paratroop force of the French in Indochina), 3 artillery battalions and 1 engineer battalion, a total force consisting of 16,200 men, more than 40 percent of whom were the best trained mobile forces of the French, was completely destroyed. During the winter and spring of 1953-1954, on all the battlefields coordinating throughout Indochina, we killed 112,000 enemy troops; 1,500 officers were killed or captured. We shot down and destroyed 62 enemy aircraft at Dien Bien Phu and 115 aircraft on the other battlefields.

In Bac Bo, we liberated Dien Bien Phu and Lai Chau.

In Interzone 5, we liberated Kontum and expanded the Central Highlands base area.

In Binh Tri Thien and Nam Bo, hundreds of enemy outposts were leveled. Many free zones and resistance war base areas were expanded and strengthened.

In Laos, we helped the people of Laos to liberate Phong Sali and the Nam Hu River basin, expanded the base areas in upper Laos and central Laos and liberated the Bolovens Highland in lower Laos. In Laos, more than one-half the land and nearly one-half the population were liberated.

In Kampuchea, the people's war movement developed; the southwestern base area was expanded; and the northeastern base area was linked with lower Laos and the Central Highlands of Vietnam.

Thus, the 1953-1954 winter-spring campaign, the pinnacle of which was the Dien Bien Phu campaign, buried the Navarre plan in black mud and forced the enemy to sign the Geneva Accords on 20 July 1954. Our army and people not only triumphed over the French colonialists, but also over the U.S. imperialists in their scheme to commit aggression against Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

The 1953-1954 winter-spring offensive, in general, and the Dien Bien Phu campaign, in particular, were the most decisive and comprehensive tests of strength between our army and people and the French colonialist aggressors and U.S. interventionists in the 1945-1954 revolutionary war of the nation. We were determined to fight and win, we knew how to fight and win. We organized the greatest possible efforts on the part of the entire party, all our people and the entire army, of the cadres and soldiers of our entire country in order to win victory in the 1953-1954 winter-spring offensive and especially in the Dien Bien Phu campaign.

The victory of Dien Bien Phu became a symbol of the patriotism, the revolutionary heroism, the tradition of unyielding, tenacious struggle of our army and people for independence and freedom.

The victory of Dien Bien Phu, which took its place in the history of our nation beside the victories of Bach Dang, Chi Lang and Dong Da, developed upon the glorious tradition of fighting the Chinese feudal aggressors so that we could win victory over an imperialist power possessing a modern industry and a large, strong and very mobile army.

In the Dien Bien Phu campaign as well as the entire war of resistance against the French, the enemy was stronger than us both economically and militarily. We had no technical branches of services such as a navy, air force, tank corps or armored corps. However, we defeated the modern aggressor army of the French on all battlefields of Indochina.

Over the past 25 years, the spirit of determination to fight and win of Dien Bien Phu has always been upheld by our army and people in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation and in socialist construction as well as in the maintenance of combat readiness and the fight to protect the socialist Vietnamese fatherland against the expansionism and hegemony of Peking.

In view of the victory over the French colonialists, the victory over the U.S. imperialists and the victory over the Peking expansionists and their lackeys in Kampuchea, we can be more proud of and confident in our spirit and ability to overcome every sacrifice and hardship in order to defeat each enemy of the nation for the sake of our independence and freedom. This spirit and this ability are inexhaustible when our army and people are fighting for the survival of the nation, fighting to fulfill their noble international obligation.

Today, looking back on the victory of Dien Bien Phu, we are more deeply aware of its tremendous significance to our people and world.

To our people, the victory of Dien Bien Phu proved that a nation which is small but tightly united under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, a nation that knows how to arm all the people to wage a people's war and which has the sympathy and support of the socialist countries, the countries that love freedom and justice and progressive mankind is totally capable of defeating colonialists, imperialists and their lackeys, even if they are stronger than that nation.

The victory of Dien Bien Phu was the highpoint of the general strategic counter-offensive waged by our army and people to win decisive victory in the 1945-1954 war of liberation. It victoriously concluded the long war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors and the U.S. interventionists. It very clearly proved the correct strategic guidance of the Party Central Committee, the extraordinary efforts made by the entire party, all the people and our entire army and the extraordinary advances made by our army in its military art, command organization, combat and combat support.

The victory of Dien Bien Phu led directly to the victory of the Geneva Conference on Indochina where it was decided that the Geneva Accords would be signed on the basis of France and the other countries participating in the conference recognizing the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, which the French and U.S. imperialists would later seriously violate.

The victory of the war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors and the victory of Dien Bien Phu protected and developed upon the fruits of the August Revolution and ushered in a new stage in the Vietnamese revolution; following the victory of Dien Bien Phu, the Vietnamese carried out the socialist revolution in the North while continuing their effort to complete the tasks of the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country and liberate the South from the yoke of the imperialists and their

lackeys. The advance by the North to socialism was an extremely important strategic change in direction because the socialist North was the strong rear area of the entire nation in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, was the firm base for achieving the reunification of the country and successfully building socialism throughout the country.

To the world, the victory of Dien Bien Phu was a common victory of the peoples of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, who are brothers and comrades-in-arms that shared the same trench in the fight against the common enemy, imperialism, to liberate themselves.

With regard to the victory of Dien Bien Phu, President Ho Chi Minh said: "It was a great victory of our people, but also a common victory of all oppressed peoples in the world. The victory of Dien Bien Phu shed more light on the truth of Marxism-Leninism in the modern age: wars of aggression by the imperialists will surely be defeated, the liberation revolution of all nations will surely achieve success." (3)

The victory of Dien Bien Phu marked a new stage of development of the struggle by the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. It ushered in the period of the disintegration of old style colonialism, the period of the further weakening of world imperialism.

The victory of Dien Bien Phu made a positive contribution to the three revolutionary currents of the world in our age: the socialist revolutionary movement and socialist construction, the national liberation and national independence movement and the worker and democratic movement in the imperialist and developed capitalist countries.

Thus, the victory of Dien Bien Phu was totally consistent with the law of development of mankind. Along with the victory of our army and people in the spring of 1975, the victory of Dien Bien Phu helped to stimulate the inevitable development of mankind from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale in our age, an age that began with the great October Socialist Revolution.

The victory of Dien Bien Phu will forever be a force of legitimate pride for our nation and a strong inspiration to the people of the entire world.

Today, after the 30 years of the war of liberation and at a time when our people are still bandaging the wounds of war, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have again provoked and committed aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. They urged and helped the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang to unleash a war of aggression against our country's southwestern border and pursued a policy of genocide toward the people of Kampuchea, thereby turning Kampuchea into a precinct, a district of China. Defeated in Kampuchea, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists immediately unleashed a war of aggression against Vietnam, killing our compatriots and destroying our economic and cultural bases in the areas along the northern border of our

country. This war filled with barbarous crimes had the sympathy and support of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

It can be asked: why did the Chinese reactionaries attack Vietnam? They attacked Vietnam primarily because Vietnam has brandished the banner of opposition to the policy of great nation expansionism and hegemony of theirs in Southeast Asia; because Vietnam defeated the ringleader of the imperialists, they attacked Vietnam as a favor to the imperialists and to request their help in carrying out the "four modernizations" in a vain attempt to conquer the world at some future date!

Our army and people, united as one, dealt the aggressors appropriate blows. In the face of the strong militant solidarity of the Vietnamese, in the face of the intense and timely protests by the peoples of the socialist countries and the peace and justice loving peoples of the world and in the face of the opposition by the people of China, the Chinese reactionary aggressors were forced to withdraw their troops to China. However, the Chinese reactionaries still have troops stationed at a number of places on Vietnamese soil; they are still committing acts of armed provocation along the northern border of our country on a daily basis; they have also brazenly declared that they will teach Vietnam one or many more lessons. Our country is at peace but war could break out again at any time. Our people must always strengthen their unity, heighten their vigilance and perform the following tasks:

1. Accelerating production and the effort to complete socialist transformation while maintaining and stabilizing their standard of living;
2. Strengthening the national defense and security systems, maintaining combat readiness and fighting well in defense of the fatherland;
3. Continuing to build the material and technical base of socialism;
4. Fulfilling their international obligation.

In the two long wars of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists, our people produced while fighting, coordinated the economy with the defense of the nation.

It has been our experience that strong people's armed forces consist of three military elements: main force troops, the local army and the militia and self-defense forces (guerrilla militia); these forces must be of sufficient size and of high quality, must possess the spirit of fighting and dying to protect the fatherland, protect the fruits of the revolution and must be equipped with good weapons; their political rear base must be strong and their rear service support must be dependable.

To insure the success of the revolution and victory in the war of liberation, we must unite all the people on the basis of the alliance of workers and farmers

and under the leadership of the working class in order to accelerate the struggle with the enemy in every field while making every effort to build and develop the forces of the revolution, the forces carrying out the revolutionary war throughout the country. When talking about war, we are talking about armed struggle and its characteristic forms. The forces we use to wage armed struggle are the forces of all the people, the nucleus of whom are the three military elements. On the one hand, we must make every effort to build widespread militia, self-defense and guerrilla militia forces. On the other hand, we must make every effort to build the people's army into local army units of the districts, provinces and municipalities and into powerful main force army units and main force corps within the various military regions and on the central level. In particular, we must build strategic mobile forces that are increasingly strong both quantitatively and qualitatively, are well equipped and are gradually modernized. Only in this way can we implement the law stressed by Lenin: "Taking the initiative in developing the offensive position of the revolution from small to large, from partial to total." (4) Only in this way can we acquire the forces needed to win decisive victories at decisive opportunities and turning points of the war.

The war of resistance of our people against the French colonialist aggressors constantly encountered major difficulties and obstacles. However, we made an effort to build and develop resistance war forces that were increasingly strong in every respect. We built a revolutionary army that possesses the fine nature and tradition of "loyalty to the party, filialty to the people and a readiness to fight and die for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for socialism. It completes every task, overcomes every difficulty and triumphs over every enemy." This army has been equipped with increasingly improved weapons and has gradually become an army consisting of many branches. In conjunction with building main force units, we have always concerned ourselves with building the militia and self-defense forces (the guerrilla militia) and the units of the local army throughout the country. We made an effort to cultivate and develop the people's war movement on all battlefields. As regards the armed struggle, we organized offensive campaigns that were increasingly large in both space and time that annihilated many enemy troops and liberated vast areas of land. We made our strategic offensive position increasingly strong and put the enemy on the defensive on all battlefields, even when they were trying to implement their plan to retake the initiative and intensify and widen the war of aggression in Indochina.

The victory of the winter and spring of 1953 and 1954 and the victory of Dien Bien Phu proved the correctness of the political line and military line of our party and showed the superior nature of our party's art of guiding the war during the resistance against the French.

The victory of Dien Bien Phu helped to further enrich the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism. The successes of our people in the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and the victories won by us in the revolutionary war, the victory of Dien Bien Phu, the victory of the spring of 1975 and the victory in the war of resistance to protect

the socialist Vietnamese fatherland against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and against their lackeys, the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary reactionary gang, on the southwestern border of our fatherland have been victories of the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, the truth of our times, the pinnacle of the intelligence of mankind. They have been victories of the militant solidarity of the people of Vietnam and the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, victories of the international solidarity between the Vietnamese and the people of the USSR, the peoples of the other fraternal socialist countries and the progressive people of the world.

Our revolutionary undertaking is just.

We have the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism as the compass of each of our actions, have the great Vietnam Communist Party to lead us and have the heroic Vietnamese people.

We enjoy the increasingly strong militant solidarity among the three nations of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. We have genuine proletarian internationalism, the reinforcements of the fraternal socialist countries and the sympathy and support of the people of the world.

Any enemy that recklessly tramples upon the independence and sovereignty of our nation, whether an imperialist power or the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, will be unable to avoid thundering blows of the Dien Bien Phu style.

Long live the spirit of determination to fight and win of Dien Bien Phu!

20 May 1979

FOOTNOTES

1. 19 April 1953 resolution of the Political Bureau of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party.
2. Within the Dien Bien Phu base complex.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Bao cao tai Hoi nghi chinh tri dac biet hop ngay 27-28 thang 3 nam 1964" [Report at the Special Political Conference held on 27 and 28 March 1964].
4. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Volume 30, p 62, Russian version.

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GRASPING A NUMBER OF BASIC VIEWPOINTS OF THE PARTY CONCERNING BANKING ACTIVITIES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 79 pp 24-29, 72

[Article by Pham Hung]

[Text] Our party and state have stated the important position occupied by the State Bank in socialist transformation and socialist construction. Over the past several years, noteworthy advances have been made in banking activities; however, the role of the State Bank within the socialist economic management system still has not been appropriately developed.

An event of special importance in 1978 was our state's issuance of the new currency and the establishment of a unified currency system for the entire country, as a result of which many new, favorable conditions were created for banking activities. However, shortly after the money exchange, complex developments occurred in the situation surrounding currency and market prices and cash deficits have continued to increase with adverse consequences. This situation has underlying economic and social causes and direct causes, namely, serious natural disasters and increases in a number of necessary expenditures. However, from the point of view of banking activities, we must scientifically, deeply and thoroughly analyze this situation in order to learn lessons and gain experience for application in both present and future banking activities.

The most noticeable shortcoming in banking activities during the recent past has been the failure to make integrated and comprehensive use of the various functions of the State Bank in order to make a positive contribution to developing production and improving the management of the national economy on the basis of utilizing our arable land, redistributing labor and reorganizing social production along the lines of large-scale socialist production. The lack of coordination among credit, monetary and payment activities has resulted in the failure of the state banking system to fulfill its functions of supporting and supervising the economy and the failure to achieve the combined effect of three centers of banking, the credit center, the monetary center and the payment center; this, in turn, has reduced the effectiveness as economic levers of the bank's credit, monetary and payment activities.

In credit activities, the investment guidelines of the bank for each sector, locality and area are unclear, credit has failed to meet the requirement of making centralized investments on the basis of economic-technical plans and credit has not closely linked the sector economy with the local economy, especially on the district level. Deserving of attention is the fact that in its capital investments, the bank has not been using economic returns or the possibility for reclaiming the capital invested as the measurement of the quality of credit activities; the expansion of credit has not been carried out in conjunction with the tight management of credit capital, consequently, loans are marked by waste and the returns from investment capital are still low.

In its monetary activities, the bank has not established a close link with economic activities or social life. The redistribution and circulation of currency among the various areas and localities are not good, consequently, the bank has not been able to play its positive role in reducing the cash deficit or stabilizing and maintaining the value of the dong after the issuance of the new currency; to the contrary, it has allowed the cash deficit to increase, thereby creating many more difficulties for the national economy. On the other hand, shortcomings in the management of the flow of currency have created unnecessary difficulties in production and the lives of the people. At a number of places, the bank does not have the money needed to purchase products from the people or pay wages to cadres, manual and office workers.

Payment activities have not been closely linked to economic activities or the flow of supplies and goods; in particular, they have not made a positive contribution to limiting, by as much as possible, the problem of long overdue loans and the use of one another's capital among the various economic sectors.

Generally speaking, banking activities are still passive, decentralized activities; they have not taken the initiative in the areas of credit, monetary affairs and payments and are not truly based on production, construction, circulation, distribution and the other practical activities of everyday social life.

Of course, the above mentioned weaknesses and shortcomings in the activities of the State Bank are partially due to the inherent difficulties of our country's economy and to shortcomings in the economic management of the state. However, banking activities are not simply controlled by economic activities, are not merely "passive reflections" or "shadows" of economic activities. To the contrary, banking activities play a dynamic, positive role in supporting and managing the economy, they are a lever that stimulates the development of the production and circulation of goods within the orb of the socialist economy; and they are a tool for struggling to prevent and limit negative, illegal activities within society, thereby helping to overcome the sluggishness in the production and circulation of goods and the stagnation of capital while reducing the imbalance between money and goods, reducing the cash deficit. The shortcoming of banking activities in the past year has been their failure to fulfill the functions, tasks and roles mentioned above. In addition, the

State Bank has also failed to closely link the implementation of Political Bureau resolution 228 with the improvement of economic and financial management; it has failed to truly use thoroughly and systematically "combating" shortcomings, such as combating weaknesses in the compliance with rules and regulations, combating bureaucracy and remoteness from installations, combating authoritarianism, combating practices which pose a bother to the people and so forth, to establish new procedures in the banking profession. Only by correctly coordinating "combating" with "building" can the State Bank fulfill its role and functions in organizing production and organizing the management of the social economy; only in this way can it make a noteworthy contribution in the struggle to effectively overcome the weaknesses in economic management and create favorable conditions for the stronger development of banking activities.

At present, our country is in an urgent and complex situation. The Chinese reactionaries, although defeated in their recent war of aggression against our country, have not abandoned their fundamental and long-range scheme of annexing our country and conquering our people. They are constantly causing the situation to be tense and looking for every way to weaken and wear down our country with a view toward annexing it and carrying out their scheme of expansion in Indochina and Southeast Asia. We must steadfastly carry out both strategic tasks:

Accelerating socialist transformation and socialist construction;

Maintaining combat readiness and fighting well in order to protect the fatherland.

To defeat each scheme and action of the Chinese reactionaries against our country, we must rapidly become stronger in every respect. We must be strong both economically and militarily, must closely coordinate economic construction with the strengthening of the national defense system and must always be highly vigilant and ready to fight.

In keeping with the spirit of the resolutions of the 4th and 5th Plenums of the Party Central Committee and Political Bureau resolution number 16, the state plans for 1979 and 1980 must mobilize the strength of all the people and the entire army to successfully carry out the following three general tasks:

1. Accelerating production and socialist transformation and stabilizing and maintaining the standard of living of the people;
2. Making every effort to strengthen the national defense and security systems, protect the fatherland, meet the requirements of combat and combat readiness and closely coordinate the defense of the nation with the economy;
3. Continuing to build material-technical bases in order to meet immediate requirements while preparing the conditions for development in future years.

Together with the three common tasks mentioned above, we must fulfill our international obligations to the two neighboring countries of Laos and Kampuchea.

In order to perform its tasks well, the State Bank must have a thorough understanding of the basic viewpoints of the party concerning banking activities:

1. Bank credit must become the tool used by the party and state to support and stimulate the reorganization of production, the redistribution of social labor and the development and full utilization of each economic potential of the country in order to produce much wealth for society, support domestic consumption and export activities and, on this basis, raise national income, increase the accumulation of capital for socialism and help to stabilize and maintain the lives of the people. In the immediate future, bank credit must help to bring about a leap forward in the development of agricultural production, forestry and fishing with a view toward resolving the grain problem, which is the center of the 5-year plan; at the same time, it must help to produce many commodities from agricultural, marine and forestry products, many handicraft and art goods and many other industrial products for exportation in order to increase our foreign currency revenues and practice frugality in the expenditure of foreign currency.

To accomplish this, the bank must take the initiative and participate from the very outset in the production and business planning of each area, sector and unit and must help to formulate economic-technical plans and production, business and capital construction plans for the various sectors and economic units. On the basis of clearly understanding the requirements of economic development and fully assessing the returns from investment plans, the bank must take positive steps to expand credit investment in a planned manner in order to help rapidly and effectively develop the areas that have been zoned and planned as well as the economic-technical plans and the production and construction plans of the various sectors, levels and basic economic units.

In the process of making capital investments, the bank must attach importance to helping the various sectors, localities and economic units to develop and make full use of their abundant labor and the existing natural resources within the localities in order to create more and more local sources of supplies in order to meet the requirements of the production and construction of each sector and locality.

The expansion of credit investments by the bank must be based on making full use of the existing capacity of economic units with attention to providing the additional projects, equipment and machinery needed to achieve balance within the structure of fixed assets of economic units while instructing and encouraging these units to fully comply with the technical regulations governing production and construction and advanced economic-technical quotas.

Through the expansion of credit activities, the bank must conduct economic research and stimulate the improvement and strengthening of the various aspects of management, especially economic-financial management, in order to economize on labor, supplies and capital within production, business and capital construction.

Every economic activity must be based on the standard of economic returns; each investment plan must yield economic returns, returns that must be reflected in increased use value for society at the lowest possible expenditure of social labor as well as in profitable business operations, the reclamation of capital in the shortest possible amount of time and increased revenues for the state budget. The bank should not consent to requests that are not carefully considered by the various sectors and levels for loans whose economic returns have not been computed; to the contrary, it must research investment plans and on the basis of studying the economic-technical plan of the unit requesting the loan, determine whether to grant a loan or not and demand that the borrower insure returns from the borrowed capital. As the state constantly expands the use of credit in investments in capital construction, the bank must more rapidly correct this shortcoming and move forward to fulfill its credit function well to support the development of production and effectively supervise production and business activities for the purpose of increasing the returns from credit capital.

In the coming period, banking activities must be based on zoning and planning within the scope of the district; the district must be used as the basis for computing and establishing capital investment guidelines in accordance with the economic-technical plans for each type crop, each species of livestock and each type industrial, artisan and handicraft product; the district must also be used as the base for closely linking the various aspects of agricultural and industrial production, using industry to support agriculture and closely linking production with processing, transportation and product marketing in accordance with an efficient system. To begin with, the bank should give attention to those areas that specialize in the production and processing of subsidiary food crops and those areas that specialize in the cultivation of export crops and the other types of exported products.

On the basis of fully understanding the above mentioned viewpoint expressed in the resolution of the 5th Plenum of the Party Central Committee and effectively fulfilling the functions of the State Bank in order to have a positive, effective impact upon the above mentioned guidelines, the State Bank will complete its task of supporting and stimulating the development of production.

2. An effort must be made to stabilize the currency and maintain the purchasing power of the dong. At present and for some time to come, we face an urgent currency situation; the relationship between goods and money is imbalanced and both the market and prices are undergoing changes.

This situation is facing the various sectors and levels with the extremely large and pressing task of making well coordinated and comprehensive efforts to stabilize the currency, prices and the market because an unstable currency has a chain reaction effect upon production costs, prices and cost accounting as well as planning and limits the role played by the system of economic levers.

However, in the face of this situation, the persons engaged in banking work should not adopt a negative, passive attitude, rather, they must see that the economic potentials of our country are very large in order to endeavor by every means possible to stimulate the development of production with a view toward stabilizing and maintaining the purchasing power of the dong, achieving a balance of cash revenues and expenditures throughout the country and reducing the imbalance between money and goods on a nationwide scale, within each area and within each district.

As everyone knows, the basis underlying the balance of cash revenues and expenditures is the development of production, is the balance between the flow of goods and the flow of currency. In the case of a healthy economy, the state can, when necessary, issue currency to accelerate credit, stimulate production, create new sources of goods, create a new balance and, as a result, maintain the value of the currency.

In our present situation, due to the aftereffects of the war, due to natural disasters and enemy attacks, the large difficulties and imbalances of the economy cannot be quickly corrected in a few years. As a result, many difficulties are still involved in the circulation of currency and a balance between money and goods has not yet been established. This is something that is difficult to avoid. However, this is no reason for us to passively accept a deficit budget or a cash deficit. It must be realized that, besides the objective causes of the present budget deficit and cash deficit, there are also subjective causes, including shortcomings in the organization and management of the economy in banking activities. Persons engaged in banking work must deeply analyze the situation in a more scientific and serious manner in order to adopt effective measures for helping to resolve this situation. As regards credit and currency management, the bank must research and propose measures to the party and government for developing production and the flow of goods; the bank must also take measures on its own to regulate the flow of currency in the manner that best benefits production and the flow of goods and reduces the cash deficit. If the bank does not invest capital in the right place, does not achieve returns from invested capital and does not develop its credit and payment activities to promptly support the requirements of the flow of goods and correct the stagnation of goods, if the bank does not control the flow of currency, the commodity fund and the currency fund of the enterprises, cooperatives, agencies and military units as well as its own funds in order to regulate currency in an efficient manner, the bank itself will worsen the stagnation of capital and currency, issue more money, put more money into circulation without the necessary goods being produced and create additional factors that will reduce the circulation of

currency and the purchasing power of the dong. Places in need of capital and money for the production and circulation of goods will not have any, places not in need will have money; that which should be "plentiful" will be unnecessarily "tight" and that which should be "tight" will be "plentiful." If the bank does this, it will be unable to make a dynamic and positive contribution to preventing, limiting and eventually eliminating the budget deficit and cash deficit; in other words, such a method of operating would represent, in substance, an unwholesome cash deficit that is harmful to the national economy.

On the basis of the analysis presented above, we must re-examine a number of aspects of economic activities and the activities of the bank that are related to the circulation of currency.

The very important measures to which attention must be given in guiding the management of currency are: improving the management of cash, in general, and the management of cash within capital construction, in particular; closely examining expenditures, the wage fund and all other other payments to workers; conducting an investigation and providing the supervision needed to stop agencies and economic organizations from retaining more cash than allowed and allowing cash to sit idle; mobilizing, managing and centralizing each source of idle capital and thoroughly utilizing and rapidly centralizing within the bank the various sources of capital and cash in order rapidly increase the circulation of currency through the banking system.

However, in the management of currency, attention must be given to the important matter of planning investments in capital construction. Capital construction is the economic sector that utilizes the most capital; it absorbs a rather large quantity of materials and equipment, has a rather large labor force and uses a rather large quantity of consumer goods.

Therefore, the planning of investments in capital construction must take into full account the various aspects of the balance among labor, materials and capital in order to maintain the construction rate, rapidly put the project into production and carry out production in a manner that yields practical returns and is based on well calculated economic norms. Only in this way can we produce an increasingly large volume of products and commodities and lay strong economic foundations for creating a new balance in the relationship between money and goods. This is the way to establish a positive balance and also represents our party's viewpoint concerning the use of currency. The bank must know how to use currency to organize production and organize labor; currency only has a positive effect upon the production and daily lives of the people when the economic returns from capital are constantly insured and heightened.

As regards capital borrowed from foreign countries, the question raised is how to use it in the manner that yields the highest possible returns. We must use the capital borrowed from foreign countries not only in a way that prevents it from depreciating, but also in a way that creates new production

capacity marked by high labor productivity so that we can earn many more profits than the interest we have to pay. Only in this way can we have enough capital and profit to repay the loan and accumulate some capital. Therefore, when borrowing capital from foreign countries by importing materials or machinery, we must first make sure that the plan of the unit requesting the loan is well calculated, has balanced the construction force with domestic construction and assembly capabilities and has taken into consideration all domestic sources of raw materials and energy that can be mobilized for production so that when these materials and machines are imported we can immediately put them into construction and put the project under construction into production as quickly as possible.

Bank cadres must make flexible use of liquid capital (including issued capital) during each period of time with a view toward achieving the highest possible economic returns. This requires that the banking sector participate in the formulation of the national economic plan norms of the various sectors and localities from the very outset in order to develop those potentials that can be developed and, at the same time, more closely supervise the use of credit capital.

The mobilization of idle liquid capital within society is a matter of basic importance to the bank, a matter closely linked to the daily mode of operation of the bank. This is a weakness in banking activities. At present, there is a significant amount of idle capital within society; at the same time, the bank is still weak with regard to mobilizing capital, regulating the supply of capital, making loans and making payments; the bank must adopt a policy that provides incentive for units and individuals to deposit money in savings accounts. The workstyle of bureaucracy and authoritarianism is totally unsuited to this type of work.

Now, more than ever before, it is necessary to expand the savings network everywhere, in both the cities and the countryside, in order to mobilize each source of idle capital among the various strata of the people; the organization of the savings fund must be improved so that the people can deposit and withdraw their money in a convenient and easy manner; at the same time, a plan must be adopted for expanding and intensifying the collection of cash within society in order to help to resolve the cash deficit and insure that we have the money needed to pay the people, pay the various agencies and economic sectors. It is necessary to research the improvement of the credit policy and simplify procedures in order to combat practices that pose a bother to and impede communications with the basic economic units.

As with all other economic work, banking work is revolutionary work, is a tool used in the struggle "between the two ways of life" to win thorough victory for socialism.

The correct stand and viewpoint of the banking cadre are not manifested in granting loans without computing economic returns, in blindly following the orders of the leadership level and granting a loan; nor are they expressed by holding onto capital and money and not daring to make loans in order to maintain

a perfunctory balance. The correct stand and viewpoint of the banking cadre must be expressed in knowing how to research investment plans and production and business plans in detail and determining that they will yield economic returns and are accurately based; on this basis, the banking cadre must boldly make loans and promptly serve the needs of the sectors producing and circulating commodities, which encompass the state-operated economy, cooperatives, the subsidiary household economy, the private economy and so forth, in order to produce many commodities and support the production and daily lives of the working people. If economic returns are the measurement of the quality of management, the measurement of the quality of the loans granted by the bank must also be the highest possible economic and financial returns yielded by these loans.

If the banking sector successfully improves the various aspects of its work in accordance with the viewpoint of the party and is determined to rectify its shortcomings in the management of money, we will certainly be able to establish a good relationship between money and goods.

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ON THE FRONTLINE AGAINST THE CHINESE AGGRESSORS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 79 pp 30-39

[Text] The Crimes of the Chinese Aggressors Against the Vietnamese Railroad Sector

[Presentation by Tran Man, director of the Railroad General Department]

In the more than 1 month of their war of aggression against our country, the Chinese aggressors destroyed many of our economic bases, including economic-technical bases of the railroad sector. Many bridges, culverts, roads, railroad stations, railroad cars and locomotives, much equipment, cargo and so forth along the Hanoi-Huu Nghi Quan line (from Lang Son to Dong Dang) and the Hanoi-Lao Cai line (from Thai Van to Lao Cai) were destroyed or burned by them. According to preliminary figures, the Chinese aggressors destroyed more than 90 kilometers of railroad, 51 semaphores, 22 large and small bridges measuring a total of 692 meters, 13 sluices and 10,717 kilometers of telegraph line. They destroyed or took back to China two of Vietnam's locomotives, 127 railroad cars, 45 tool making machines of various types, 71 pieces of telegraph equipment, nearly 100 tons of supplies and equipment and over 1,500 tons of cargo of various types.

By means of sophisticated, malicious acts of destruction, all of which were prepared in advance, the Chinese aggressors destroyed many of our railroad projects for the purpose of creating immediate as well as long-range difficulties for us; they intentionally made it impossible for us to restore these projects or restore them by the expenditure of much money, manpower and time.

Along the Yen Bai-Lao Cai line alone, they destroyed 17 large and small bridges, including the five span, 210 meter Lang Giang Bridge. The Lang Giang Bridge is located in treacherous, geologically complex terrain and spans a deep, swirling river; to construct this bridge, our cadres and workers had to employ the submerged, steam pressure well method and many other advanced techniques; it can be said that the successful construction of the permanent Lang Giang Bridge was the first outstanding achievement of the Vietnamese bridge building sector. As regards its economic value, the Lang Giang

Bridge was the only means of communication along this treacherous line for shipping apatite for supply to dozens of fertilizer plants throughout the country. The Chinese aggressor army totally destroyed the Lang Giang Bridge by emplacing tens of tons of explosives at the bridgeheads and beams, especially the pillars of the bridge; they even destroyed the bridgehead foundations deep underwater in order to make it impossible for us to restore them. They also attached mines to each and every basic member of the bridge spans, consequently, all five spans of the 210 meter bridge were damaged beyond repair. The Ky Lua Bridge in Lang Son Province had only 1 pillar; they placed hundreds of tons of explosives around it and brought it down. Along the sections of the railroad by which the Chinese aggressors passed, they placed small, 200 to 300 gram mines, between the rails to sever the line or heavier charges to destroy large sections of the line. They not only destroyed rails and crossties being installed along the line, but also destroyed reserve rails lying beside the track bed. On both the western railroad line (Hanoi-Lao Cai) and the northern line (Hanoi-Huu Nghi Quan), the Chinese aggressors destroyed 51 semaphores in exactly the same way: using explosives, they completely destroyed the mechanisms and arms of the semaphores, their two principal components. Of the 13,275 square meters of building space, consisting of railroad stations, work areas, dining halls, housing and so forth, of the cadres and personnel of the railroad sector along the northern border that were destroyed, the Chinese aggressors used mines and explosives on fire resistant structures, such as junctions, walls and building foundations, in order to collapse them or at least render them unusable. Before they fled, the Chinese aggressors completely destroyed dozens of railroad stations through which they passed. They smashed on the spot or dismantled and hauled back to China train operating equipment and machinery, communications switchboards and other projects. In particular, they destroyed or took back to China, 127 rail cars of various types, 2 locomotives, more than 20 tons of ferrous and non-ferrous metals and 132 tons of fuel in a vain attempt to prevent us from quickly restoring rail transportation while sabotaging some of the material-technical bases of our railroad sector. They also completely destroyed, burned or stole bases supporting everyday life within the railroad sector in the two northern zones. Dining halls, child care centers and houses were destroyed and thousands of beds, bureaus, tables and chairs were smashed; they systematically searched for and stole hundreds of tons of rice and took every hog being raised by railroad workers; they also took electric fans and clocks.

In attacking and destroying bases of the railroad sector, the Chinese aggressors showed that their insidious, brazen actions were planned and prepared in advance. As we know, in 1954, after the North was totally liberated, our people, with the help of the fraternal socialist countries, turned their hands to healing the wounds of war and rebuilding the country. Restoring the various rail lines was one of the first tasks to be carried out, and was carried out in an urgent manner. The cadres and workers of the Vietnamese railroad sector have not forgotten the specialists, cadres and workers of the Chinese railroad sector who came and helped us to restore the Hanoi-Huu Nghi Quan line and a number of other projects. However, even during those first days, the Peking

authorities, due to their adherence to great nation expansionism and hegemony, took advantage of the confidence placed in them by our people to occupy pieces of Vietnamese soil and impede and pose difficulties to the everyday activities of the Vietnamese railroad sector. According to the agreement reached by the two sides, when helping us to restore the Hanoi-Huu Nghi Quan railroad, the 102nd Chinese railroad projects unit built the section of the line from Pengqiang station in China to the Bac Giang station while our railroad forces built the section from Yen Vien to Bac Giang. In 1956, China's "Vietnam aid repair" unit agreed to help us repair and upgrade this entire line; everything from surveying to design and construction work was undertaken by the Chinese. After completing its work, the unit gave us a map drawn on 9 September 1956 which showed the point where the rails link to be 300 meters deeper into Vietnamese territory. According to the old railroad map signed by the French colonialists with the imperial court of the House of Qing (China), the border between the two countries cut across the rail line at kilometer 167+066¹⁸; the Dong Dang railroad station is at kilometer 162+466¹⁸ and the distance from it to the border was 4.6 kilometers. However, when they positioned the rail link and drew the new railroad map, the Chinese side revised the border between the two countries to cut across the railroad at kilometer 166+750¹⁰. As a result, the distance from the Dong Dang station (at kilometer 162+466¹⁸) to the Sino-Viet border was only 4.283⁹² kilometers. Compared to the historic border, China had moved the border 316 meters into our country.

In 1972, after occupying the railroad, Chinese border security police drove out our people who had long been living and working in this area in order to take occupation of the land. To protect our sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as maintain the long standing friendship between the two nations, our government sent many official letters to the Chinese suggesting that the rail link between the two countries be readjusted to conform with the historic border. However, the Chinese side intentionally postponed and delayed any resolution of the issue, suggesting at one time that it be resolved after the two governments resolved the border issue; when they were exposed, they brazenly argued: "It is impossible to have a railroad of one country on another country's soil"!

To show our good will, while waiting for the issue to be resolved, we allowed Chinese workers to make repairs on this section of the rail line; however, because it was in Vietnamese territory, our border troops regularly conducted patrols and provided security. But the Chinese side still boldly looked for every way to achieve "uniformity" between the above mentioned 316 meters of Vietnamese railroad track and the gauge and color of materials of the Chinese railroad.

For many years, the Chinese authorities caused us numerous difficulties in every area, from the effort to complete design and construction plans for various projects and the importation of locomotives and rolling stock to the transportation of freight through China. During the years of our people's war of resistance against the United States, the Peking authorities said, on

the one hand, that "China is the vast rear area" of Vietnam; on the other hand, they looked for ways to impede rail transportation through China to Vietnam. Soviet aid goods being shipped to Vietnam through China were held by China to the lowest possible level. In 1968, when our people launched the offensive and uprising in the South, China only allowed the shipment of a few thousand tons of goods to Vietnam per month!

After Johnson was forced to de-escalate the war, aid goods bound for our country became backlogged in various countries and we needed equipment and supplies to restore the economy and heal the wounds of the war; however, China looked for ways to exert pressure upon us and only supplied us with 50 percent of the rolling stock needed to ship these goods, even though the railroad agreement between the two countries clearly stated that each side would meet the other's need for rolling stock. In 1972, they only shipped to us 1,000 tons of goods per day (while our receiving capacity was 7,000 tons per day) and exerted pressure upon us trying to force us to allow Chinese engineers to come to Vietnam to "insure the security of railroad stock" in Vietnam(?). We obstinately rejected this demand and struggled to gain their compliance with the trans-shipment plan of the two countries. They intentionally procrastinated, refused to meet our demand and, in the end, only shipped to us a few thousand tons per day. On 22 December 1978, on the pretext of needing to repair the railroad, the Chinese side unilaterally and totally suspended the activities of the international joint transportation rail line, thereby abrogating the agreement signed between the two sides.

For the sake of the tradition of friendship and solidarity between the peoples of the two countries as well as between the railroad sectors of Vietnam and China, Vietnamese railroad cadres and workers have, over the past several decades, constantly done their best to maintain, strengthen and develop the cooperation between the railroad sectors of the two countries. The examples of selfless labor by cadres and workers of the Chinese railroad sector while performing their task of helping Vietnam to restore the railroad caused the people of Vietnam, in general, and the cadres and workers of Vietnam's railroad sector, in particular, to feel fine sentiments and deep gratitude toward them. The Peking authorities' hostile policy toward Vietnam, a policy designed to weaken and annex Vietnam, has betrayed the tradition of friendship of the peoples of the two countries.

Over the past several decades, in keeping with the independent, sovereign line of the party and in order to preserve the friendship between the two peoples of Vietnam and China, the Vietnamese railroad sector has taken positive steps to protect its railroad lines and constantly improve the railroad cooperation between the two countries, thereby helping to strengthen the solidarity and friendship between the peoples of the two countries. In the spirit of comradeship, of understanding one another, the cadres and workers of the Vietnamese railroad sector have always tried to maintain good relationships and struggle, in a manner that conforms to both reason and sentiment, for the interests of the railroad sectors and peoples of the two countries. However, when the Peking reactionary authorities revealed their

reactionary nature and unleashed a war of aggression of our countries, killing our compatriots, attacking our economic bases and destroying material-technical bases of our railroad sector, the railroad cadres and soldiers in the areas in which fighting occurred stubbornly clung to their combat positions, thereby making a worthy contribution to the common feat of arms recorded by the country. At the Dong Dang railroad station, in the midst of a heavy attack by enemy artillery, tanks and infantry troops, the train engineer section consisting of Vu Minh Tien, Bui Quy Du, and Le Ngoc Thuc bravely and resourcefully moved engine 102 to a safe location. The self-defense platoon of the crew on board, led by party chapter secretary Nguyen Huy Tu, who served as political officer, coordinated with infantry units to tenaciously fight and destroy enemy tanks and many enemy aggressors. In the areas of the Pho Moi and Pom Han stations in Hoang Lien Son Province, both of which were within the range of enemy artillery fire, sections 432 and 417 of the Hanoi-Lao Cai locomotive crew along with railroad station personnel charged into the rain of fire to move dozens of tons of cargo and many pieces of equipment and machinery as well as many documents from the area under enemy attack. Even during the days of heaviest fighting, the railroad cadres and workers along the Hanoi-Lang Son and Hanoi-Lao Cai lines worked hard night and day urgently moving hundreds of thousands of their compatriots to safety.

Because they foresaw how the situation would develop and were clearly aware of the schemes and tricks of the enemy, the party committee and leadership committee of the Railroad General Department established a guidance committee prior to 17 February 1979 and put key cadres into key positions at the various border railroad stations in order to supervise and perform the work involved in maintaining communications and promptly meet the requirements of every situation; as a result, the damages caused by the enemy were limited. As soon as the enemy was forced to withdraw their troops, railroad shock forces on the two border lines immediately began the work of conducting surveys and researching construction plans, consequently, in only 1 week, passenger trains were arriving at the Lang Son station. At the same time, due to the extraordinary efforts made by the various bridge construction units, such as Bridge Corporation Number 5, the Hanoi-Lao Cai bridge crew and so forth, a number of important bridges were restored and trains began arriving at the Pho Lu station in Hoang Lien Son Province.

In response to the Appeal by the Party Central Committee and the General Mobilization Order of the state, the cadres and workers of the railroad sector have been and are standing shoulder to shoulder with all our people and our entire army, displaying a high level of revolutionary heroism, accelerating production and intensifying the maintenance of combat readiness, thereby making worthy contributions to the work of building and firmly protecting the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

In the immediate future, we must urgently restore the installations that were attacked and mobilize other places within the sector to handle the cargo which the installations along the border are unable to handle. On the other hand, the capital construction task must be revised in order to increase our

transportation capacity and meet the new requirements we face. In transportation, priority must be given to shipments to the northern border provinces in order to help to quickly stabilize the production and life of the people and meet the routine and emergency requirements of the defense of the nation as fully and rapidly as possible.

We still face many difficulties and major challenges; however, with enthusiasm over the recent victory won by our army and people, the entire railroad sector will surely move forward to complete each task assigned it well and advance the railroad sector to regular force procedures and gradual modernization.

The People of the Northern Forest Areas Bear a Hatred of the Chinese Aggressor Army

[Presentation by Tran Van Que, Vice Minister of Forestry]

One of the sinister schemes of the Peking reactionaries against our country is to sabotage our economy; in this scheme, the forests became a target of heavy attacks by the Chinese aggressor army.

Our country's northern border, which stretches for more than 1,000 kilometers, is the headwater of many rivers that flow into the Mekong River Delta and a region that contains many valuable types of wood and rare special products. The Chinese aggressors destroyed the forests here in order to destroy the sources of aquatic life and the protection afforded to the entire North and destroy one of the economic strengths of the border provinces; at the same time, they destroyed the forests and attacked the forestry forces here in order to destroy one of the bases of our national defense system in the border region. Therefore, when the Chinese aggressors attacked the northern border provinces of our country, they resorted to every possible malicious and barbarous trick to destroy the forests, destroy forestry production installations and massacre our forestry workers.

During the recent days the Chinese aggressor army attacked the six northern provinces of our country, they attacked and destroyed 45 forestry sites and forestry enterprises of Quang Ninh, Lang Son, Cao Bang, Ha Tuyen, Hoang Lien Son and Lai Chau Provinces. They destroyed or stole practically all of the property of these forestry sites and enterprises. More than 3,000 hectares of planted forests and natural forests were burned by the enemy. Dozens of hectares of nurseries were torn up by enemy artillery shells and millions of tree seedlings were destroyed. Dozens of vehicles, machines of various types and power generating equipment were destroyed or stolen. All common production tools and other means of work of the forestry installations mentioned above were also plundered by the Chinese aggressors. Tens of thousands of square meters of living and working space of forestry cadres and workers were burned. All of the personal jewelry belonging to tens of thousands of forestry cadres and workers was stolen by the Chinese aggressors.

Many forestry workers were killed, shot and wounded or captured by them. The Chinese aggressors barbarously raped then killed female workers who had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

All of these barbarious crimes by the so called "Chinese people's liberation army" revealed the reactionary nature and the medieval barbarity of an army that has become a counter-revolutionary army under the control of the Peking expansionists.

The forestry workers in the northern border provinces of our country learned of the insidious schemes of the Peking expansionists well before 17 February 1979, when hundreds of thousands of Chinese troops inundated our country. Over a period of many years, the forestry workers here have frequently had to deal with actions by the Peking expansionists to sabotage the forestry trade, provoke border problems and sow division between the people of the various nationalities and forestry workers by means of every possible malicious and brazen trick. For this reason, as soon as the Chinese aggressor army stepped foot in the mountainous forests along the border of our fatherland, they were duly punished by the soldiers on the forestry front coordinating in combat with militia forces, self-defense forces, public security forces, and the local army.

The majority of the forestry sites and forestry enterprises at those places where fighting took place recorded outstanding achievements in combat and combat support operations, competently helped troops and the armed public security forces block the enemy's advance, killed thousands of aggressors, destroyed or captured many of the enemy's means of war, captured spies and so forth, thereby helping the army and people of the six northern provinces defeat the Chinese aggressor army. Many forestry workers and cadres fulfilled their combat and combat support tasks. A number of them bravely sacrificed their lives in the middle of the forests, forests which they helped to plant and cultivate on a daily basis. Many cadres and workers recorded outstanding feats of arms. Several were accepted into the Vietnam Communist Party.

The attack filled with crimes by the Chinese aggressor army against the northern border provinces of our country inflicted losses and damage upon our forestry economy; however, it did give the corps of workers and cadres within the forestry sector, in general, and those in the border area, in particular, a deeper insight into the cruel schemes and tricks of the Chinese aggressors and a greater appreciation of the following lessons and experiences:

Coordinating production and combat readiness is the routine, permanent task of the forestry forces in the northern border provinces of our country.

One of the schemes of the Peking expansionists is to sabotage our economy on a long-term basis in a vain attempt to weaken our country; therefore, we must be fully prepared to annihilate the enemy once they invade our country, our forestry sites; at the same time, particular importance must be attached to protecting the forests, protecting the property of the forestry sector,

protecting the forestry labor force. Here, protecting the fatherland means successfully protecting each section of forest, protecting the natural resources of the forests, protecting the forest land of the fatherland.

Organizing good rear bases in production as well as combat is a requirement to which particular importance must be attached when establishing the production guidelines of the forestry sector in this area. Establishing coordination between forestry production and agricultural production in order to operate a complete business and make integrated use of our assets creates favorable conditions for developing the forestry sector during normal times and promptly meeting needs when it becomes necessary to go into combat against the aggressors.

Unity and mutual help among forestry workers, the people of the various nationalities and the professional armed forces of the border areas are a requirement that must be met on a daily basis in production, construction, everyday life and the maintenance of combat readiness. The closer they are during normal times, the greater are the results achieved when they coordinate in combat against the enemy.

Strengthening the leadership provided by the party, developing the ownership role played by forestry workers, relying upon the force of youths in production and combat and, through production and combat, advancing the building of the party, the Youth Union and the Trade Union to a new level of development cultivate the factors that determine each and every victory.

The Peking expansionists inflicted many losses upon the forestry trade of the six northern border provinces of our country. The recent actions of the aggressors face us with numerous problems that must be resolved in order to stabilize life and production and achieve a higher level of combat readiness. Developing upon the momentum of the victory we won, with the creative spirit of the corps of forestry workers who were challenged in the recent fight, with the assistance of the entire forestry sector and with the support and encouragement of the compatriots of the entire country and our friends throughout the world, the forestry trade in the northern border provinces of our country will surely overcome its difficulties quickly, successfully carry out its production, combat readiness and combat tasks and build the forestry production units into steel fortresses protecting the beloved fatherland.

The Crimes of the Chinese Aggressors in Their Destruction of the Economic and Life-Support Bases of Our People

[Unattributed presentation]

In pursuit of their scheme to annex our country, the Peking expansionist reactionaries waged a war of aggression against our country, committing many extremely barbarous crimes against our people. Among these crimes, the crime of destroying economic and life-support bases of our people shows the destructive nature of the war and the extreme maliciousness of their scheme.

They burned, destroyed or stole material-technical bases and every kind of property belonging to our people living along the route of their advance and their retreat in order to cause us numerous, immediate difficulties in production and everyday life and pose obstacles to us in our effort to restore the economic and life-support bases destroyed by them with a view toward weakening and crippling us in order to make it easy for them to annex our country.

The Chinese aggressor army destroyed industrial, agricultural, forestry and communications-transportation installations, warehouses and installations supporting the everyday life of our people. The destruction of the Cam Duong mining complex is a typical example of their crimes of destruction. They stole and took back to China all the machinery and equipment used to mine apatite ore and produce phosphate fertilizer together with thousands of tons of fertilizer, thousands of tons of newly mined ore still lying in storage yards, hundreds of trucks, bulldozers and so forth. They used explosives and heavy artillery fire to destroy the entire transportation road system of the five mining and fertilizer production sites. All subsidiary production projects and the system of telegraph and electricity poles also were destroyed. They destroyed two bridges within the mine complex by attaching large quantities of explosives to the bridge pillars and bridgeheads. They burned the entire housing complex of mine cadres and workers, burned the grain store, the general merchandise store, the public restaurant and public welfare projects, such as the movie, library and level I and level II schools. They looted the mine's hospital of all public health implements and medicines; surgical gowns were torn to shreds; office desks and chairs, patient beds and so forth, nothing was untouched. They completely destroyed the Lao Cai Power Plant; the entire plant is now nothing more than a pile of broken bricks. In Cao Bang, the Chinese aggressor army used mines to destroy the Ta Sa and Na Ngan Hydroelectric Power Plants supporting the production of the Tinh Fuc tin mine, the Nam Cum Hydroelectric Power Plant and three large bridges within Cao Bang City.

They looted or destroyed the tractors, bulldozers, steamrollers, trucks, generating equipment, transformers and spare parts together with tens of thousands of tons of nitrogen fertilizer, phosphate fertilizer, insecticide, rice seed, vegetable seed and tree seedlings at slightly less than 80 forestry sites, state farms and agricultural stations and farms. They stole or killed more than 100,000 buffalo, cattle and horses and nearly 200,000 hogs. Tens of thousands of workers at state forestry sites and state farms lost all their housing and property. At the Bao Thang state forestry site, after looting everything belonging to the forestry site and its cadres, manual workers and office workers, they set fire to the rows of housing and used mines to destroy work buildings; when they fled, they used mines to destroy the lumber yard and roads of the forestry site.

They also destroyed communication and transportation projects; all railroad stations and bridges in the areas through which they passed were razed. They completely destroyed the Ky Lua, Lang Giang, Lang Chieng and other

bridges by emplacing many explosive charges at the main pillars and bridge-heads in order to prevent us from repairing or using the bridges again. Along the railroad line from Pho Lu to Pho Moi, a distance of more than 30 kilometers, a 25-30 centimeter section of every piece of rail was blown out using small, 200 to 300 gram explosive charges. They stole and took back to China many trucks and more than 100 locomotives and railroad cars.

In the rural areas, they destroyed water conservancy projects, reservoirs, pump stations and irrigation and drainage sluices. They not only destroyed state-operated and collective economic installations, but also completely destroyed the household economy of the people of the various nationalities.

In keeping with their hostile policy toward Vietnam, the Chinese aggressor army also looked for ways to destroy every source of livelihood of our people, even destroyed the environment. They stole everything from the paddy, rice, subsidiary food crops, livestock and poultry to the seed paddy and subsidiary food crop seed of farmers. They stole or killed all the buffalo, cattle and horses--the draft power needed for agriculture--and stole or destroyed such common tools as plows, harrows, hoes, knives, chisels, saws and hammers. They dug up, exploded with mines or fired artillery into drying yards and warehouses belonging to cooperatives, they stole mosquito netting, clothing and household utensils. The corpses of some Chinese soldiers were found still wearing four pairs of black women's trousers or carrying chickens, frying pans or cassava tubers like the most lowly pirates. They burned many large forest areas. Thousands of hectares of natural forest in Lai Chau Province were burned. Thousands of hectares of pine and samu forests surrounding the Sa Pa resort area were burned by them. They threw poison chemicals into wells and river headwaters. They threw the corpses of the civilians murdered by them into wells and streams to pollute water sources with a view toward permanently damaging the health of our people; they threw the bodies of 15 compatriots murdered by them into the water wheel of Hung Dao Village in Hoa An District, Cao Bang Province. Before they withdrew their troops, they placed mines along paths, on field and well embankments, in doorways, in vegetable gardens, hog pens and rice containers in order to inflict further casualties upon our people.

Resentful of the quiet, happy life of the Vietnamese, they set out to destroy this life. Villages and towns through which they passed, which were once bustling, prosperous places, are now nothing more than piles of rubble. They used heavy artillery, rockets, mines and various types of explosives to completely destroy densely populated areas, economic installations, cultural installations, educational installations and so forth. They leveled the four cities of Cao Bang, Lang Son, Lao Cai and Cam Duong and the towns of Muong Khuong, Bat Xat, Pho In, and Dong Dang. They burned and destroyed 330 of the 420 houses in De Tham Village in Hoa An District, Cao Bang Province.

In Lang Son City, they blew up the electric power plant with mines. They totally destroyed the Lang Son Bank and railroad station, both of which were permanent structures, using tons of explosives. The city hospital was

destroyed. Practically all power lines and telegraph lines were cut. In only 3 days, the aggressor army reduced the town of Pho Lu, a town of 5,000 people, to a pile of ashes. They burned rows of civilian housing, destroyed the post-telegraph station and railroad station and burned the granary.

The Sa Pa resort area was the target of very malicious, destructive enemy attacks. They placed tons of explosives at the footing of villa number 10 and immediately destroyed it to its foundation, bringing down with it villa number 6 and an entire row of one story houses. Villas numbers 3, 4 and 5, the level I-level II general school and 25 civilian houses within the town, together with all the property in them, were also destroyed. The machinery at the earth physics and meteorological station bearing international insignia 48802 was destroyed or looted.

The Chinese aggressor army insanely burned general schools, vocational middle schools and trade training schools: 735 of the 904 general schools and 160 of 665 child care centers and kindergartens in the areas through which they passed were destroyed, thereby depriving nearly 200,000 students and kindergarten children of a place to learn. The students' desks and chairs as well as the textbooks and teaching aids of the schools were burned by them, they even unleashed their hatred on hospitals and medical aid stations: in the areas through which they passed 428 of the 430 hospitals and medical aid stations together with their beds, public health implements and pharmacies were destroyed by them. They even burned the churches, temples and other places of worship of the people.

The Chinese aggressors also destroyed historic ruins closely associated with our nation's patriotic tradition of resistance against foreign aggression. They completely destroyed the Pac Bo Museum complex, the place containing sacred ruins and remembrances closely associated with the life of revolutionary activities of President Ho Chi Minh, the person who gave his entire life for the liberation of the Vietnamese and other nations, the person who worked hard to cultivate the feeling of friendship between the Vietnamese and the Chinese.

The war of aggression by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists inflicted heavy losses upon the Vietnamese.

[See chart on following page]

The above mentioned extremely barbarous crimes by the Chinese aggressors exposed the heinous face of aggression of the Peking expansionists and hegemonists and clearly reveal their nature as the assault force of imperialism, as an extremely bellicose, extremely cruel reactionary gang.

Preliminary Statistics on Immediate Losses as of the End of March 1979

	Unit	Total Number in Areas Through Which the Enemy Passed	Number Destroyed by the Enemy
1. Number of cities destroyed	cities	4	4
2. Number of villages destroyed	villages	320	320
3. Urban housing space destroyed	thousands of square meters		600
4. Number of urban dwellers left homeless due to enemy destruction	thousands of persons		150
5. Rural houses destroyed	thousands		45
6. Rural dwellers left homeless due to enemy destruction	thousands		200
7. Level I, II and III general schools destroyed	schools	904	735
8. Number of general school students without schools	students		180
9. Child care centers destroyed		691	691
10. Number of children who do not have a place to learn	thousands		14
11. Number of teachers without a school			5,570
12. Number of hospitals and medical aid stations destroyed		430	428
Provincial hospitals:		4	4
District hospitals:		26	24
Medical aid stations:		400	400
13. Number of forestry sites destroyed		42	38
14. Number of state farms and agricultural stations and farms destroyed			41
15. Number of buffalo and cattle killed or stolen	thousands	260	157
16. Number of hogs killed or stolen	thousands	305	244

THIRTY DAYS OF WAR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 79 pp 97-101

[Article by V. Skvortsov reprinted in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN (Communist Review) in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 79 pp 40-45. The following English translation previously was published in JPRS 73669, TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST, 12 Jun 1979, pp 114-120]

[Text] In the course of more than two weeks a mad pressure exerted by the aggressor was applied on Vietnam, defeated by the firmness of the heroic people, multiplied by the support and solidarity of the Soviet Union, the other fraternal countries, and all people of goodwill. Then, for a period of one and a half weeks, the enemy withdrew slowly, leaving behind trenches lined with the corpses of the civilian population, blasted enterprises and homes, wrecked bridges, plundered towns and villages, and mined rice paddies, fighting at each mountain pass of Vietnam's border provinces. The month of war unleashed by Beijing against an independent socialist state became the eternal shame of Maoism, forever smirching the present Chinese leadership. The guns are silent today in the mountains of Lang Son, Cao Bang, and Hoang Lien Son. However, the traces of the crimes committed by the Chinese soldiery remain. They disturb the minds and consciences of mankind and call for vigilance.

1

How did the war begin? The surprise factor has always been considered one of the decisive ones in the plans of any aggressor. Apparently, everything contributed to this surprise on the morning of Saturday, 17 February. On the eve a thick blue-grey haze covered the serrated mountains along the almost entire 1,400-kilometer-long Sino-Vietnamese border. In the night the moon did not come out. Visibility declined sharply, and the pitch darkness and heavier pre-dawn fog blinded the observation facilities of the Vietnamese border troops. At 0300 120-millimeter mine-throwers and 105-millimeter guns brought up by the Chinese began firing on the Vietnamese positions in Cao Bang. Half an hour later the fire spread along the entire border. Under its cover the leading columns of the 600,000-strong Chinese expeditionary corps hurled itself against Lang Son, Cao Bang, and Lao Cai, and initiated flank-turning movements in tens of other sectors.

The shelling roused us, a group of journalists working in the border areas, from our beds in the brick huts of the hotel in the suburbs of Lang Son, 14 kilometers from the initiated battle. The thunder of the shelling intensified somewhere beyond the hills crossed by dugouts and communications trenches. In the greyish dawn of a cloudy day their bright-yellow clay walls looked like scars among the grass and bamboo shrubs. Airplanes roared above the low cloud cover. We could see the roused crews running to their anti-aircraft guns along the trenches.

"Chinese artillery began by shelling today Dong Dang," we were told by Duong Quoc Tien, representative of the people's committee of Lang Son Province, who arrived soon afterwards. Wearing a black cap which had turned suede-colored by the dust, and a green service jacket with traces of reddish earth on the elbows, he spread on the table a map of the province. Hastily marked red arrows of the Chinese strikes led to the small Dong Dang City. Pincers surrounded the Loc Binh and Van Lang Districts, covering the border spur of the Hanoi-Beijing railroad, sliding more and more in a southerly direction. The border troops were already fighting enemy tanks. Thousands of refugees were hastily retreating along national highway number one.

War is war, and when in the case of a soldier it breaks out he must be always ready. However, as a rule, when a battle breaks out the civilian population is caught unawares. In Lang Son Province alone, several days before the attack, about 100,000 people, essentially children, women, and old people had been evacuated. For the second week running the armed members of the youth shock detachments and militiamen were cultivating the cooperative fields and working the enterprises. However, part of the population had remained behind. That is why, as we traveled to the front we crossed an endless line of people: women carrying children on their backs, carrying yokes with bundles, adolescents pushing bicycles loaded with baggage, and old people and girls armed with carbines, providing evacuation protection and keeping order. Men carrying hand grenades and automatic weapons were going to the border carrying on bamboo poles parts of recoilless guns and mortars, and ammunition cases. The cut of their trousers and shirts identified them as militiamen. On the side of the highway, behind the railroad embankment, troops of the regional forces in their green uniform blouses were spread along the half-flooded fields, their backs covered by green camouflage twigs.

Near Dong Dang, 2 kilometers away from the border, we had to leave the car and proceed on foot, hugging the sharp mountain slope. There was steady mortar and heavy machine gun fire. Everything around us looked barren. Only a closer look revealed the positions of the militiamen on the hill crests. Two hundred to three hundred steps later we came across three boys carrying a wounded man to the rear.

"The Chinese are half a kilometer away," one of the soldiers said. "Four tanks and artillery cut off the railroad and advanced four or five kilometers inside the country."

Later on, Lt Col Hoang Ninh, commander of the Lang Son border outposts, described to us the apparent operative plan of the aggressor. Several days prior to the mounting of the mass attack, Chinese soldiers captured Hill 400, within Vietnamese territory, east of Lang Son, and laid a path to it along which they moved artillery and heavy mortars. The strike along national highway number one was prepared by a fire raid from the hill. It was precisely here, in the first day, that the enemy who attacked along the entire length of the state border dividing the Socialist Republic of Vietnam from China, that wedged itself, toward the evening, most profoundly, penetrating into the territory seven kilometers. "This is no border conflict," Duong Quoc Tien said at that time. "This is war."

We visited the Lang Son Hospital which had been receiving wounded from early morning. Several days later that hospital, as the house of the provincial people's committee on Hoang Van Thu, near the city sports stadium, where we had spoken with Col Hoang Ninh, were demolished by Chinese long-range artillery. The enraged enemy was seeking revenge for his lost hopes for an easy walk on Vietnamese soil. However, as in the past, the ancient guns placed there to commemorate the defeat of Chinese invasions of previous centuries, laid on their stone mounds among bits of tiles, broken bricks, and fallen huge banyan trees.

2

Long after the first day of fierce battles, assessing the event, Nguyen Co Thach, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, discussing the surprise factor, said: "Strategically, we were ready. It was easy to predict the direction in which the Chinese forces would move, since they are known even from history. The mountains dictate the routes. Tactically, it is always difficult to determine in advance the time of attack. Yet, the very circumstances along the border, becoming more and more aggravated with every passing day, indicated it."

Indeed, as early as the evening of 14 February, slightly over two days prior to the launching of the aggression, a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam distributed among the journalists working in Hanoi a document openly stating that China was preparing an attack against Vietnamese territory, and was concentrating tens of divisions, hundreds of tanks, airplanes, and guns. We were shown a map on which violations of SRV sovereignty by Chinese troops in depths reaching up to five kilometers had been marked.

There was more to it. Be it said to the honor of the population of Vietnam's border provinces, well familiar with the habits of the authorities "on the other side," it had never been confused as to the real value of the words and specific actions of the Maoists. The people's committees did not even have to issue special orders on the destruction of the Chinese leaflets which enemy airplanes which, true, did not risk anything by violating foreign air space a depth of three to five kilometers, had poured on the Vietnamese.

The narrow strips of paper either repeated the same boastful stupidity or tactless coarse stale statements broadcast round-the-clock by powerful loudspeakers. The leaflets were either burned or collected by the awful like dry leaves.

"The current events," said Duong Quoc Tien, "confirm the correctness of the principal line we have followed in the patriotic education of the people of Lang Son, the youth in particular. This line consists of exposing the foreign and domestic policy of the Beijing leadership, the reactionary nature of Maoism, which is continuing the work of the French colonizers, American aggressors, and Han feudal lords, and the now-obvious threat concealed in Beijing's adventuristic actions toward neighboring nations."

On the eighth day of the battles for Lang Son, by the force of events I was not far from Hill 611 with the militia commissar, an elderly agronomist named Ha Duc Hung. As the oldest communist in the province, he had fought in these areas as early as 1946 the Chiang Kai-shek forces, shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese communists. Commemorating the then combat comradeship and marking the good neighborly relations between the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the main control border point at the junction of the railroads of the two countries near Dong Dang was named "Gates of Friendship." "Noting how shamelessly a great tradition is being violated and socialism betrayed, our population realized perfectly the type of enemy we had next door waiting to strike," Ha Duc Hung said. "Over a period of several years clashes occurred at the border markers. As of last year disturbance fire was directed at anything moving along our side. On 17 February, when Chinese artillery began to shell the Dong Hen settlement, where only the old and the children had remained, there was no need to call the militia. Two hours before the order was received they were marching toward the border."

Such was the case not only in Lang Son but in Cao Bang and Hoang Lien Son, everywhere. Immediately the Vietnamese resistance to the Maoists became nationwide and was manifested in the mass heroism of the troops who withstood the first pressure of the wave of the monstrous tactic of the "human sea" developed by the Maoist staffs who consider the lives of their own soldiers totally worthless. Senior Colonel Le Son, commander of the Lang Son regional forces, described the way on 22 February, 10 kilometers northwest of Dong Dang, near route number 4-A, for a period of 24 hours a battalion of regional forces withstood 19 daytime and 2 nighttime attacks involving the use of 1 enemy battalion and 5 infantry battalions. The ammunition spent per soldier could be estimated in the kilograms. The metal of the automatic weapons and machine guns showed fatigue and it seemed that there was no end to the endlessly attacking enemy soldiers. Nevertheless, the Vietnamese troops withstood and endured.

It is known that, preparing their strike at Vietnam, the Maoists sent to the mountains inhabited by national minorities their own agents to engage in provocatory work. Beijing was also hoping for action on the part of the reactionary rabble hiding in the southern provinces of the republic, following

the defeat of the Saigon puppet regime. However, the moral and political unity, organization, and calm displayed by the Vietnamese people in the face of the severe danger were so monolithic that even the Western propaganda centers were forced to acknowledge them.

In the heat of combat a particularly tense situation developed at the beginning of March in the direction of Cao Bang. The camps of the evacuees were set up north of the small city of Ngan Son, along highway number three, exposed to the dank wind and endless drizzle. At night they lit campfires to warm up and dry out. In the darkness of the flames would reflect on a 130-millimeter tractor-pulled gun or a 12-barrel mortar. Seeing the sufferings and privations of the thousands of women, children, and old people, left without a roof over their heads, having seen the deaths of their relatives, the destruction of their villages, and the hanged wounded militiamen, once again we saw with our own eyes what the aggressor had brought on the soil of Vietnam.

On our way to the front, our fellow-travelers were the troops of the 45th separate battalion of regional armed forces of Cao Bang Province. They marched silently, as though along a passageway, passing by groups of refugees which carried mats to protect themselves from the rain. The enemy paid with a great deal of blood for the suffering of the civilian population. In the two subsequent days alone, in the course of heavy and stubborn combat, the 45th battalion removed from the ranks 1,140 Chinese soldiers and officers and burned over 10 tanks.

No, it was not Beijing's "own free will" that stopped the hordes of the aggressors in Vietnam's northern provinces. Bled white by the firm, adamant, and skillful Vietnamese defense, the Chinese units in the front lines held back, lost the pace of their advance or even found themselves hurled back by counterstrikes. After 27 February, in the direction of Lang Son, the enemy was forced to throw into the battle a new army corps. In Hoang Lien Son Beijing had committed to battle two fresh army corps even earlier, on 24 February. Near Cao Bang, having lost over 40,000 men in 2 weeks, the Chinese were forced to convert to defensive operations.

3

The Chinese offensive was running short of breath. The advent of a change could be felt. We witnessed this on national route number seven in Hoang Lien Son Province where the aggressor had wedged himself into Vietnamese territory particularly deeply, reaching the 44th kilometer marker.

The piles of hastily concealed and discarded green shell cases visibly grew in the proximity of five guns which rhythmically, at the rate of four volleys per minute, were shaking up with their thunder the surrounding mountains. In the intervals we could hear the signal corpsman repeat figures on the field telephone, and officers giving their figures to the crews. Sweating soldiers, discarding their shirts, were firing tirelessly. After each volley leaves

and twigs broken by the air wave from the eucalyptus trees in the vicinity would be strewn around in clusters of greyish dust. A battery of the Red River Artillery Regiment was shelling the Chinese forces retreating toward Lao Cai. "Our reconnaissance reports that in the sector of the town of Sa Pa," we were told by Cpt Do Son, "under the cover of defense installations set up last night the Chinese are carrying by rail enterprise equipment, grain, and household property collected by looters. Shelling this area we are preventing plunder with impunity and are pushing the enemy with our fire toward the border. The front is moving once again north."

Correlating the data of the circumstances as noted on the captain's map, we moved along route number seven toward the liberated areas, in the endless flow of troops. There were long columns of infantrymen, engineers, militiamen, and national police. Supply troops were distributing ammunition, canned goods, armfuls of sugarcane, and clusters of bananas directly from trucks. The haste to move ahead could be felt in every man, that kind of small, hardly noticeable disturbance in the ranks which occurs after completing a big march. The enemy was still firing back and counterattacking in individual directions. We were entering areas liberated from the Maoists. A desert spread before us. The distance from the small Pho Lu town, the first city we encountered on our way in the liberated areas, to Cam Duong, the other big settlement of Hoang Lien Son Province, is about 25 kilometers. It took us over one and a half hours by jeep to cover the distance. Bridges had been blown up, the highway wrecked by tanks, covered by mine potholes, and crossed by trenches. Railroad tracks had either been pulled out and carted off or else destroyed with special explosives over distances of many kilometers.

We traveled along unplanted rice paddies, abandoned villages inhabited by homeless dogs only, and across bamboo growths showing the traces of machine-gun fire. It was hard to look at tractors, bulldozers, and heavy trucks and buses in whose engines the Chinese had set the type of explosives which literally wrecked them.

"The type of damages which the occupation forces have caused us through their systematic and thoroughly planned destructive work," I was told by Nguyen Ngoc Binh, member of the Hoang Lien Son People's Committee, "was not caused even after the 'blanket bombing' by the American B-52's. The bandits have destroyed everything: the electric power plant, the cement plant, the canning factory, an enterprise for the production of natural oils, a ceramic production facility, and tens of workshops, state farms, and livestock farms. An entire Chinese division was used to dismantle the equipment of the apatite mine famous throughout the republic, and cart it to China. The enemy blasted even a pharmaceutical factory."

The center of Hoang Lien Son Province, once inhabited by 40,000 people, was empty with the exception of military patrols and engineers walking along the sidewalk with probing rods. Here and there they would stretch a blue wire which marked that stepping away from this guideline might be deadly.

We stopped about slightly over 100 meters from the Chinese border, not far from the confluence of the Red and Nam Thi Rivers. The remnants of two bridges were visible in the reddish water. The stench of corpses came from collapsed buildings on Coc Leu Street in the middle of which we could see a door torn off its hinges, on which ideograms read: "The 12th tank group is marching forth." Lieutenant Hoang Te let me use his binoculars. I could see a series of huts on the ridge of the hill on the other side. Unwittingly, looking in the direction of Chinese territory, I thought: What was being planned over there, what delirious plans were being made?

...We returned to Hanoi on 20 March from the front of the 30-day war imposed upon Vietnam by Beijing. Youth columns blocked the path of the car on the street near the dam, behind the Long Bien bridge across the Red River. They were marching to the square in front of the city theater for a meeting to celebrate the victory. Many of them were still armed with militia rifles and automatic weapons. Together with tens of thousands of people I was listening to Tran Vy, chairman of the people's committee of Vietnam's capital, boosted by the microphones. He was saying: "Having suffered severe losses, the Chinese ruling clique was forced to withdraw its forces from our territory. The homeland has been cleared of the aggressors. However, no one in the world should forget that the reactionary nature of the Beijing clique and its aggressive intentions remain the same."

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ONE MONTH OF NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT ANY PROGRESS: THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS LIES WITH THE CHINESE SIDE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 79 pp 46-49

[Article by Van Hien]

[Text] Our people recently won consecutive victories in two wars to protect the fatherland against the Peking expansionist aggressors, one on the southwestern border and one on the northern border. In conjunction with these glorious victories by the Vietnamese, the people of Kampuchea overthrew the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime and thwarted the scheme to turn Kampuchea into a new-style colony of Peking's leaders, thereby bringing about an historic turning point in their revolutionary undertaking. The people of Laos have also won tremendous victories in their struggle against the pressure, subversion and harassment of Peking and continued to steadily advance the Lao revolution along the road to socialism. Once again, the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have united against the common enemy. The traditional militant solidarity of the three nations on the Indochina peninsula met the challenge and triumphed over the insidious scheme of Peking to divide them, thereby becoming purer and stronger than ever before. The unity of Indochina is even greater because it is strongly supported and assisted by the USSR, the other fraternal socialist countries and the peace and justice loving countries and peoples of the world.

Our victories have been resounding ones. Our position is a very good one. Brandishing the banner of national independence and socialism, the banner of peace and friendship, our people are determined to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the fatherland; at the same time, they have a very fervent desire for peace and always want to maintain their fine friendship with the Chinese. It has been our unswerving stand to resolve every problem in the relationship between the two countries by means of peaceful negotiations. We do not desire war, do not desire hostile relations between our country and the People's Republic of China. Therefore, the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam took important initiatives to remove all obstacles and open the way for Vietnam-China negotiations.

In view of this favorable position and in this spirit of good will, we have, through 1 month of negotiations, through five negotiating sessions, always displayed an open, positive and serious attitude and done our very best to join the Chinese side in resolving the tense situation that now exists along the border between the two countries, thereby helping to prevent the danger of the reoccurrence of the war and eventually restore normal relations between the two countries and restore the long standing friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese.

At the very first session of the negotiations, we made a proposal concerning "the primary principles and substance of a solution to the problems in the relationship between the two countries," which consists of:

1. Urgent measures designed to maintain peace and stability in the border area and quickly reunite the persons captured in the war with their families;
2. Restoring normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence;
3. Resolving territorial border issues on the principle of maintaining the original historic border; respecting sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Widespread world opinion wholeheartedly welcomed and evaluated the three point stand of Vietnam as a practical, constructive one that conforms to both reason and sentiment, one that proves that Vietnam truly wishes to resolve the issue.

On three consecutive occasions, we presented proposals on a method of discussion that would be fair and satisfactory to both sides with the desire of achieving practical and useful discussions in the negotiations.

We also agreed to have the Red Cross organizations of the two countries carry out the exchange of all persons on both sides captured during the war in order to quickly reunite them with their families. In view of the serious stand and flexible attitude of the Vietnamese side, the Chinese side need only truly desire to resolve the issue in order for it to be completely possible for the two sides to reach a satisfactory conclusion. However, during the past month of negotiations, the Chinese side has taken a totally opposite stand and attitude, thereby preventing the negotiations from making any progress whatsoever.

In waging a war of aggression against Vietnam, the Chinese authorities threw off their mask of revolution and revealed their true nature as expansionists and aggressors, as the immediate and dangerous enemy of our people. They have been strongly denounced by progressive opinion throughout the world and increasingly opposed by the people and genuine revolutionaries of China. Having learned the tricks of Johnson and Nixon, who accompanied every

escalation of the criminal war with deceptive talk about peaceful negotiations, the Peking authorities also talked about so called "proposed negotiations" when they sent 600,000 of their troops to invade Vietnam on 17 February 1979. Painfully defeated, forced to withdraw their troops from Vietnam and violently opposed by public opinion, they found themselves in the situation of being unable to reject the proposals by the Vietnam side for negotiations without any preconditions.

One would think that the Chinese side would be practical and reasonable. However, the Chinese delegation has schemed to use the negotiating table in a vain attempt to achieve what their numerous plans failed to achieve, including their indirect and direct wars of aggression against Vietnam; that the Vietnam side abandon its correct policy of independence, sovereignty and international solidarity, give the land and territorial waters of Vietnam to them, submit to them and join them in the reactionary policy of aligning with international imperialism against the revolutionary forces of the world, against the USSR and the other socialist countries, against Kampuchea and Laos, against the countries of Southeast Asia.

In each of the five negotiating sessions, the Chinese side has vainly argued to deny their responsibility for the worsening relations between the two countries that led to their war of aggression against Vietnam; they are silent and bow their heads in the face of charges of crimes more horrible than those committed by the Hitler clique which the Chinese aggressor army committed in the six northern border provinces of our country. They are completely speechless in the face of the charge that the Pol Pot genocidal clique, their lackeys, killed more than 3 million Kampucheans. To defend their attack on Vietnam, they have falsely accused Vietnam of engaging in provocation to which China had to counter attack in self-defense; they say it was because of the Kampuchean issue; they say it was because Vietnam has united and is friendly with the USSR, etc. This is a wavering attitude, one beset by constant contradictions.

They have totally ignored the fair three point proposal of Vietnam, a proposal that conforms with both reason and sentiment. They have made an eight point proposal and said that the so called principle of "opposing hegemony" is the essence of their proposal. They have also claimed that Vietnam is unwilling to discuss this so called essential issue.

The style of negotiations has truly been one of only wanting to speak one's mind but not being at all willing to listen to the other side. We forthrightly told them: if we talk about hegemony, it will only be the great nation expansionism and hegemony of the leaders of Peking, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and for years have resisted Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and the other countries of Southeast Asia, resisted socialism, the national independence movement and the movement for peace and democracy in the world.

We pointed out it is primarily because of their selfish interests, their ambition to dominant the countries of Indochina in preparation for an attack on Southeast Asia and in order to achieve part of their scheme to rule the world that they have made every effort to impede the development and total victory of Vietnam's revolution and always looked for ways to use Vietnam as a bargaining chip with the U.S. imperialists. They have always considered an independent, sovereign, unified and prosperous Vietnam to be the largest obstacle to their great nation expansionism and hegemony. The more than several dozen questions asked by us about their crimes against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and Southeast Asia remain unanswered. How can they deny the irrefutable truth of their betrayal? To see the truth, one needs but to read and listen to the words they have spouted in recent days in the press and over the radio to prop up their weak position at the negotiating table in a vain attempt to clumsily defend their confusion. The true reason they talk about opposing hegemony is to conceal their evil scheme of achieving hegemony. They even talk about opposing imperialism, but only to defend without any embarrassment their recognizing themselves as the NATO of the East and their seeking an alliance with the U.S. imperialists.

Despite this position in which they find themselves, the Chinese side still thinks that their large army, their "sea of humanity" tactic, the massing of troops along the border, their continuous acts of provocation, their loud and continuous threats of a second and third attack and so forth permit them to display a stubborn, arrogant, great nation attitude at the conference table and force the opposition to accept their stand without any discussion whatsoever; they even refused at the very outset to discuss the opinions they themselves set forth when the Vietnam side suggested the discussion of point one of both sides or any other related issue that is raised.

One month has passed and each session has only increased their obstinancy and arrogance. The more they have talked, the more they have revealed their obstinant intention of being unwilling to resolve any issue with us. However, as a result, they have shown themselves to be increasingly confused and have been strongly denounced by public opinion. This is the reason why they unilaterally concluded the first round of the Vietnam-China negotiations. This action further bared the true nature of the picture of "good will" and "a true desire to resolve the issue" that they have worked so hard to paint. They must assume complete responsibility for five negotiating sessions without any progress.

The people of Vietnam, the people of China and widespread public opinion in the world demand that the Chinese authorities answer the following questions: do they truly desire peace in order to build China as they say they do; do they truly desire to resolve the problems in the relations between Vietnam and China; do they truly desire to restore normal relations between the two states and restore the long standing friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese; do they wish to contribute to peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the world?

The Vietnamese are determined to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the fatherland. All our people, united as one, are making every effort to accelerate production, heighten their vigilance, maintain combat readiness and fight well in every situation. We say to the Peking authorities that as long as they refuse to abandon their long-term scheme to harass and weaken our country in order to annex it, they will only court increasingly heavy defeats. The people of Vietnam are very ardent about peace and value the friendship between the peoples of the two countries; however, this peace and friendship must be based on independence and freedom. We knew how to win victory over the aggressors. We also know how to be steadfast in negotiations. This is an historic tradition and experience of our nation. The delegation of the Vietnam government is ready to go to Peking to begin the second round of the negotiations. We hope that in this round of the negotiations the Chinese side will be reasonable and display good will in order to make progress in the negotiations and satisfy the aspirations of the peoples of Vietnam and China as well as the desire of the peoples of Southeast Asia and the world for peace and stability.

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**A FEW ANCIENT CHINESE POTTERY SHARDS CANNOT CHANGE VIETNAM'S SOVEREIGNTY
IN THE PARACEL ARCHIPELAGO**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 79
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[Article by Van Trong]

[Text] Off the shore of our country's central region, about 120 nautical miles from Danang, between 111° and 113° east meridian and from 15° 45' and 17° 5' north parallel, lies our country's Paracel Archipelago. It is a coral archipelago made up of metamorphosed coral and consisting of many large and small islands divided into two distinct groups nearly 20 nautical miles apart. The individual islands are also relatively far apart.

The Paracel Archipelago is also located in a stormy area near the center of the formation and development of major storms in the South China Sea. Storms moving from the Philippines to southern China and our country's central and northern regions all pass through the Paracel Archipelago. The topography of the archipelago area is especially complicated; islands and submerged rock formations are scattered about over a vast expanse of sea. For a long time international navigators have viewed the Paracel Archipelago as a dangerous area. In 1698 the French ship *Amphitrite*, under the command of the adventurer De La Rocca, ran into a major storm in the Paracel Archipelago while traveling off the coast of Central Vietnam en route from France to China. He remarked that "The Paracels are a chain of extremely dangerous submerged rocks.... On 29 September we encountered a terrible storm: the ship's main mast was broken off, as were the other masts.... Three crewmen were killed and many others were seriously injured and swept overboard."*

The Vietnamese discovered and established sovereignty over the Paracel Archipelago long ago. Our forefathers organized an administration in that archipelago and exploited its natural resources regularly and in a

* Maderon, cl., "The First French Voyages to China," Challamel, Paris, 1901 (in French).

methodical manner. In the Paracels there are all sorts of fish, shrimp, squid, octopi, snails, sea turtles (also called "vich"), tortoises and various types of seaweed which are valuable as food or for use in industry. Some varieties of snails there weigh a quintal each and some sea turtles measure 1.5 meters by 1 meter. There are many kinds of sea birds in the archipelago (sea gulls, swallows, wild geese, etc.), and swallows nests are especially valuable. Bird droppings accumulated over the ages and interacted with the coral to form a form of phosphate, called "phosphate in guano form," which is of high quality. According to preliminary studies undertaken under the Saigon administration, the archipelago's phosphate deposits amount to 10 million tons. It was also confirmed that the Paracels, which are located in a continental shelf area which is thought to contain large petroleum deposits, may well have oil.

In the 17th century the Nguyen lords formed units called "Paracel units" which specialized in exploiting marine products in the Paracel and Spratley archipelagoes. Le Quy Don recorded in detail the work of those units: "A Paracel unit of 70 men was formed. It was manned by people from the village of An Vinh in Binh Son District, Quang Nghia Province. In the second month of each year they received orders to go, took along enough food for 6 months, and after traveling 3 days and nights in small boats they reached the islands.* The Paracel units were also responsible for collecting what remained in sunken boats which lay on the ocean floor off the coral islands and submerged shoals. Sometimes they even brought up large bronze cannon.

Construction was carried out continually in the Paracel Archipelago under the Vietnamese governments. In the 19th century, under the Nguyen Dynasty, the Ministry of Works sent workers and boats transporting brick and rock to the Paracel Archipelago to build markers proclaiming our control and to build temples. Especially, they brought trees from the mainland to plant on the islands so that boats passing by could clearly see the islands and avoid running into submerged rocks. The Nguyen Dynasty also collected taxes from foreign boats which came to fish in the Paracel Archipelago, "most of which came from Hainan,** just as it collected taxes from foreign boats which traded at Hoi An and Thuan Hoa. And although every year more than 10 percent of the boats which came there from Hainan to fish sank, "large quantities of fish were caught, enough not only to make up for the losses but to provide a very big profit."***

* Le Qui Don, "Phu Bien Tap Luc," Social Science Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, Vol I, p 119.

** Gustav, ANNALS OF THE LONDON GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, London 1849, Vol 19 (in English). Noted by Hoang Xuan Han in SU DIA, No 29, Saigon, 1975.

*** Ibid.

In addition to engaging in administrative management and economic development, the governments in our country paid much attention to patrolling and defending the Paracel Archipelago. We know that during the reign of Minh Mang the military organizations stationed in the archipelago were stabilized. But long before that, in 1768, the French admiral D'Estaing brought a warship there to reconnoiter the seas off our central coast, with the view of attacking Thanh Hoa. Due to a clash with Vietnamese naval forces which regularly patrolled the area between the coast of central Vietnam and the Paracel Archipelago, he had to retreat and abandon what is regarded as the French colonialists' first plot to launch a military attack against our country.*

But if the Vietnamese were determined to defend their country's sovereignty in the Paracel Archipelago, they did all they could to help all foreign boats which came to grief there, no matter what country's flag they flew. The reports submitted by the Paracel units to the Nguyen lords in the 17th century and the kinds of the Nguyen Dynasty in the 19th century prove, and are in accord with documents of foreign countries, that in those centuries there were more shipwrecks in the Paracel Archipelago than in the other maritime areas administered by our country.

In July 1634 one of three Dutch ships which had left Danang bound for Formosa sank in the Paracel Archipelago. Two years later Prince Nguyen Phuc Loan indemnified the Dutch for their loss. In 1695 the venerable Chinese monk Thich Dai San visited Thuan Hoa. When passing by the Paracels our government sent a boat to guide him. In October 1714 three Dutch and Japanese merchant ships passed through the Paracel Archipelago. When one of them was smashed on the rocks by waves the Nguyen lord gave its crew money, rice and fish sauce and took them to Hoi An, from which they took a ship to Batavia. When an English ship ran aground in the Paracel Archipelago Minh Mang "selected living quarters and provided money and rice." The histories of many countries also record such incidents and state that our country fully exercised its sovereignty and fulfilled its obligations as a country which had sovereignty with regard to events taking place in the vicinity of the Paracel Archipelago.

In the 19th century, when the French established a protectorate in Vietnam, the Paracel Archipelago continued to be under the administration of the Vietnamese Government in Annam. In 1938 the French, in the name of Vietnam, erected steles proclaiming sovereignty in the Paracel Archipelago, and erected lighthouses, a weather station, a radio station and barracks and fortifications for the soldiers garrisoning the islands. At that time the Paracel Archipelago was made part of Thua Thien Province, in accordance with Decree No 1563-6, dated 15 June 1938. In 1936 a decree was issued which formed two administrative districts--Croissant and Amphitrite--in the Paracel Archipelago. In 1961 the Paracel Archipelago

* "The Vision of Admiral D'Estaing" (documents), BSEI, 1st Quarter 1942, Saigon (in French).

became the village of Dinh Hai, and later (1969) became part of the village of Hoa Long. Both villages were part of Hoa Vang District, Quang Nam Province. After our country was unified, Quang Nam Province became Quang Nam-Danang and the Paracel Archipelago became part of that new province.

On international navigation charts, for centuries the archipelago has been called "Pracel" or "Paracel," just as the term "Costa de Pracel" was used to indicate our central coast. Only China recently arbitrarily began to call the Paracels "Xi Sha" and the Spratleys "Nan Sha." In the past our forefathers, before they used the term "Paracel" called that archipelago by a colloquial, intimate Vietnamese term: "Yellow Sand Bank." Likewise, in central Trung Bo the people in some places are accustomed to calling the Spratley Archipelago the "Long Sand Bank."

The "Yellow Sand Bank"--the Paracels--and the "Long Sand Bank"--the Spratleys--are coral archipelagoes which were discovered, administered and developed long ago. Law, history and reality all prove that. The "Paracel matter," which the U.S. imperialists refer to as a "competition for oil" between Vietnam and China, in order to create confusion in public opinion, increasingly exposes the scheme of alliance between the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese rulers.

When the U.S. imperialists had to withdraw all of their troops from Vietnam, the Saigon puppet regime was about to collapse, and our nation's people were concentrating on the complete liberation of the south. The Chinese rulers, with support and encouragement from the United States, used naval and air forces to launch a surprise attack to occupy the Paracel Archipelago, which was still held by the Saigon regime. On 20 January 1974 the Chinese Government very brazenly and deceitfully proclaimed that by means of a "defensive counterattack" against the "South Vietnam aggressor regime" they had "retaken the Xi Sha Archipelago" (i.e., the Paracels), which had always been their "sacred territory." The U.S. State Department immediately announced that the United States "would not intervene" in the "dispute" between China and the Saigon regime.

That was not a "dispute," but was an act of aggression by China against a part of our country's territory. That was clear. But the Chinese rulers took the Paracel Archipelago with more in mind than to take the marine resources, fertilizer deposits, and oil that may be found in that archipelago. Chinese big-nation hegemonists regard the vast land and sea area of Southeast Asia as an objective of expansion and as an ideal staging area for expanding their influence to other parts of the world. The Paracel Archipelago's position in the South China Sea, astride the international shipping routes between Europe and Asia and between the northern Pacific and the Indian Ocean, can help the Chinese hegemonists control all activities of the ships and airplanes passing through that area. The occupation of the Paracel Archipelago was an act that was part of the world strategic plot of the Chinese rulers.

Our party, government and people resolutely denounced and condemned the Chinese reactionary rulers' occupation of our country's Paracel Archipelago. The historic Appeal of the Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee, issued on 17 February 1979, called on the soldiers and people all over the nation to arise and defeat the war of aggression waged by the reactionary Chinese rulers all along our country's northern border, and once again severely condemned their criminal act of occupying the Paracel Archipelago:

"For a long time now the reactionary Chinese rulers, in league with the U.S. imperialists, have plotted to annex our country and carry out a policy of big-nation expansionism. In 1974, they brazenly occupied Vietnam's Paracel Archipelago."

Article 9, Paragraph 1 of the memorandum, dated 15 March 1979, of our nation's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, clearly stated:

"9. Occupying Vietnam's Paracel Archipelago. The Paracel Archipelago (which China calls the "Xi Sha" Archipelago), are located about 120 nautical miles east of Danang. Vietnam has ample documentation to prove that that archipelago, as well as the Spratley Archipelago (which China calls the "Nan Sha" Archipelago) to the south, are Vietnamese territory. The Vietnamese people long ago discovered and developed the Paracel Archipelago. The Nguyen Dynasty officially extended Vietnamese sovereignty to that archipelago. After establishing a protectorate in Vietnam in the mid-19th century France, in the name of Vietnam, set up two administrative units in the archipelago, and a weather station which provided data for decades to the world meteorological organization (OMM) under the call sign "Pattle." Vietnam exercised continuous sovereignty over that archipelago. Vietnam's sovereignty over the Paracel Archipelago is clear and indisputable."

In order to justify their occupation of Vietnam's Paracel Archipelago, since the beginning of 1974 the Chinese rulers have used all propaganda tricks, from publications, radio and television to films, expositions, poems, novels, songs, dances, etc., in hopes of creating among the Chinese people the image of a "Xi Sha Archipelago which has long been under the sovereignty of China." At the same time, they have plotted to provoke hatred for the Vietnamese, whom they falsely accuse of having "taken" China's archipelago, etc. But the contents of their propaganda are themselves full of contradictions. The Chinese people cannot but think about and be surprised that an archipelago which never had been under Chinese sovereignty could suddenly be introduced as belonging to China and receive all-out attention.

Nor can they win over everyone by poems which praise "Xi Sha," photographs of new buildings being built in the "Xi Sha" Archipelago, etc., for none of that can replace proof of the possession and exercise of sovereignty with regard to the Paracel Archipelago, proof which the Chinese rulers cannot produce. To make people believe that the Paracels have truly belonged to China "for a long time" and that the taking of the Paracels was a patriotic and legal act, the Chinese rulers have made use of archaeology.

We all know that Marx long ago said that "With regard to the study of the economic forms of past societies, the artifacts of the means of labor are as important as the structure of fossilized bones with regard to studying the organization of extinct races."* The advances and archaeology and its contributions to the study of the history of mankind have caused it to be regarded as an almost exact and reliable science. It has been observed with reason that "never has concern for archaeology been so strong and widespread" (L. Caution). But it would be a mistake to place too much emphasis on the role of archaeological discoveries. For in order to reach conclusions about history which have fully scientific bases and are in accord with objective truths, the archaeology sector must work closely with the history, ethnology, geology, anthropology, paleobotany and other sectors, and apply the accomplishments of natural science to analyzing, testing and estimating the age of archaeological vestiges and artifacts.

It is necessary to shed light upon and investigate archaeological materials from many different angles, in an extremely meticulous and careful manner, and avoid subjective, hasty conclusions. Those have always been the working methods of archaeologists.

At any rate, even though the prospects of archaeology—like those of the other scientific sectors—are extremely great, it cannot do any task people assign it that is outside its function and capability. Archaeology cannot be assigned the role of determining the national sovereignty of a territory, for that is something the contents, objectives and methods of which are completely different from those of archaeology. With regard to the Paracels, the Chinese rulers have tried to force archaeology to perform the task of proving Chinese sovereignty over that archipelago. As we have said, that is something that does not come under the competence of archaeology. However, they have taken advantage of the people's belief in archaeology by using archaeology to serve their policy of big-nation expansionism and hegemonism.

Since 1974 there have appeared in the Chinese journal WEN WU many archaeological research articles dealing with the "Xi Sha" Archipelago. Radio Beijing has continually announced that "China has achieved notable accomplishments in studying archaeology in the Xi Sha Archipelago." In March 1977 the journal LA CHINE EN RECONSTRUCTION printed the article "Scientific Research on the Biological Resources in the Xi Sha Archipelago." The April 1978 issue of SCIENTIA GEOLOGICA SINICA carried the article "Preliminary Research Into Petroleum at New Rock Formations in the Xi Sha Archipelago of Guangdong Province," etc.

* K. Marx, "Capital," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Part II, Vol I, p 250.

Let us read a few paragraphs excerpted from those research articles on the results of "archaeological studies in the Xi Sha Archipelago":

1. "The vestiges of habitation by the people of Tang and Song times are distributed on slopes on the inner rim of Ganxian Island, which is suitable for habitation. The depth of the cultural strata is only 20 to 90 centimeters. All of that not only proves that thousands of years ago the people of our country's Guangdong Province went to the Xi Sha Archipelago to develop it and earn a living, but also demonstrates clearly that the population at that time learned about, in the course of their actual lives, the sources of water, the weather, the terrain, and the products of the Xi Sha islands, and for that reason chose them for long-term residence."
2. "The large number of archaeological materials prove that it is unnecessary to argue that the Xi Sha Archipelago has been the sacred territory of our country since ancient times. Our country's people were the true masters there."
3. "Furthermore, in the Xi Sha Archipelago there are still many vestiges of temples which were built during the Ming and Qing periods. The book "Silver Water Routes" is still hand-copied by the fishermen and passed on from one generation to the next. Those truths are eloquent truth that our country's people were commercially active in the Xi Sha Archipelago not only at the earliest date but continuously, beginning in the Tang period."
4. "Those artifacts were all produced within our country, and none was of foreign origin.... All that proves that our country's boats were continually going to and from the Xi Sha Archipelago, in large numbers and without interruption."*

It is questionable whether those "archaeological studies" were ever carried out. If they were, it is not possible to verify the date the Chinese have made public, such as those regarding the types of artifacts, the number of each kind of artifact, the depth of the cultural strata (i.e., the strata of earthcontaining artifacts) at the excavation sites, the structure of the soil strata there, etc.

The descriptions the Chinese have published regarding their exploratory excavations are also suspect. For example, on the island the Chinese call Ganxian there was excavated an exploratory site with an area of 56 square meters. To the west, the cultural stratum was 50 cm thick and to the east it was only 35 cm thick, so the cultural stratum was only "20 to 35 cm" thick and was "composed of a mixture of sand, coral, guano, and decomposed vegetation and was relatively hard." At those excavation

* "Preliminary Report on the Second Archaeological Study in the Xi Sha Archipelago of Guangdong Province," VAN VAT, No 8, 1976.

sites it is said that there were found bottles dating from "the end of the Tang to the Five Dynasties" and "12 types of artifacts of the Northern Sung period; along with very large numbers of jars, cups, bowls, pot covers, vases, iron knives, iron castings, adornments, bird skeletons, shells, etc.* But the position and depth of each artifact, and the relationships among the artifacts in the excavation are not given, which makes it very difficult to determine the dating of the strata of artifacts. According to the data provided by the excavators, that small area of such shallow depth accounted for more than a thousand years of habitation.**

But none of those things is the most important. What must be said here is that to regard the nation that produced archaeological artifacts as the nation with sovereignty over the territory containing those artifacts is to make a fundamental mistake with regard to theory.

For if the study of the vestiges of habitation and tombs, as well as all artifacts in a certain area can help us understand the lives, labor facilities and labor techniques of ancient people, and can help up determine the owners of those tombs and artifacts (and it is not always possible to do so), the study of archaeological sites has absolutely nothing to do with determining national sovereignty over a territory. "The special characteristic of the various sources of archaeological evidence is that we cannot, by means of the historical events reconstructed by archaeological evidence, know the specific acts of individuals, and we cannot learn of miscellaneous separate events. Archaeologists can only delineate the most important changes in the development of production forces and in the social structure, and can only reconstruct a general picture of the relationships and contacts among the tribes. Although the picture that is reconstructed is general in nature, the basic laws of historical development are clearly evident." (A. L. Mongaito, "Archaeology and Modern Times," Moscow, 1963)

Marxist archaeologists are not the only ones who take that view. Graham Clark, an English archaeologist, said: "We must no longer place too much stress on the fundamental truth that if man and nature unconsciously provide us with a myriad of vestiges, only the experienced observer, and only he, can effectively make use of those vestiges." (En Route to Discovering Prehistoric Societies," Plon Publishing House, Paris, 1965).

In archaeological research, it is realized that the finding of artifacts is important, but the analysis and explanation of those artifacts is no less important, if not more important with regard to one aspect or another and in certain instances.

* Ibid.

** The Later Tang period in China began in 923. The Northern Song period began in 960.

It is not surprising that there should be found on the territory of one nation articles, tools, weapons, etc., produced in another country or identical to those produced in another country (but produced locally). Since antiquity there has been intercourse among many nations, not only by land on the mainland but also among nations separated by vast oceans. Emissaries, travelers, merchants, horses, camels, boats, etc., took goods and cultural works from one country to another. Sunken ships also left behind, contrary to the wishes of their owners, commodities and items other than commodities, in the countries where they sank. If a society wants to advance it cannot operate in a closed cycle.

At Harappa, an ancient city located in the Indus Valley in northwest India, there are many ancient cultural vestiges of Sumeria in Mesopotamia, thousands of kilometers away. Many bronze spear heads made in China or copied from Chinese models have been found by archaeologists in Japanese diggings. The presence of Chinese products in other countries, or the presence of the products of other countries in China only reflect the mutual cultural influence between China and such nations, and have no relationship to the determination of national sovereignty. Many silver objects, ancient money and textiles from the ancient Persian Empire have recently been discovered by Chinese archaeologists in the area of Xian in China. Does that prove that Xian is Persian territory? Even the presence of people, such as overseas Chinese, in other countries tells nothing about Chinese sovereignty over the countries in which the Chinese lived. China, a large nation with an ancient history and culture, sometimes exerted cultural influence on other countries, just as Rome, Egypt and India exerted cultural influence on many areas of the world. Furthermore, China has been influenced culturally by many neighboring countries. When it was still the "Middle Kingdom," China assimilated many cultural elements from the northern tribes. For instance, Dian and Chu were counties which attained a relatively high level of development before they were annexed by the Han Dynasty. For its part, Vietnam selectively assimilated the culture of China, India, etc., and exerted its cultural influence on the neighboring countries, including China.

Economic and cultural exchanges, along with the development of the world, have increasingly expanded. In addition, the influence of acts of aggression left behind considerable vestiges, from weapons, uniforms, war horses, and warships to the skeletons of aggressor troops, on the territory of the invaded countries. During more than half the time our nation has existed, from the Hung kings to the present (the 2,300 years since the 3d century B.C.), the Vietnamese have time and time again fought and annihilated, on their own territory, aggressor armies from China: the armies of Qin Shi Huang Di, the armies of the Han and Tang dynasties, the armies of the Song, Yuan, Ming and Ching dynasties, and recently the army of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists.

In other words, due to the economic and cultural intercourse between Vietnam and China, and to the wars of aggression waged by the Chinese on Vietnamese soil, one can see one Chinese artifact or another on Vietnamese soil.

With the leadership and education of the party, the Vietnamese archaeology sector fully applies Marxist-Leninist viewpoints in its historical research and always has correct and scientific analyses of ways of looking at archaeological vestiges and national sovereignty.

At the Oc Eo site in South Vietnam there has been found Roman coins bearing the image of Antoninus, a Roman emperor of the 2d century A.D., but only a madman would say that Oc Eo has been under the sovereignty of Italy for more than 1,000 years. In eastern Malaysia there have been found many bronze drums which the scholar V. B. Peacock believes are "indisputably Dong Son drums," but the Vietnamese never say that that part of Malaysia has always belonged to Vietnam. At Thieu Duong in Thanh Hoa Province there have been discovered a number of earthen tombs of the period of the Chinese Western Han Dynasty in which were buried one person or a couple, with adornments, knives, swords, seals, belt buckles and bronze mirrors which were inscribed in Chinese, "as long as we can see the sunlight we will never forget each other," and which were clearly Chinese in origin. The number of Eastern Han tombs discovered in our country is even greater than the number of Western Han tombs. They are all round in structure and were constructed of baked bricks, on some of which were imprinted the year of the reign of the Chinese kings. On a hill in Mao Khe in Quang Ninh Province there were discovered 34 Eastern Han tombs, all of which were imposing--10 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 3 meters deep. Many kinds of ancient Chinese money have also been found in our country. But those tombs and artifacts are nothing but the vestiges of the Chinese aggressors or ruling officials of the past who died in Vietnam, or of overseas Chinese who were allowed to live in our country, and have no significance in confirming or refuting the sovereignty of a nation. With or without those things, it is still Vietnamese soil.

In those research articles, the Chinese authors reached conclusions that were foreign to the mission, function and research methods of Marxist archaeologists. The more than 2,000 pottery shards and rock ink slabs, 20 kilograms of copper money, broken bronze mirrors, lumps of lead and zinc, stone tigers, stone columns, bricks, etc., that they present cannot prove what they claim, that "the large number of archaeological materials prove indisputably that the Xi Sha Archipelago has been the sacred territory of our country (China) since ancient times, and that our country's people are the true masters there."

They also offered evidence that in the "Xi Sha" Archipelago "there have been found many vestiges of departed spirit temples" and many hand-copied "navigational books" titled "Silver Water Routes," and then said that

"Those truths prove eloquently that the people of our country (China) were commercially active in the Xi Sha Archipelago at the earliest date and without interruption after the Tang period," and "All those things prove that our country's were [as printed] continually passing through Xi Sha Archipelago, in large numbers and incessantly."

If the number of artifacts (of Chinese style) and temples for forsaken spirits (often encountered among the fishermen of Hainan Island), and heavy traffic in Chinese boats are the legal basis on which China took Vietnam's Paracel Archipelago, what is the situation with regard to the sovereignty of many Southeast Asian countries, since nearly 20 million overseas Chinese have lived in those countries for many generations, since it is certain that those countries contain many more Chinese-style articles than are found in the Paracel Archipelago (as reported by the Chinese), and since Chinese boats frequent all of the Southeast Asian ports?

The reasoning presented by He Jisheng above was rejected by H. Cucherousset in 1933. When the Guangzhou administration during the Chinese Kuomintang period was claiming that because Chinese fishermen often went by boat to the Paracel Archipelago to catch turtles and dry their nets, that archipelago belonged to China. H. Cucherousset declared that French fishermen did likewise on the Terre Neuve coast, but Terre Neuve still belonged to England.*

He Jisheng, in his article, "On the Temples to Departed Souls in the Xi Sha Archipelago" (WEN WU, No 9, 1976), regarded them as significant evidence in justifying the occupation of the Paracel Archipelago, but did not make much of an argument. That article's literary style is foreign to that of a scientific research article: "The Xi Sha Archipelago is like a strong of pearls...casting glimmering light on the vast South China Sea," or "four cool seasons," "fresh green vegetation," and "the natural wonder of the myriad glimmering colors." That style of writing reminds one of the popular literature in the style of "Songs of Triumphal Return to the Floral Wreath Xi Sha Archipelago," which were published in the Chinese press in 1975. With regard to the dates of the temples to departed souls, the author says vaguely that some features of the coral rock used to build the temples are similar, while others differ, and that that "proves that they have been exposed to the elements over differing periods of time," and that of the statutes and articles of worship, "some are of the Ming period and some are of the Ching period," while others "belong to the modern period." All of that proves that the temples "were many times enlarged and changed." Then He "referred to the theory about the 108 Ming brothers" to "prove" that some of the temples "may have been built in Ming times." Dates are an important aspect in the over-all process of researching archaeological vestiges, and no archaeologist can regard them lightly. His method of determining the dates of the ancient temples lacks seriousness. Such an archaeological research article is unworthy of discussion.

* "The Paracel Archipelago Question," by H. Cucherousset, DONG DUONG THUC TINH, No 777, 26 February 1933, Central National Library, Hanoi.

We distinguish between the Chinese people and the present reactionaries ruling China. We acknowledge the efforts of many generations of the many Chinese archaeologists, paleobotanists and anthropologists who have helped us have better understanding of the ancient culture of the Chinese working people and, by that means, throw more light on the truths of Marxism-Leninism regarding the creative role of the masses in history.

Archaeology, which is a science, cannot betray scientific truth, i.e., betray the historical evolution which archaeology has the mission of researching and to the furtherment of which it must continue. With regard to the Paracel question, a few pottery shards and a few spurious ancient coins only expose the bankruptcy regarding law, history and reality of the big-nation expansionists who are ruling in China. The archaeological vestiges of the past can play no role in determining the national sovereignty of a territory. The chauvinistic argument that "wherever there are Chinese articles, that place belongs to China" is the ideological child of big-nation expansionism, which has always regarded all under heaven as belonging to the Celestial Prince and has regarded the "barbarians" as subjects of the Celestial Dynasty. In present-day China, the "new emperors" in the Zhong Nanhai Palace are seeking ways to modernize an aggressive scheme of the Qin-Han variety with a coat of scientific paint, so that it may be appropriate to the modern age. I hope that our true friends and colleagues in the People's Republic of China will, along with us, dig their mattocks into the present stratum, completely excavate that evil scheme, and display it before the Chinese people and all of civilized mankind so that they can see it more clearly. That would be better than displaying a few pieces of broken bowls and some meaningless rusty coins.

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DEBATE: SOCIALIST COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 79 pp 60-72

[Text] The Party Leads the Effort To Establish the System of Socialist Collective Ownership

[Presentation by Hoang Le]

Socialist collective ownership is not simply a new aspect of awareness, of ethics, rather, it is the new system that is being established on the basis of the socialist ownership of the instruments of production, is the new style of life in every aspect of social life, is the essence of the socialist social system. Socialist collective ownership is the most important change in the life of the working masses, of the people of the entire country once the revolution seizes political power and is the new moving force behind socialist construction.

Therefore, socialist collective ownership can only be fully formed, strengthened and developed under the leadership of the party in the entirety of the work of building socialism and protecting our socialist fatherland.

Transforming the old society into a new society in which man is the master of his destiny, is the master of social life, the master of nature; totally changing the old way of life and creating the most beautiful lifestyle of "one for all, all for one"; and thoroughly developing each of the most beautiful aspects of man which, although small within the character of each individual, are boundless in a society whose members have been reorganized into a strength and are closely linked with one another in being the masters of nature, society and themselves--these are results that cannot be achieved overnight. To achieve these results, it is necessary to carry out a large, continuous, comprehensive and thorough revolution, completely replace the old political, economic and social order and build a new political, economic and social order in which man is truly the master of nature, of society, of himself.

This undertaking requires scientific research and analysis, a deep understanding of each of the different aspects of life, which is extremely diverse, a full

understanding of the essence of the matter at hand and correct measures for endeavoring to bring about changes and struggle in everyday life to transform the most beautiful of dreams into reality. This work absolutely requires a militant vanguard unit of the working class, that is, the party of the proletariat, the communist party, the party that views the task of thoroughly liberating the working class and laboring masses and establishing the right of collective ownership of the working people to be its basic objective. Here, there is a dialectical oneness between the two most beautiful truths of our times: the party gives birth to and creates the system of socialist collective ownership of the working people in the process of building socialism and establishing the system of collective ownership of the working people creates unparalleled strength and the strongest moving force in socialist construction, which is the objective of the communist party, the militant vanguard unit of the working class. Without the party of the working class there can be no system of socialist collective ownership; conversely, without establishing the system of socialist collective ownership of the working masses, there is no basis for insuring the nature of the party of the working class. This is the dialectic of the history of the development of socialist society.

The task of the entire party as well as each communist party member is to establish the system of socialist collective ownership so that the masses are truly the masters of the state.

The matter of immediate importance is that the basic organizations of the party insure that the basic organizational units (the agencies, enterprises, worksites, state farms, hospitals, schools, military units and so forth) are built into units exercising socialist collective ownership, into places where there is a unanimity of will and action, into places that have the ability to manage all the property, work and personnel of the unit, tap the strength and creativity of the collective, complete the task of the unit as best possible, coordinate with related units, contribute to the common work of the entire country and develop the internal dynamism, each potential and the creativity of each individual as well as the entire unit. The task of the basic organizations of the party also involves knowing how to create and acquire every condition needed to build and develop their units well; struggling against negative phenomena, the habit of relying upon and waiting for others and the practice of doing nothing in the face of objective difficulties; knowing how to establish the relationships of socialist cooperation and mutual help among units and, at times, mobilizing every capability and force of their units to support neighboring units for the sake of the interests of the entire country; and being creative and flexible in the establishment of good relations with neighboring units but not violating common principles. It is within these complex and specific relationships that the organizations of the party on the basic level have the conditions needed to perform their task in the most effective manner possible, build their organization so that it is worthy of being the militant vanguard organization of the working class in everyday life and teach, train and forge party members and develop the party as best possible.

The basic organization of the party within each unit has the task of making the relationship among the party organization, the specialized agency and the mass organizations a living, organic relationship within the system of collective ownership on the basis of the principle "the party leads, the state manages, the people exercise ownership." It is on the basic level that this matter is raised in a very detailed and flexible manner.

Only by thoroughly understanding and properly implementing this relationship can the basic organizations of the party be strong and fulfill their task while building units that are strong in the exercise of collective ownership.

With the growth of the entire party and through the diverse realities of our country, our party has come to recognize the new and recorded in the resolution of the 4th Party Congress important conclusions concerning the system of socialist collective ownership. And, these conclusions shed further light on the new guidelines and create a new strength and vitality for the party, thereby opening fine prospects for the building and developing of our party in the future.

What Must Be Done To Strongly Uphold the Right of Collective Ownership of the Cadres and Soldiers Within the Army?

[Presentation by Nguyen Quang Minh]

Socialist collective ownership cannot take form in a spontaneous manner. It can only be established on the basis of man's awareness of the common laws governing the development of history and the laws of the class struggle once the working people have seized political power; and, the laws of mankind in our age exist and develop within the structure of the system of collective ownership of the working people. Only by being conscious of the revolutionary situation and tasks, of the line and essential objectives set forth by the party for all our people in the work of building and protecting the socialist fatherland, of the tasks and objectives of the armed forces in the new period of history is it possible to exercise socialist collective ownership. Socialist collective ownership is political awareness, is revolutionary sentiment, is the basic thinking as well as the political task of our army in the present stage of the revolution. The higher one's sense of collective ownership is, the more ardent are his sacred feelings regarding the prosperity and power of the fatherland and the happiness of the people, the greater is his revolutionary energy and the deeper is his feeling of optimism. As a result, the cadres and soldiers within our army are ready to give their lives in combat and work in a selfless manner for the sake of the fatherland, the people, the task of the nation and the country's international obligation. This is an inexhaustible spiritual strength, is the noble soul of each and every cadre and soldier. To talk about strengthening the army without making every effort to teach and heighten the sense of ownership, to cultivate the revolutionary intellect and feelings of the cadres and soldiers within the army, to uphold their right of socialist collective ownership is nothing more than empty talk.

Without possessing the ability to be the master of society, the master of nature, the master of oneself, it is impossible to implement one's desire to exercise ownership. This, too, is a major issue of decisive significance in upholding the right of collective ownership of the cadres and soldiers within the army. This ability encompasses the ability to engage in scientific thinking, the ability to control and conquer base desires, the ability to learn the social sciences, the natural sciences and the technical sciences and the ability to organize the successful implementation of the lines and policies of the party and the specific task of each individual and organization. With regard to the army, the qualities and abilities of the collective and each individual are vividly expressed in the successful implementation of the military line and task. Therefore, cadres and soldiers absolutely must learn modern military science and art and modern military technology so that they can triumph over every enemy. The law of war is that the strong triumph and the weak are defeated. In war, we cannot exercise ownership if we are not strong. Military science is the science of power. Our army and people constantly attach importance to increasing their strength, increasing the strength of Vietnamese military science and art in order to be the masters, be the masters in order to annihilate the enemy, annihilate the enemy in order to retain their right of ownership and win victory.

The war to protect the fatherland waged by our army and people against the new strategic target, the new military task, the latest development of the social system, the economy, the culture and man, the development of the various fields of science and technology in our country, including military technology, the development of the various factors that routinely have a decisive impact in war upon us as well as the enemy, the constant increase in the modern technical equipment of our army and so forth are raising a host of brand new and very urgent problems that must be resolved in a truly thorough manner and with a very high sense of ownership. Only by resolving these new problems can we increase the fighting strength of our army. The experiences of our army in the war of liberation are very valuable. However, it is clear that these experiences alone are not enough to help us resolve the new problems raised under the new historical conditions that exist. Although the experiences of the past are very good they are no longer suitable because the position and power of our army and people have grown by leaps and the enemy of our country's revolution has also changed. To be the masters of the enemy, our soldiers must be skilled. They must possess highly developed political qualities and a brave fighting spirit, be proficient in the use of technical weapons, be well trained in tactics, be very resourceful in the implementation of these tactics and swiftly react to every development in combat. Only by possessing such skills can the soldier display initiative and creativity in every circumstance.

Leadership and command cadres must also be skilled in military science and art. If they are not, they cannot be leadership and command cadres within our army any longer because they cannot support troops well, cannot train troops well, cannot lead them in winning victory over the enemy in every situation. Leadership and command cadres differ from soldiers primarily in their strategic talents. The right of collective ownership of cadres and

soldiers is implemented primarily through the role played by command cadres in order to insure the unanimity of will and action within the military organization. Therefore, the abilities of the leadership and command cadres on the various levels are closely related to implementing and developing the sense of collective ownership and the ability to exercise this ownership on the part of all military personnel within the unit. Also for this reason, heightening the ability of leadership and command cadres is a serious requirement, one that is in the interests of the collective. The commander who possesses good qualities and good skills is able to tap the intelligence and the ability to exercise collective ownership of cadres and soldiers and convert them into strengths with which to triumph over the enemy. The commander who does not possess good qualities and skills becomes an obstacle and sometimes even causes harm to befall his soldiers. All talk about exercising collective ownership without making every effort to become the masters of military science and art and military technology is also empty talk. Conservatism and being satisfied with one's achievements are both unrevolutionary and unscientific. Raising the requirement of constantly endeavoring to improve one's qualifications and abilities in a manner divorced from collective ownership is incorrect.

To implement the right of collective ownership of the cadres and soldiers within the army, it is necessary to establish and implement an organizational structure, that is, a system of specific orders and regulations governing every action and activity of each organization, cadre and soldier in each aspect of army life. This is a very large, comprehensive and involved job that must be constantly improved upon in keeping with the development of requirements, of the military task, of the political and ideological level of troops, of military science, art and technology and even the developments in every aspect of social life in the course of the advance to socialism in our country. Everything from the relationships between leaders and commanders, the collective and the individual, the agency and the unit to the duties, authority and scope of responsibility of each organization and person, from daily work, daily activities, reports, conferences, training, the promotion and benefits of cadres, criticism and self-criticism to equipping with and using material-technical means, property and finances, the distribution and use of the various instruments of spiritual and material life and so forth must be governed by detailed regulations. Every military man has the right to participate in the formulation of these regulations and must obey them. Every violation of these regulations is a violation of the right of collective ownership of cadres and soldiers. Herein lies the unity between democracy and discipline. The more the right of collective ownership is respected, the more discipline is strict and self-imposed. With a tight, detailed organizational structure, we are better able to exclude every action of doing as one sees fit and every organizational loophole that might give rise to individualism. Otherwise, it will be impossible to implement the thinking of collective ownership. This thinking is implemented through organization. Political and ideological unanimity are guaranteed through organizational unity. Without organizational unity, ideological unanimity cannot be achieved nor implemented.

To resolve the problems mentioned above well, it is necessary to heighten the leadership effectiveness of the various party organizations, heighten the organizational, command and management effectiveness of cadres and implement the right of collective ownership of cadres and soldiers. The leadership provided by the various party organizations, the command and management role played by cadres and the right of collective ownership of cadres and soldiers constitute an entity and are inseparable. The party leads so that the people can exercise ownership. Without the leadership of the party, the masses cannot exercise ownership in accordance with the stand and viewpoint of the working class. When the masses truly exercise ownership, the vitality of the party is even more abundant because, in the final analysis, creativity on the part of the party also means creativity by the masses. Only with a good command organization is it possible to insure the good implementation of the resolutions of the party, possible to uphold the right of collective ownership of cadres and soldiers.

It can be said that the entire substance of implementing and upholding the right of collective ownership of cadres and soldiers depends upon one key, decisive prerequisite, namely, whether or not the political democratic rights of cadres and soldiers are fully implemented.

Implementing the political democratic rights of cadres and soldiers does not mean that their right of collective ownership has been fully implemented. However, it does control the entirety of the effort to heighten the thinking of ownership, improve the ability to exercise ownership and establish and implement the device whereby ownership is exercised.

The cadres and soldiers of our army, on the upper level as well as the lower levels, are equal in terms of their obligations and rights regarding collective ownership, their responsibility to formulate, protect and observe every collective ownership regulation within the army. The differences among them lie only in their level, ability, scope of responsibility and the authority granted to them commensurate with this responsibility. These differences are absolutely not in contradiction with political equality, with the internal unity of the army. However, to fully implement political democratic rights within the relationships between the upper level and the lower level, leadership and the masses, the command organization and the support organization, it is also necessary to possess the correct political viewpoint, a pure soul and a genuine spirit of comradeship. If a command or leadership cadre lacks the sense of respecting and upholding the right of ownership of the lower level and confuses personal responsibility with personal power, he absolutely cannot complete the task assigned him well. A violation of the right of socialist collective ownership will surely lead to a lack of unity, a lack of enthusiasm, a lack of loyalty, authoritarianism and jealousy and it will be impossible to develop the strength of the collective. Experience has shown that the lack of democracy in spiritual and material life easily leads to the psychology of being apart from one another and harms the spirit of close comradeship. If there is a lack of democracy when discussing work, when studying, when engaging in criticism and

self-criticism, it easily leads to a lack of solidarity and to negative practices; it becomes difficult to discern right from wrong, difficult to heighten the spirit of discipline, difficult to develop the sense of scientific creativity and talents and difficult sometimes to protect the truth; work and work methods easily become bureaucratic, remote from reality and devoid of all vitality. If there is a lack of democracy in disciplinary action, in compliance with the law and policies, if there is a lack of fairness in awards and penalties, discipline easily becomes lax and confidence in the leadership and command level declines. If there is a lack of democracy in cadre organizational work, the consequences are even more complex and the harm caused is sometimes immeasurable.

One very fine tradition of our army is that the upper levels and lower levels are united, share joys and sorrows, love and respect one another and share but one will. This tradition has been built upon the firm and solid foundation of complete agreement concerning revolutionary ideals and combat objectives based on the political and military lines of the party; on the other hand, this tradition is also the product of the leadership and command viewpoint of the corps of cadres of a proletarian army. President Ho taught: "Everyone from the squad leader upward, from the high command downward must care for the spiritual and material lives of the members of their units. They must know the conditions in which the members of their units live, must understand their aspirations and problems. If troops have nothing to eat, cadres cannot complain about being hungry; if troops do not have adequate clothing, cadres cannot complain about being cold; if troops do not have ample living quarters, cadres cannot complain about being tired. Only this is democracy, unity, inevitable victory."

Every cadre and soldier within our army has the right and the task of contributing his opinions concerning each matter of the party, the people, the country and the army, helping to formulate, protect and implement the lines and policies of the party and building the army so that it is strong enough to defend the fatherland; each legitimate political, spiritual and material right of cadres and soldiers must be upheld and cannot be violated by anyone. Doing all of these things will cause the spirit of socialist collective ownership of cadres and soldiers to truly become a decisive force strongly stimulating all activities of our army in the new stage of the revolution.

Collective Ownership and the Law

[Presentation by Pham Dinh Tan]

"All power belongs to the people"; this most important principle, which is recorded in one of the first articles of the current Constitution of our country, clearly indicates the role played by our people as the collective masters of society. The people exercise their power primarily through the National Assembly and the people's councils on the various levels, agencies which are directly elected by the people and directly represent the people,

and through the standing agencies of the National Assembly, the National Assembly Standing Committee and the Executive Committee of the National Assembly, as well as the executive committees of the National Assembly and the people's councils on the various levels, namely, the Council of Ministers and the people's committees on the various levels.

1. The making of laws (laws, decrees and regulations) is the first manifestation of this power and the right to be the masters of the law, is a very important function of the state agencies mentioned above. Through the state agencies that directly or indirectly represent them, the people serve as the masters of the drafting of laws, the masters of the law.

Every legal document drafted and promulgated by state agencies represents the will of the party and the aspirations of all the people. The more the law correctly reflects this will and these aspirations, the higher is its quality and the more willingly the law is implemented by the people. Therefore, under our system, the process of making laws does not occur only within the authorized state agencies. The drafts of many important legal documents are presented to many localities, sectors and installations to be supplemented with their opinions and improved upon; as a result, their quality has been improved and this action has had the effect of heightening the people's sense of being the masters of the law: the draft of the 1959 Constitution and the draft of the new Constitution had and have the participation of the various circles of the people; the drafts of a number of other important documents of the National Assembly and government over the past several years (such as the draft of the High Level Agricultural Production Cooperative Statutes, the draft of the Regulations on the Handling of Complaints and Suits, the draft of the Cropland Management Statutes and so forth) also contain the opinions of many sectors and localities. In other words, our people have effectively participated in the process of drafting important legal documents.

There is another way by which the people participate in the making of laws, a way which is being increasingly used by the agencies, enterprises and cooperatives in our country, namely, having the collective of manual workers, office workers or cooperative members contribute their opinions on revising, amending or adopting in an organized manner the drafts of the statutes and internal regulations of their agency, enterprise or cooperative. These statutes and internal regulations are binding regulations formulated on the basis of and in order to implement the regulations of state agencies on higher levels and are not contrary to these regulations. These are truly legal documents of the basic level.

The increasing and positive participation by the people in the process of making laws shows that their sense of collective ownership with regard to participating in the work of the state, in general, and the drafting of laws, in particular, as well as the scrupulous implementation of the law and struggling to protect the socialist law is becoming increasingly high. This participation, however, has an even deeper meaning: it is providing the people with training for drafting all of the rules of communal life in the communist society of the future.

2. Supervising and insuring the implementation of the law and protecting the socialist system of law are the second manifestation of the people's right to be the masters of the law. The state agencies representing the people, the National Assembly, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly and the people's councils on the various levels, have the task of supervising compliance with the law and protecting the system of law on the central level and within the various localities; the Council of Ministers and the people's committees on the various echelons have the task of organizing and insuring compliance with the law. The Council of Ministers and the people's committees together with subordinate agencies and the judicial agencies (the Court and Procuratorate) have the function of protecting the system of law by means of an effective prosecuting and penalty system. The people exercise their right to be the masters of compliance with the law and the protection of the socialist system of law through all the state agencies mentioned above.

Within our system of collective ownership, each and every citizen has the right to struggle to protect the socialist system of law in many different ways: criticizing, filing complaints about and denouncing in an organized manner violations of the law and infringements upon the common interests of the state and collective and the interests of the individual.

Even persons who temporarily lose their citizenship rights, such as persons under arrest, persons on trial in court or persons brought before a disciplinary council because they are considered to have violated the law, still have the right to struggle to protect the system of law in the course of their prosecution. When his court trial begins, the defendant has the right to request that the judge be replaced if he feels that the judge is not impartial towards him; during his trial, the defendant has the right to defend himself or be defended by someone else. A persons brought before a disciplinary council also has the right to defend himself. If he feels that he is being falsely accused or improperly prosecuted, he has the right to appeal to the agency on the upper level and only when every avenue of appeal afforded by the law has been exhausted must he accept the ultimate disposition of his case.

As socialist society develops, the right of the people to protect the socialist system of law becomes a right that is exercised by them more directly. On the one hand, as has already been done in our country to a certain degree, the people will elect representatives of theirs to the people's inspection committees (such as the cooperative inspection committees) and the control committees on the basic level(1) to directly supervise compliance with the law.

On the other hand, as has been recorded in the draft of the new Constitution, various forms of prosecuting organizations of the masses on the basic level will be established and developed. Numerous disputes and minor violations will be handled by these organizations. The experience of the European socialist countries has shown that prosecution at installations (enterprises, agencies, colleges, vocational middle schools, hospitals, cooperatives and

residential zones) by organizations directly elected by the people and called "social courts" has a very good impact. These are organizations that are closely linked to the community of ordinary citizens, organizations whose prosecuting methods are truly democratic, whose prosecuting measures are also simple; "compliance with the verdict" is firmly guaranteed by means of social pressure; persons who violate the law attach as much importance to this verdict of a social nature as they do to the verdict of an ordinary court. As a result of these prosecuting organizations of the masses, the prosecution work of administrative agencies and judicial agencies has been greatly reduced and two phenomena have been avoided: overflowing, backlogged files on cases involving disputes or violations of the law that cannot be promptly processed; the failure to prosecute numerous cases involving disputes or violations considered to be "minor" or to involve "extenuating circumstances." The development of the system of prosecuting organizations of the masses also has a deeper meaning: it provides the masses with training so that they can undertake the prosecution of social disputes and violations of the rules of communal life in the communist society of the future.

The fervent aspiration of each citizen of Vietnam today is to truly be the collective master in every aspect of life.

The right of ownership of the citizen must be upheld by the law.

Social life under every system is the integration of many social relationships: the relationship between the state (in societies that have a state) and the people, in general, between the state and the individual, among organizations, collectives and the individual and between one individual and another. Under the socialist system, social life is the organic, harmonious integration of reasonable and progressive social relationships. In order for socialist social life to be stable and civilized, to be a society in which every citizen has the right to be the collective master, this life must be based on reasonable social standards respected by everyone: political standards, ethical standards, legal standards and so forth, including a system of legal standards to define in detail all other systems of standards and protect these standards.

The law does not simply involve punishment nor does it begin with regulations on punishment, rather, it begins by generalizing and clarifying the political standards and ethical standards concerning collective ownership by means of a system of specific rights and obligations and specific legal relationships. And, if anyone fulfills these rights, obligations and legal relationships well or violates them, he will receive an award or face a predetermined penalty. It is quite evident that appealing to everyone to heighten his sense of collective ownership (political and ethical standards) might not lead to results if the tasks and responsibilities (legal standards) and the various relationships involved in participating in management (legal relationships) are not clearly defined; it would be even more difficult to achieve the desired results without establishing awards for persons who fulfill or penalties for persons who do not fulfill their task and responsibility. Thus,

the law stipulates the right and mode of collective ownership of the people and establishes appropriate awards and penalties for those who properly implement or violate the right and mode of collective ownership. In broader terms, the law is not only related to the socialist state's function of punishing and suppressing crimes, rather, it is first and primarily related to the organizational and constructive function of the socialist state.

It is not that "the law and compulsion exist merely because there are still persons in society who do not possess self-awareness (these persons are a small minority within society) and the law only pertains to them." To begin with, the self-awareness of individuals is, generally speaking, a relative matter and can only be strengthened under certain conditions. We witnessed cases during the wars of destruction in the North in which a worker who was an honest person for many years suddenly got the notion of stealing a tool from a warehouse simply because warehouse security regulations were not clear and importance had not been attached to awards and penalties. And, immediately after the liberation of the South, some comrades who displayed bravery on numerous battlefields over a period of many years and were ready to give their lives for the fatherland suddenly committed serious mistakes because the state was unable, in view of how fast the South was liberated, to issue specific regulations on the takeover of the management of cities, buildings and property. In actuality, some state personnel who frequently came into contact with the people insulted the honor and violated the right of ownership of citizens not because they were totally unaware of their incorrect actions, but primarily because of the lack of clearcut regulations; or, clear regulations might exist but the leadership organization still has not reached any conclusions and still considers them "innocent" even though they have violated these regulations once, twice or many times (this situation of persons committing everything from minor to serious violations of the law but still being considered "innocent" is not rare in society). Even among law-abiding citizens, including citizens who are state cadres, if there are not specific regulations of a legal nature governing every aspect of the relationships involved in collective ownership, for example, within a housing area, disputes, sometimes very serious disputes, occur because everyone's understanding of the matter usually differs. In other words, the law is also very necessary for honest persons; it governs everyone and everyone must respect it.

The scope of the rights of collective ownership are very broad, the substance of the various rights of ownership are very diverse and the various rights of ownership supplement and uphold one another. In the area of being the masters of society alone, we must implement the right of ownership politically, economically and culturally; these three areas are coordinated with one another and lay the foundation and create the conditions for one another. If we give light attention to one of these rights, if we are slow to establish regulations governing it or do not establish appropriate regulations, it is clear that it will be impossible to uphold the other rights of ownership. If the citizen has the right to exercise collective ownership of the economy (of the primary instruments of production, the labor force, production,

production management and distribution) but his political and cultural rights of collective ownership are not upheld (such as the right to have his personal being, reputation and property protected, the right to file complaints against and denounce misdeeds that harm the interests of the state and his own interests, the right to be protected and encouraged when he discovers an invention or innovation that rationalizes production and so forth), he cannot exercise his right of economic collective ownership well.

Our state has issued regulations related to the various rights mentioned above; however, the actual situation demands the amendment and improvement of scores of regulations involving state law, administrative law, economic law, cooperative law, civil law, criminal law, the law on civil and criminal procedures and so forth so that they are more precise and effective and so that no one can understand the law and act differently in the same situation. For example, with regard to the right to file complaints and charges, we cannot be satisfied with the citizen merely possessing this right, rather, it is necessary to stipulate the following in the form of regulations: the agency or person that has the responsibility of examining complaints and the number of days within which they must be examined; that complaints and charges must be examined in a fair and precise manner; that the injured party absolutely must receive payment for damages or have his good name restored; that the action taken upon the complaint or charge be sound and be taken within a specified amount of time; and, if the persons responsible for examining the complaint does not fulfill his responsibility and if the action taken is unsatisfactory or satisfactory but not implemented, regulations must state how he is to be prosecuted and by whom, etc.

The beauty of our system lies in the fact that each and every working person has the right of ownership. There is the right of ownership and the other rights of all the people exercised through the state, the right of ownership and the other rights of each collective organization and the right of ownership and the other rights of each citizen. Of these rights, the right of ownership and other rights of all the people are the highest followed by the right of ownership and the other rights of the collective organization and the right of ownership and other rights of the citizen. The right of ownership and the other rights of these three types of entities exist parallel to one another but they support rather than exclude one another. This is the firm legal foundation of the noble ethical principle of our society of "one for all, all for one."

However, it is very important that in order for each working person to have the right of ownership, each type entity mentioned, the state, the collective organization and the citizen, must have an obligation to the other two entities, the obligation to uphold their right of ownership: the rights of the individual worker must uphold the rights of the state and the collective organization of which the individual is a member; the rights of the collective organization must uphold the rights of the state and the individual citizens who are its members, the rights of the state must uphold the rights of the collective organization and the individual citizen. If a state agency has the

right to demand that the citizen work as best he can but does not have the obligation to provide the citizen with the necessary conditions, the means needed for his job, a reasonable wage and so forth, the citizen cannot devote the full measure of his intelligence and energies to his job, cannot exercise his right of ownership well. If each cooperative member "takes it upon himself" to abandon his field work in order to go into business or only concern himself with "being the master" on his "5 percent plot" and foresakes his obligation to the cooperative and the state, the cooperative and state will be unable to exercise their rights of ownership well.

Thus, rights and obligations in social relationships must go hand in hand, even within the code of law on the right of collective ownership. This is a rather complex problem which, if not resolved fully, could lead, even if only very small loopholes remain, to irresponsibility and the lack of discipline, even to infighting, to posing obstacles and posing a bother to one another, to "I have the power" and no one else is allowed to speak! As an example, one easily recognized phenomenon in everyday life can be used: some of the bother caused to the people is not the result of a number of agencies that deal with many people having established very detailed conditions that must be met and procedures that must be followed (some of which are necessary and some of which are not) in order to avoid loose management but because these very same agencies have forgotten to stipulate in equal detail the obligations of their personnel toward the people: they must sincerely accept the opinions of the people in order to organize their work in an efficient manner, must work the stipulated hours, must work in a rapid, systematic and fair manner, must forbid collusion, pilfering, etc.

Supplementing and improving the system of penalties are also very important. Penalties, in the final analysis, have the purpose of protecting the right of collective ownership of everyone. In society, violations of the law assume very many different forms: some actions are minor, less than serious or serious infractions while some are minor, less than serious or serious crimes; some actions are civil infractions, labor law infractions or economic contract infractions; some actions are property infractions or crimes, some are management infractions or crimes, etc. With regard to each person that has not been forged much, the possibility that he will violate the law constantly increases without proper prevention and punishment. Without an accurate and complete system of punitive measures suited to each different types of crime, one that provides for punishment of differing degrees of severity, it is impossible to effectively prevent and punish violations of the right of collective ownership of the people.

The law on ownership cannot be fully promulgated in a short amount of time and the codification of the right of collective ownership of the people involves an entire process, one that occurs in conjunction with the process of development of the socialist economy and society. However, there are certain legal documents (the Constitution and various laws and regulations) and resolutions, directives and circulars guiding the implementation of these documents now in effect, consequently, the most basic of these rights are

guaranteed. For example, more than a few state documents have been promulgated concerning such matters as "arrest, detention and release," the protection of socialist property and the private property of the citizen, enterprise management, labor management and so forth.

However, a number of cadres responsible for enforcing the law have not studied current documents or have studied but not thoroughly implemented them; among the people (including manual and office workers of the state and cooperative members), many persons do not have an understanding of these documents. The exercise of ownership first requires a clear understanding of one's rights and obligations within the social relationships inside agencies, enterprises and cooperatives, at public places, on the street, within the hamlet, family and so forth, a clear understanding of how and by whom a person will be prosecuted if he violates another's right of ownership. Thus, the law must be known by all persons who possess ownership rights and obligations. The law must be very widely disseminated, propagandized and taught in many different ways, including at schools, on the radio and in the press, so that the general legal principle (no one is considered ignorant of the law) is fully implemented within our system of collective ownership. This is necessary so that everyone voluntarily complies with the law and struggles to protect the socialist system of law. At the same time, building a large corps of legal advisors (for agencies, enterprises, cooperatives and the people) and court defenders (lawyers) is of practical, pressing significance in helping the people to protect their vital ownership rights. With competent, easily accessible legal advisors and defenders, every citizen, primarily the law-abiding citizen (not those who violate or border on violating the law) will feel secure about his creative labor and peaceful life and no longer have any fears of pressure, injustice or misfortune!

Collective ownership law excludes no one and everyone is equal under this law, otherwise there could be no socialist system of law. Therefore, each and every state agency (management agencies, control agencies, inspection agencies and trial agencies) must, with a view toward protecting the right of collective ownership, very scrupulously enforce and comply with the law and absolutely not ignore or postpone prosecution nor conceal violations of the right of collective ownership of the people. At the same time, in their leadership activities, the various party committee echelons must demand that party members, regardless of their unit or job, set good examples in enforcing and complying with the law as stipulated within the party statutes.

Only under the conditions mentioned above can the right of collective ownership of the people, which is recorded on the banner of socialism in our country, be fully and clearly implemented in everyday life.

FOOTNOTES

1. The control committees of the people on the basic level are presently appointed by the government; however, some of the members of these committees are representatives of the masses.

IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES: OPTIMISM-COMPLACENCY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 79
pp 73-75, 81

[Article by Thanh Thanh]

[Text] It can be said that optimism is one of the fine virtues that is part of the nature and soul of we Vietnamese. One literary scholar observed that the Vietnamese frequently "laugh" and this spontaneous laughter is an expression of the virtue of optimism. This is quite true. The virtue of optimism was molded in the thousands of years of fighting one aggressor after another to defend and build our country and gradually became a factor in the creation of the nature and capabilities of the Vietnamese. Without possessing this virtue in order to fight and win victory, how could our nation survive and become the heroic nation it is today! Disregarding tales of the ancient past and looking only at the past one-half century, the past 30 years of fighting, we see that four generations have taken turns fighting the enemy and we are still beset by enemies; however, the Vietnamese continue to laugh and raise their voices in song filled with optimism and confidence.

Let us recall the days spent fighting the French: no sooner had our people won political power when they began fighting the French with practically their bare hands, with nothing more than sticks, pistols and rudimentary weapons while the French aggressors had all sorts of aircraft, tanks, warships and modern weapons. Many persons considered our fight against the French to be a hopeless one. However, with the leadership of the party, with optimism and firm confidence, our people were determined to fight and, in the end, we triumphed over the French.

As soon as we finished fighting the French, our people had to fight the United States, the international gendarme, the number one imperialist power, whose economic power and military might were very much stronger than those of the French imperialists. More than one-half million U.S. troops equipped to the teeth with modern weapons poured into South Vietnam. The most modern

aircraft of the United States, from the "Thunder Chief," "Phantom" and "Swing Wing" aircraft to B-52's and so forth, heavily bombed North Vietnam. The U.S. aggressors thought that they could, with the might of their iron and steel, "gobble up" Vietnam. However, with the leadership of the party, with the help of their brothers and imbued with the great Uncle Ho's truth "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," the Vietnamese were determined to fight. With great optimism and confidence, we fought the United States with the joy of persons attending a festival. The sound of our singing drowned out the noise of their bombs. We "cut across the Truong Son Mountain Range to save the country. Our hearts were joyful and filled with hope for the future."(1)

And, in the end, our nation triumphed over the ringleader of imperialism. We won total, complete and thorough victory.

Less than a few days after the country was liberated, the nation of Vietnam entered round one of the war of resistance against the Chinese aggressors on the Southwestern border of the fatherland. And, after dealing decisive blows to the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary reactionary gang, the lackeys of the Chinese, our nation immediately began round two of the war of resistance in a face to face struggle with some 600,000 Chinese aggressor troops. Has any country in this world had to deal with one foreign aggressor after another the way Vietnam has? However, with the party to lead us, with all progressive mankind standing at our side, with great optimism and confidence, our nation was ready to enter the fight and dealt the Chinese aggressors fatal blows; we taught them a good lesson and forced them to pack up and get out of our country just as our forefathers did in bygone years and our older brothers did in recent years against the French imperialists and the U.S. imperialists.

Forged in our nation's several thousand year history of fighting and strengthened and enhanced by the unparalleled leadership of our party, the optimism and confidence of the Vietnamese have become one of the factors of the will and strength of Vietnam. Every enemy that touches our sacred Vietnamese soil will surely be defeated by the people of Vietnam.

However, optimism in no way means complacency. Optimism and complacency are fundamentally in opposition to each other. If optimism is a good virtue, a necessary factor to be applied by us in the test of fire with the enemy, complacency is a bad habit, a dangerous enemy in its own right.

Complacency is a mistake in the way we view things. It arises from feelings and thoughts that are not based in science, not consistent with the objective laws of the development of things. In the struggle against the enemy and in war, complacency is a mistake in outlook that originates in the failure to clearly see the nature and schemes of the enemy, the failure to correctly evaluate the enemy and, as a result, the failure to adopt suitable, timely

positions, measures and plans for dealing with the enemy, which leads to harmful consequences. Complacency is the origin of every defeat, every loss. And, it has thus become a law that the more complacent a person is, the more pessimistic he will become; he might even waver and lose sight of his correct guidelines.

The realities of the recent fight against the Chinese aggressor army in the border provinces showed us: the places that fought the enemy best and protected themselves best were places that had made a certain degree of preparations to deal with the scheme of aggression of the enemy; those places that were complacent, lacked vigilance and were not ready displayed confusion, were passive and were not able to achieve their full fighting strength. If all places had a deep and thorough understanding of the resolution of the 4th Plenum of the Party Central Committee on the new situation and tasks and were better prepared, the victory won by our army and people would have been larger and the Chinese aggressors would have suffered a more painful defeat.

The most important factor in combating complacency at this time continues to be clearly understanding and giving everyone a clear understanding of the extremely reactionary nature and the scheme of great nation expansionism and hegemony of the Peking reactionary authorities against our country. Heavily defeated both militarily and politically in their recent military adventure, they were forced to withdraw their troops back to China; however, their reactionary nature has unfortunately not changed and they have not abandoned their scheme of annexing our country in order to carry out their scheme to expand and be the rulers of Southeast Asia. They are the immediate, dangerous enemy of our people. As long as the Peking reactionary authorities have not been overthrown, our fatherland will continue to face the threat of aggression by them. Therefore, all of us, especially the armed forces, cadres, party members and people of the northern border provinces, must never be vague for one moment about the reactionary nature and the insidious scheme of the Peking reactionaries against our country. All complacency, negligence and lack of vigilance is a crime against the fatherland, against the people.

Combating complacency is not merely a matter of establishing the correct outlook and thinking, more importantly, it is something that must be done in every aspect of everyday life. We cannot combat complacency in a generalized, abstract manner, rather, we must do so on the basis of evaluating the enemy in detail in order to adopt positive plans. The Chinese aggressors differ in certain ways from the French and U.S. imperialists. For example, the countries of the French and U.S. aggressors were far from our country but the Chinese aggressors are right next door. If we are complacent and lack vigilance, they can infiltrate our territory more easily and rapidly. The Chinese reactionary authorities also rely upon the fact that theirs is a large, densely populated country that could attack and occupy

our country. They do not value the lives of their soldiers and are ready to send their troops to their death to achieve their expansionist designs. In addition to sharing the cruelty, barbarity and wickedness common to all imperialist aggressors, the Peking reactionary authorities also possess the cruelty, barbarity and wickedness of traitors who sell their souls with no regret and serve as the lowly assault force of the imperialists and other reactionary powers. Their soldiers, in addition to committing very barbarous crimes of murder, are also extremely greedy and jealous and plundered everything belonging to our people. The Chinese reactionaries also use reactionary Chinese residents in Vietnam as their lackeys. These persons, who have long resided in our country and received the assistance of our people, are very familiar with the roads and the situation in our country.

Therefore, we must adopt appropriate positions, plans and measures for combating complacency on the basis of these special characteristics of the enemy. Those places where fighting occurred must, on the basis of the realities of the recent fight against the Chinese aggressor army, gain all the experience possible and, on this basis, establish production, combat and combat readiness plans, strengthen the organizations of the party, government, masses and the armed forces, maintain political security and social order, organize life and so forth. In production, plans for agricultural production, industrial production, communications-transportation and so forth must be arranged in a manner that coordinates production with combat and the maintenance of combat readiness, coordinates the economy with the defense of the nation, coordinates production with the organization of management in a manner consistent with the characteristics of each place and the requirements of the new situation. In combat and the maintenance of combat readiness, in the strengthening of organizations, the maintenance of political security, the organization of life and so forth the same applies. Every field of activity and every job must be researched, evaluated and planned very carefully, the sooner the better, in order to avoid becoming complacent and losing our vigilance. In peace time, complacency and the loss of vigilance also led to harmful consequences; in time of war, they lead to consequences of immeasurable harm. Sometimes a high price in blood must be paid for the smallest amount of carelessness.

Our people entered the war of resistance against the Chinese reactionary aggressors with the deportment and spirit of masters of their country. We are very optimistic and confident. We know for certain that with our nation's tradition of tenacity in combat, its tradition of unyielding resistance against foreign aggression, with the correct, creative leadership line of our party and with the wholehearted assistance of the USSR, the other fraternal socialist countries and our friends throughout the world, the nation of Vietnam will totally defeat every scheme of aggression of the Peking reactionary authorities against our country. Our sacred and beloved Vietnamese fatherland is invincible. Even if the enemy recklessly sends millions of troops to wage a war of aggression against our country, they cannot avoid heavy, shameful defeat.

To win victory over the enemy, we must always be alert, display high revolutionary vigilance and not be complacent, never be complacent.

FOOTNOTES

1. To Huu's Poems, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 236.

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KAMPUCHEA: THE COLLAPSE OF PEKING'S TREACHEROUS SCHEME

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 79
pp 76-81

[Article by Thanh Cong]

[Text] The year 1979 began with the resounding victory of the army and people of the land of the temples: they destroyed or totally routed more than 23 Pol Pot divisions, threw off the extremely cruel ruling yoke of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the lackeys of the Peking reactionary authorities, and established the People's Republic of Kampuchea. All progressive mankind jubilantly welcomed the total victory of the Kampuchean revolution. The imperialists and international reactionaries were dumbfounded and bitter because of this tremendous shock. But, the persons who were most upset by the tragic end of the butchers in Phnom Penh were the authorities in Peking. This is readily understood. Because, Peking put much effort, many weapons and much money into Phnom Penh, placed countless hopes upon the lackeys in Phnom Penh; yet, everything burst like so many soap bubbles.

The Treacherous Scheme

The reactionary authorities in Peking were very excited when they bought the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to serve as their lackeys. It would be difficult to find a more competent lackey. They cheaply sold the sovereignty of the country to Peking. They bowed their heads and blindly carried out every directive of their masters. They implemented the line fed to them by their masters more brazenly and thoroughly than their masters themselves.

When the Peking reactionary authorities needed to oppose the Vietnamese revolution and weaken Vietnam, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique immediately became their eager, bloodthirsty assault force and provoked, then attacked Vietnam along the southwestern border for a distance of more than 1,000 kilometers. Using these lackeys, Peking thought that this was a very effective blow against Vietnam for the following reasons:

--China could conceal its cruel, aggressive face;

--China need not expend the flesh and blood of its army; the flesh and blood of the Pol Pot soldiers would serve the objectives of Peking.

--An attack on Vietnam along the entire southwestern border would encourage armed and unarmed reactionary forces to raise their heads throughout South Vietnam, where they said that remnants of the Americans and puppets were merely waiting for a good opportunity such as this to stage a strong uprising.

--Vietnam's involvement in an increasingly large and prolonged war along its border would seriously affect the effort to rebuild the country following the resistance against the United States.

--Vietnam would have to mobilize armed forces into combat along the southwestern border, consequently, it might be weak along the northern border and less able to deal with an attack by the Chinese army along the northern border. This was a very malicious scheme designed to place Vietnam between a two-pronged offensive.

On the other hand, the reactionary authorities in Peking were using Kampuchea as the first place to test and perfect overseas a special style of "socialism" based on the line of Peking. It was a new style colony of Chinese great nation expansionism and hegemony. This model was to be applied in the backward agricultural countries of the third world, beginning with the countries in Southeast Asia. With the "Kampuchean experience," Peking dreamed of making a number of countries dependent upon China and having them join China in the formation of a so called "Maoist socialist system," a system opposed to the system of genuine socialist countries established on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the universal laws of scientific socialism.

In addition, Peking also turned Kampuchea into a place supplying China with a good many tropical products: rice, coconut meat, pepper, rubber, dried fish, sugarcane, sugar palms, precious woods, gems, red papaya oil, etc.

It would truly be difficult to find a better springboard, a more effective "new style colony," a more ideal base for achieving the savage ambition of opposing Vietnam and expanding into Southeast Asia, thereby beginning the realization of the dream of the greedy, blind and stupid leaders in China of becoming the rulers of Asia and eventually the rulers of the world.

Large investments bring the possibility of large bankruptcies. Grand schemes might bring even larger defeats. The defeat of Peking in Kampuchea was a painful defeat of strategic significance, was the collapse, from the very outset, of a major experiment in the line of the Peking authorities against Marxism-Leninism, against socialism and communism, against the national

independence movement, against the three revolutionary currents of our times.

An Autopsy upon the Corpse

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime was an oddity that died at a young age. Let us try to analyze this odd social system, this social model bearing the label: made in Peking.

This society was marked by the following characteristics:

--The large-scale massacre of the cream of society: the patriots, genuine revolutionaries, manual workers, intellectuals and determined laborers of society. It has been estimated that the Phnom Penh butchers murdered 3 million persons, the majority of whom possessed lofty political qualities and high cultural, scientific and technical qualifications.

--The large-scale destruction of the wealth of society. Cities were completely destroyed. Houses were demolished. Machines, warehouses, vehicles and boats were allowed to fall into disrepair and become dilapidated while the people lived lives of extreme suffering.

--Laborers were maltreated, forced to work 12 to 14 hours per day on only several bowls of thin gruel or one or two bowls of rice if the harvest was good; for other food, they had to "beg those with food to share the hardship with them." The muscles, sinew and nerves of laborers were worn down but, instead of their energies being replenished, they were depleted more and more.

--The freedoms of man were thoroughly and systematically abolished. Education was non-existent. Travel was prohibited. Public communications and postal, telegraph and telephone services were abolished. Money and markets were abolished. Every religion and form of worship was considered illegal. Marriages were forced marriages arbitrarily arranged by the Angkor (by the organizations, by the government). Cultural vestiges were destroyed; every fine custom was prohibited. Psychological terror was carried out night and day by large, widespread police and secret service networks. People constantly faced the threat of having their skulls bashed in without a trial, sometimes without a reason or evidence.

--The economy was heavily dependent upon a foreign country: Kampuchea had to deliver very many tropical and precious special products to the bosses in Peking in exchange for huge piles of weapons. The life of the people became increasingly crippled and the people themselves were exploited to the bones.

--The sovereignty of the country was sold cheaply, was given to a foreign country. The network of advisors and specialists and the apparatus of the Chinese Embassy enveloped the administrative, military, economic and party apparatus of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. The Chinese ambassador was an Ambassador Plenipotentiary with much power. The Chinese advisors and specialists were the true rulers. They did whatever odd thing they wanted to do in their new style colony.

--The army was turned into mercenaries of expansionism in Peking, into a tool for provoking and instigating war with neighboring countries to serve Peking's scheme of aggression.

It can be said that the above are the seven characteristics of the social system constructed over the past 3 years in Kampuchea under the auspices of Peking. These seven characteristics alone are enough to show the true nature of this uniquely barbarian society of the mid-20th Century, this insolent challenge to the society of man.

The Foundations of This System of Extreme Barbarity

What was the theoretical foundation upon which the odd society of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was built? It can be said that this foundation was a mixture of all sorts of extremely reactionary and backward lines and viewpoints.

To begin with, there was the fascist chauvinism of the cruelest imperialists toward man, a chauvinism that considered the Chinese to be superior and to possess the right to trample upon other peoples, considered one nation to be the traditional enemy of another and provoked national hatred in order to instigate a war of aggression and expansion.

There was the ideology of the slave owner, an ideology that considers the working people to be nothing more than slaves, to be animals that know how to talk, animals that can be cheaply sold in one form or another to other slave owners.

There was also the ideology of the feudal kings, which resulted in a system of nepotism and a life of extreme decadence and opulence based on the misery of the people.

It is also necessary to mention numerous other deviant and erroneous reactionary viewpoints, such as left-wing infantilism, impulsiveness, the theory of absolute equality, the viewpoint of metaphysical idealism, which severs all links to the past, skips necessary stages of development, and so forth, all of which originate in the philosophy of life of the reactionary bourgeoisie mixed with the non-thinking viewpoints of the petty bourgeoisie or pure farmer class when they have not seen the light of Marxism-Leninism.

A number of persons who were deceived or mistaken viewed this as a "creative and unique style of socialism." When money was abolished, its power was also abolished; smuggling, speculation and bribery also disappeared--this is the purest kind of society (!). Everyone dresses the same way, everyone shares one collective kitchen--this is true social equality (!); there are no rich or poor, no injustice! The bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the small merchants, the landowners, the wealthy peasants and so forth were rapidly abolished and society became ideally pure (!) because there were no exploiting classes, etc. It can easily be seen that all of these arguments are sophistical arguments foreign to Marxism-Leninism.

Marx and Lenin discussed the abolition of money and the exploiting classes at great length and in deep detail. These positions can only be implemented once the necessary conditions have ripened and only by means of suitable measures; they cannot be arbitrarily carried out by means of purely administrative measures with no regard for specific conditions and circumstances, no regard for objective laws and conditions.

It can be said that the theoretical foundation of the odd social system in Kampuchea was a huge trash pile of ideological viewpoints of old ruling classes denounced by history plus erroneous viewpoints and theories of the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and farmers, thus creating an extremely absurd assemblage. Within this assemblage, the most significant factor was the philosophy that bore the name of the leader of the big country that used the Pol Pot-Ieng sary clique as lackeys to impose their yoke of neo-colonialism upon Kampuchea. This was the largest as well as the weakest and most easily collapsed foundation. Any person who has even an elementary understanding of Marxism-Leninism, of scientific socialism can easily reject these reactionary and deviant viewpoints. This is because this "grab bag" of theories contained every sort of reactionary, erroneous viewpoint, contained all the garbage that was harshly and sternly denounced by Marx and Lenin; they were in no way related to Marxism-Leninism, even though this system was hailed by some as "the most unique, the purest form of socialism!"

These miscellaneous, reactionary and erroneous lines and viewpoints, once put into practice, destroyed the life of an entire nation, brought untold suffering and pain, created rivers of blood and caused soaring indignation.

The Peking Label

It is not at all difficult to prove that the odd model of society in Kampuchea during the time of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary bore a genuine Peking label.

In China, they have raised the position of the farmer to a high level, to a level higher than that of the working class, even put farmers into opposition

with the working class; the farmer is everything, the countryside is everything. In Kampuchea, this line of making the countryside the only base, of using the countryside to surround the cities was developed into the line of using the countryside to swallow the cities. More than 3 million urban dwellers were driven into the countryside, sent to various communes, forced to perform hard labor and became new style serfs.

In China, in the name of class struggle, they have waged very cruel internal struggles, the struggle for power within the party has been one of purges, eliminations, liquidation and so forth; in Kampuchea, the struggles were no less excessive; persons who opposed the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary line, be they a member of the Party Central Committee, a minister or an ordinary patriot, were branded as foreign lackeys, traitors or spies and had their skulls smashed in or were bound and thrown into a river without any trial.

In China, when the power structure was viciously shaken, they immediately mobilized tens of millions of politically naive teenagers and youths, took advantage of their restlessness, their fondness for destruction and their straw heroism and built a new social base; in Kampuchea, youths and teenagers were also very boldly used, becoming a large stratum of hoodlums within the army, becoming hundreds of thousands of ever-present security personnel loyal to Pol Pot, becoming a stratum of young party members ready to perform any bloody crime in the name of "Angkor."

In China, they call for leaps forward and wage revolution by means of very appealing but empty slogans, by means of grand words in place of working to organize and build socialist society in a determined, diligent and meticulous manner; in Kampuchea, they also clamored increasingly about "great leaps forward, great progress, unparalleled greatness," about the fairest and purest form of socialism, about creative Marxism-Leninism, about a unique style of socialism, about Kampuchea blazing the trail for mankind, about Kampuchea being in the vanguard in abolishing classes and money, etc.

In China, the line, viewpoints and thinking of the highest leader are spread on the basis of the cult of personality using a mixture of hypnotism and something approaching religious prayer; in Kampuchea, citizens were forced to memorize a number of teachings of Pol Pot, as though they were committing the Bible to memory, forced to memorize sentences praising Angkor, the father and mother of the Angkor people, as supreme, forced to promise to struggle under the banner of Pol Pot throughout their lives, etc. Pictures and busts of Pol Pot were mass produced and the people were forced to consider Pol Pot the savior of the nation, a great leader, a living god.

Much more evidence can be cited. None of it is new! The sins of the father became the sins of the son.

One of the Three "Major Bankruptcies"

Western public opinion very accurately observed that Chinese ruling circles have engaged in three major adventures and experienced three major bankruptcies in less than 20 years.

First, there was the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." Recently, a number of Chinese writing in posters along Xidan Street and in a few clandestine journals in Peking observed that the proletarian revolution was a total mistake, was neither revolutionary nor the least bit proletarian and was completely non-cultural. The sweeping denunciations, the bloody fights and the mass, secret-service style liquidations were totally foreign to Marxism-Leninism. As a result of these chaotic events, the prestige and reputation of China were terribly shaken in the eyes of the entire world. The leaders in Peking revealed their anti-revolutionary nature more with each passing day. Now, a number of Chinese themselves have very strongly denounced the cultural revolution and charged that it sapped the energies of the entire Chinese people for decades to come and created the image for China of an aging, weak giant sitting on its own feet.

The second "major bankruptcy," one which revealed the reactionary nature of Chinese ruling circles, was the odd model of "Peking style socialism" built in Kampuchea. There is no way the Peking authorities can deny or defend this very serious crime against Kampuchea, against all mankind.

And, the third "major bankruptcy" of the Peking ruling circles was their barbarous war of aggression against Vietnam. They were heavily defeated in every way. Their largest defeat was that they exposed themselves as the filthiest and most aggressive of reactionaries and brought upon themselves the disgust of mankind.

These three adventures, these three major bankruptcies were three steps up the ladder of recognizing the nature of the system, the nature of the Chinese ruling circles for what they really are. These three major events have laid the foundation for world opinion and even the people of China to fully see the true political face of the ruling circles in China, see their extremely reactionary nature in both domestic and foreign affairs, in politics, economics, military affairs and diplomatic affairs, even in the leadership of the state and the building of the party.

These three major bankruptcies are more than enough for the reactionary authorities in China to be highly isolated, be strongly denounced from all sides, be pushed into a weak posture, weak in terms of both their position and power.

The revolutionary struggle of the people of Kampuchea united with the fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Laos and all progressive mankind brought

about the total bankruptcy of the extremely malicious, reactionary undertaking of China in Kampuchea. This was an invaluable contribution to saving the Khmer nation from the tragedy of genocide, from the rule of the Chinese reactionaries; at the same time, it exposed the extremely reactionary and cruel nature of the sinister powers now ruling in Zhongnanhai Palace in Peking.

It can be said that the collapse in early 1979 of the edifice which Peking worked so hard to build in Kampuchea was an important milestone on the road of the total, thorough defeat of the Peking reactionary authorities, who have inflicted untold suffering and tragedy upon the people of Kampuchea and the people of China and are opposing the three great revolutionary currents of our time.

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THE FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF CHINA IN SUPPORT OF THE SCHEME OF GREAT NATION EXPANSIONISM AND HEGEMONY OF THE PEKING REACTIONARY GANG

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 79
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[Article by Nguyen Van Tho]

[Text] Since the start of 1978, China has been making every effort to carry out a campaign of foreign economic activities with many sinister and decadent ambitions. The U.S. magazine TIME sarcastically observed on 27 November 1978: "It is a great leap forward outside the country." This campaign is closely coordinated in many ways. China has always stressed that its foreign policy guideline is that the economy must be subordinate to its political line, that is support a political scheme. This political scheme is the counter-revolutionary global strategy of the Peking reactionary gang to collaborate with the imperialists, led by the United States, to insanely oppose the three revolutionary currents in the world and achieve great nation expansionism and hegemony. Therefore, depending upon the particular diplomatic objective, the Chinese reactionary authorities have used the economy to affect the political situation, engaged in political collaboration to achieve economic advantages and, on the basis of these economic advantages, engaged in military collaboration to achieve greater economic advantages.

However, regardless of how cunning or insidious it might be, their campaign of foreign economic activities has rapidly revealed numerous fundamental contradictions and difficulties that cannot be overcome.

Foreign Economic Relations To Achieve the Objectives of the "Four Modernizations" and the "Three Worlds" Theory

The domestic policy of the Peking reactionaries calls for China to modernize its economy and national defense system and rapidly build China into the number one superpower by the end of this century, that is, to catch up to and surpass the advanced countries of the world in terms of the

basic indices of agricultural production, industrial production, science, technology and national defense.

China considers the 10 years from 1976 to 1985 to be the key in the effort to achieve this objective. The principal elements of this 10 year plan are, in agriculture, an effort is being made to produce 400 million tons of grain per year in order to implement the slogan "stockpile grain for use in case of war"; in industry, every effort is being made to produce 60 million tons of steel per year primarily to serve military needs and the needs of the arms race. Thus, the center of the so called "four modernizations" is modernizing the national defense system: more than 40 percent of China's annual budget is allocated for military expenditures.

The foreign policy of the Peking authorities calls for China to develop relations with foreign countries in accordance with the "three worlds" theory, an extremely reactionary theory presented at the United Nations in 1974. The essence of this theory is for China to align itself with the imperialists and other reactionaries to oppose the USSR, the other genuine socialist countries and the other revolutionary currents. As far back as 1968-1969, the Peking authorities considered the USSR to be the "number one enemy" and launched a campaign among the people of China to oppose the USSR. China is constantly clamoring that "a new world war is unavoidable," that "the USSR is the crucible of this war" and that it is "aligning with all capitalist countries, led by the United States, to establish a unified world front against the USSR and the other socialist countries." They bear a special hatred of Vietnam and Cuba, two thoroughly and resolutely revolutionary countries.

On the basis of the above mentioned domestic and foreign policy lines, the present foreign economic activities campaign of the Peking traitors is designed to use the capital, technology and weapons of the imperialists to support the "four modernizations"(primarily the modernization of the national defense system), rapidly turn China into a superpower, achieve the dream of hegemony and oppose the obstacles lying in the way of their great nation expansionism, namely, the USSR, Vietnam, Cuba and the other genuine socialist countries. The objectives of this campaign are not to develop the economy, improve the standard of living of the Chinese, or serve socialism in China and the world.

Through the present foreign economic activities campaign of the Chinese reactionary authorities, their betrayal of the Chinese people, of socialism has been exposed. The entire world has clearly seen this in many of their activities. At a time when all progressive mankind is appealing for help to the Vietnamese to heal the wounds of war caused by the U.S. imperialists, they have fabricated the so called "refugee" issue and, using this as an excuse, unilaterally abrogated all agreements that had been signed, cancelled all aid, withdrew all specialists and closed the Vietnamese consulates in China while intensifying their acts of harrassment along the border and at a number

of other places in order to cause Vietnam to encounter numerous economic and political difficulties. Even more maliciously, the Peking authorities used the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary lackeys to launch a war of aggression against Vietnam from the southwest, a war that destroyed economic bases and inflicted many losses of life and property upon the Vietnamese. On 17 February 1979, having suffered continuous defeats and with the sympathy of Washington and Tokyo, the Peking reactionaries launched a war of aggression against Vietnam from the north, committing countless crimes against the people of Vietnam.

As regards Albania, on 13 July 1978, exactly 1 year after Albania publicly criticized the reactionary nature of the "three worlds" theory, China declared the total cancellation of aid and withdrew all Chinese specialists. Actually, Chinese aid to Albania had been declining since 1971 due to increasing disagreements regarding political viewpoints.

As regards Cuba, China turned white into black by distorting the noble assistance given by Cuba to the African revolution; on the other hand, it has reduced the importation of sugar from Cuba in a vain attempt to create many economic and political difficulties for Cuba. The Peking authorities have stirred up trouble for, vilified and impeded countries from trading with the USSR. In recent visits to western Europe, Chinese authorities requested that western Europe not "feed the polar bear candy."

Collaborating with the Imperialists, Especially the United States and Japan, in Search of Capital, Technology and Weapons of the Capitalist Countries

China is still poor and is underdeveloped technologically; however, the Chinese authorities are very eager to carry out the "four modernizations" in a very short period of time, eager for China to rapidly become a super-power. In addition, they have betrayed socialism, consequently, they have publicly collaborated with the imperialists, especially the United States and Japan, in a frantic search for capital, technology and modern weapons of the capitalist countries. During this period of time, the capitalist world economy has been in a complex crisis from which there is no escape, goods have gone unpurchased, business activities have slowed, the number of totally unemployed persons is very high and rising strongly and consumer markets have become a matter of survival to imperialism, consequently, the capitalist countries are ready to extend their hand in welcome to Peking. These countries hope to accelerate their exports to this vast market and find abundant sources of raw materials in China. The imperialists are scheming to use the Peking traitors as a new assault force to oppose the genuine socialist countries and the world revolutionary movement, which is growing with the strength of a typhoon.

Since early 1978, the Peking authorities have signed many long-term trade agreements worth tens of billions of dollars as well as many long-term agreements on economic and scientific-technical cooperation with Japan, West

Germany, France, Great Britain, etc. Capitalist corporations have received contracts worth billions of dollars for supplying technical equipment and other important products to China.

Especially deserving of attention is the fact that China signed a peace and friendship treaty with Japan on 12 August 1978, which, "in substance, is a military alliance treaty" (the French Newspaper FIGARO, 3 November 1978). The Chinese reactionaries have used this treaty "as a bridge to relations with the United States" (WASHINGTON POST, 25 October 1978). In fact, on 16 December 1978, both Peking and Washington simultaneously announced (before the agreed date) the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries beginning on 1 January 1979, that the two sides would exchange ambassadors on 1 March 1979 and that Teng Hsiao-p'ing would visit the United States in late January 1979. Thus, the collaboration among Peking, Tokyo and Washington was achieved, even though China, the United States and Japan are antagonistic toward one another in many ways. China wants to use this as the basis for opening the door for sales to the capitalist world and acquiring modern technology and weapons. The importation of technical oil drilling and coal mining equipment has been given number one priority in order to achieve the norm of producing 1 billion tons of anthracite coal and 500 million tons of petroleum in 1985. These are important strategic products and principal exports which China must quickly increase in order to satisfy its very large import needs. China is wooing Japan and the United States for cooperation in the development of coal and petroleum, especially petroleum on the continental shelf, and has signed large contracts for the purchase of coal mining equipment from West German and British corporations.

China is urgently importing technological equipment for its steel refining industry. Japanese corporations, such as the Nippan-shin Corporation [Vietnamese phonetics], Hitachi and so forth, will supply equipment for the construction of large steel refining plants and American corporations, such as Kaiser, will supply iron ore mining equipment.

China wants to rely upon the United States and acquire American agricultural technology to develop its agricultural production. U.S. delegations led by Frank Portet [Vietnamese phonetics] (science advisor), Burgland (Secretary of Agriculture) and so forth have gone to Peking one after the other to study the possibility of cooperation in agriculture and the sending of U.S. specialists to help China modernize its agriculture. China is engaged in a frantic search to buy modern weapons, much in the way a thirsty wild beast roams the forest in search of running water. China has signed contracts for or is conducting negotiations to purchase Harrier aircraft, which require only short runways for takeoff, Mirage combat aircraft, helicopters, ocean patrol aircraft, U.S.-1A jet transports, anti-tank missiles and laser beam technology as well as military production factories from Great Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, etc. Before the normalization of Sino-U.S.

relations, the U.S. imperialists often publicly declared that the United States was ready to sell weapons to China if requested by Peking.

In addition, China has sent tens of thousands of students overseas to study in Japan, the United States and western Europe and has invited very many capitalist specialists in science, technology, economic affairs and military affairs to Peking to study economic management and social management experiences.

Encouraging Reactionary Powers, Engaging in Economic Bribery and Looking for Support Within the Third World

To date, China's trade with the developing countries is still small, constituting only 13.7 percent of China's total exports and imports. China primarily exports finished products to these countries in order to earn foreign currency. The majority of China's imports from these countries are valuable raw materials: natural rubber, ferrous metals, phosphorus, etc.

Since the start of 1978, the Peking authorities have been intensifying their activities in the developing countries, especially in Southeast Asia and Africa, places for which they have many schemes of expansion. Government delegation led by Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Zhen Mouhua, and Geng Piao, economic and trade delegations led by Li Qiang and Wang Bingnan, military delegation led by Zhang Haotian and so forth have visited these countries much more for political purposes than economic purposes.

Peking's policy toward the countries of the third world is a two-sided policy of deception and buying favors accompanied by creating pressure in every area, including military pressure. Having placed themselves in the third world, the Chinese authorities always state that they "support" the objectives of the struggle being waged by the developing countries and promise to do everything they can by way of "impartial" aid based on the eight principles set forth by China. The Peking reactionaries use the trick of "economic and trade preferences" in a vain attempt to win over and gain the sympathy of the countries of Southeast Asia while concealing their expansionist ambitions. China has sold petroleum at prices lower than world market prices; traded petroleum for rice in order to "help" to resolve the energy shortage; purchased sugar in large quantities to "help" to reduce the difficulties posed by the protective measures and import limitations of the capitalist countries; sold rice at more than 30 percent below the world market price; sold equipment for paper mills and paper pulp production worth 9 million dollars at a "friendship" price of only 5 million dollars, etc! By means of "aid," "economic preferences" and so forth, China is trying to have the countries in Southeast Asia follow the Chinese line of opposing Vietnam, the USSR and the other socialist countries.

China has provided economic and military aid to the Pinochet and Mobutu reactionaries, supported the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary genocidal clique, supported the Vang Pao bandits and so forth in order to harass and sabotage the revolution. The Peking reactionaries used lackeys in Kampuchea to unleash a war of aggression against Vietnam, used economic and military aid to Somalia for aggression against Ethiopia and had nothing but praise for the suppression of the revolutionary movement in Zaire by expeditionary forces from France and Belgium.

Having Encountered Mounting Difficulties and Sharp Contradictions, The "Great Leap Overseas" Is Doomed to Defeat

The foreign economic activities campaign of China, although it has been underway only a short time, has revealed many profound difficulties and contradictions that cannot be overcome.

In pursuit of their dream of great nation expansionism and hegemony, the Peking reactionaries have hastily signed import contracts for large volumes of technical equipment to support the "four modernizations"; meanwhile, the ability of China to increase its exports is limited. As a result, China faces a serious imbalance between exports and imports. As observed by the Tokyo Bank, China must import 200 billion dollars worth of technical equipment and services; however, China's present foreign currency reserves only amount to slightly more than 2 billion dollars.

To earn the money needed for imports, China is trying to rapidly increase the production of coal and petroleum for exportation. However, doing this requires major investments in production and also requires time, China cannot "skip stages of development." Moreover, according to an observation made by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency on 20 March 1979, China will not be able to complete its plan to double coal output in order to produce 1 billion tons per year by 1985. It is even more impossible for China to complete its plan for increasing petroleum output six-fold, to 500 million tons per year by 1985.

In addition to coal and petroleum, China is accelerating the production of many high quality textile goods for exportation. Shanghai alone has 48 textile mills producing export goods. However, textiles and ready-made clothing are products subject to trade protection by the capitalist countries; this situation will result in competition with a number of developing countries that produce these export goods.

Without the actual capability to rapidly increase its exports in order to satisfy import needs, China has been forced to shift to a policy of borrowing from foreign countries: the Peking reactionary authorities have courted, explored and negotiated for loans from Japan, western Europe and the United States. Of course, loans must be repaid with interest and all loan terms

must be fulfilled. However, of fundamental importance is the fact that the ability to borrow money depends upon the ability to repay it and, in the final analysis, the ability to repay a loan is determined by the ability to increase exports. Therefore, the policy of borrowing money from foreign countries cannot resolve the imbalance between exports and imports. This is not to mention the difficulties and obstacles encountered in the process of borrowing money.

As import needs have become more pressing, Peking has attached more importance to the foreign currency sent home by Chinese in business overseas. This is a rather large source of capital which the Chinese reactionaries can easily obtain without the need for any exports whatsoever. For this reason, China appealed in early 1978 for overseas Chinese to send money home to "build the fatherland." Also for this reason, China has caused countries in which many overseas Chinese reside to encounter difficulties.

Having looked for every way to increase its foreign currency revenues and still unable to satisfy its import needs, China has, of course, had to cancel contracts and reduce the scale of its imports. This measure has affected Japan first. Five days after China launched the war of aggression against Vietnam, Peking informed the Japanese corporations of the suspension of the contract signed in December 1978, including a contract to build the Bao Shan steel refining mill worth 2.8 million dollars. This action stunned the Japanese corporations and caused officials of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry in Japan to state: "Japan must adopt a more cautious attitude in trade with China." British and West German businessmen also reported: "Since the start of the year, the signing of agreements has been totally suspended. At the major hotels in Peking and Shanghai many international businessmen have expressed concerns. The negotiations continued, but nothing at all occurred after them!" (WORLD Newspaper of the Federal Republic of Germany, 16 March 1979).

Secondly, the bankruptcy of the "four modernizations" plan is inevitable. The foreign trade imbalance of China originates in the serious imbalance within the Chinese economy at this time and this imbalance is due to the "four modernizations" line. Conversely, the imbalance within the economy is also the cause of the failure of the "four modernizations" plan, the center of which is the modernization of the national defense system. On 5 May, Li Xiannian had to admit: "China was too hasty in its program to modernize the economy" and "a number of the objectives set for the 1976-1985 ten year plan are very premature." The Chinese PEOPLE'S DAILY of 24 March 1979 publicly appealed for "a halt to all construction programs" and "the immediate revision of present construction programs" due to "the imbalance within the national economy"; "imports must be made in a cautious manner and be more economical and profitable," "a balance must be established between exports and imports," etc.

The bankruptcy of this "four modernizations" plan is the inevitable outcome of the ambitions of great nation expansionism and hegemony because this plan was formulated, not on a scientific basis or in accordance with objective economic laws, but on the basis of the subjective desires of the Peking reactionaries, their impetuous desire to rapidly make China a superpower, first and foremost a military superpower. The 1976-1985 ten year plan and the imports plan are also designed primarily to support the modernization of the national defense system.

These crazy ambitions of the Peking reactionary authorities, in view of the fact that China is still poor and technologically underdeveloped, will inevitably cause many profound contradictions, cause the economy to become seriously imbalanced, cause chaos within sectors and cause production to stagnate, even be heavily damaged.

Obviously, the bankruptcy of the "four modernizations" plan is inevitable and the event to which everyone has given their attention, the war of aggression waged by the Peking reactionaries against Vietnam, stimulated the process of this plan's bankruptcy. As early as 8 March 1979, HANOVER Newspaper of the Federal Republic of Germany observed: "The war against its neighbor (Vietnam) caused China to lose very much strength and the withdrawal of orders for goods with Japan must be considered a major setback for its plan." Each passing day offers further proof that the war of aggression against Vietnam has been causing and will cause the Peking reactionaries many serious and immeasurable consequences. According to the 23 May edition of the U.S. magazine INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION FORUM, U.S. State Department specialists observing the Chinese situation revealed, in a secret report, the deep concern that "the consequences of the war of aggression against Vietnam will not only sabotage Mr. Teng's modernization program, but also sabotage his effort to win power." Moreover, the war of aggression against Vietnam might cause serious harm to China in its trade relations with other countries. The U.S. journal U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT of 3 May 1979 bluntly stated: "Of course, prolonged fighting will reduce the interest of the West in developing the Chinese market."

Also due chiefly to the scheme of great nation expansionism and hegemony, the people of China, in the space of only 20 years, have had to endure very serious losses in the "great leap forward," the "great cultural revolution" and the "four modernizations."

Thirdly, the Peking reactionaries are highly isolated in the world, are strongly opposed at home and are becoming more deeply divided internally. Chinese ruling circles have been making every effort to oppose the USSR, oppose the socialist countries and collaborate with the imperialist and reactionary forces in opposing the three revolutionary currents in the world; they insanely committed aggression against Vietnam and, as a result, have been

harshly denounced by all progressive mankind. Never have the Peking reactionary authorities been as highly isolated in the world as they are today.

The waves of opposition in the world will, sooner or later, have a strong impact upon the movement of the people of China against the Peking traitors. The people of China are coming to see more clearly with each passing day that the line being followed by the reactionary authorities is contrary to their interests. More and more organizations are emerging that are opposed to the reactionary gang, who "for the sake of piles of stinking dollars, betrayed and cheaply sold socialism to imperialism"! These organizations have appealed to the Chinese people to "stop the war of aggression against Vietnam and overthrow the warmongering gang in Peking, who owe many blood debts to the Chinese people."

Defeated overseas, defeated in the war of aggression against Vietnam, having suffered an initial defeat in their scheme to expand and become the rulers of the world and facing many obstacles in their effort to carry out the "four modernizations" plan, the Peking authorities are becoming increasingly divided internally, the various factions are blaming one another, purging one another and engaging in an increasingly bitter struggle for power.

The difficulties and sharp contradictions mentioned above show that the "great leap overseas" campaign to carry out the "four modernizations" in support of the scheme of big nation expansionism and hegemony of the Peking reactionary authorities has been and is being defeated. The desire of the capitalist countries to use the Chinese reactionaries as a new international assault force in a vain attempt to find a way out of or lessen the severity of the serious crisis at home has been and is being thwarted.

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