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Tap Chi Cong San

No. 12, 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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ON THE KAMPUCHEAN ISSUE

Hanoi VNA in English 0705 and 0850 GMT 24 Nov 79 OW

[Article by Truong Chinh in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 79 pp 1-21--VNA version was previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 230, 28 Nov 79 pp K6-K20]

[0705 GMT 24 Nov]

[Text] Hanoi, VNA November 24--Hanoi papers today publish in full an article by Truong Chinh titled "On Kampuchea." The article reads as follows:

The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and their henchmen, since the beginning of this year, have made a great deal of noise about the so called "Kampuchean problem," charging Vietnam with aggression against Kampuchea and demanding the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from that country. Most recently they have raised an hue and cry about famine in Kampuchea. Shedding crocodile tears, they raved about a "new genocide" under the Heng Samrin administration. Then, on November 14, the United Nations adopted an incorrect resolution on the so called "Kampuchean problem."

The deceptive propaganda by imperialism and international reaction has sown doubt and uncertainty among the ignorant, preventing them from discerning black from white. These people have failed to see the truth because of the enemy smokescreen.

So, what is at the bottom of the Kampuchean problem? What is the real situation in Kampuchea? What have Chinese expansionism and hegemony and other reactionary forces been plotting against Vietnam and Kampuchea, and against the whole of the Indochina Peninsula which is an important strategic position held by the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in Southeast Asia? What is Vietnam's correct stand on the Kampuchean problem?

I

Last century Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea were all subject to colonialist domination. The three people were in the same boat--enslaved by a foreign power. Their long struggles for independence, and freedom, therefore, were often closely linked to one another.

From the 1945 to 1975, the three peoples united with one another in resisting the aggression of the French colonialists and then the U.S. imperialists. They shared weal and woe and shed their blood in fighting common enemies. Even death could not disunite them in this common fight which was finally crowned with victory.

The struggle of the Kampuchean people, with the assistance of Vietnamese armed forces, ended in victory on April 17, 1975. The Lon Nol puppet administration was overthrown. U.S. imperialism was forced to quit Kampuchea, and that was a defeat of U.S. neo-colonialism at the hands of the Kampuchean people. So, the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, closely united against their common enemies, finally succeeded in liberating the whole of their countries. They should have been able to begin their peaceful labor to build their countries each in its own way.

But the Kampuchean revolution and the Indochinese revolution as a whole were again threatened by enemy sabotage. The reactionaries in the Chinese leadership, prompted by their ambitions of expansionism and hegemony, had long dreamed of annexing Southeast Asia to pave the way for their "conquest of the world."

Vietnam, with its strategic position on their southward drive, became their prime target for annexation. Even when the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea were resisting the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists, the Chinese reactionaries had pursued a policy of maintaining Vietnam between victory and defeat and in a permanent state of partition to serve as a buffer zone between China and imperialism, permanently weak and dependent on China.

The reactionaries in Beijing, at a very early date, had prepared to use Kampuchea as a base for an eventual attack on Vietnam in their program of expansion and hegemony.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, as early as in the fifties, when they were still in Paris, already advocated an anti-Vietnamese policy and were seeking every way to oppose the Indochinese Communist Party in the Kampuchean revolution. Back in Kampuchea, they tried hard to eliminate genuine Kampuchean revolutionaries, and usurp the leadership of the Kampuchean revolution. In 1965, after he had arrogated to himself the highest post in the party leadership, Pol Pot went to Beijing where he was given a great welcome. In exchange for flattering words by the Chinese leaders about the Kampuchean revolution being "the center" of the revolution in Southeast Asia and about

the Kampuchean party being a "genuine Marxist-Leninist" party, Pol Pot praised China as having a "central position" in the "revolutionary camp," and "Mao Zedong Thought" as being "the present day Marxism-Leninism." That sealed the collusion between the Chinese leadership and the clique of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary.

Regarding Vietnam, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique made public professions of friendship while never ceasing to incite the Kampuchean people against the people of Vietnam. Even during the war against the U.S. imperialists, they sought to isolate and murder Vietnamese volunteers who were shedding their blood for Kampuchea's independence.

After the complete liberation of Kampuchea, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique took advantage of victory in Kampuchea to frenziedly implement the plans of their bosses in Beijing to turn Kampuchea into China's neo-colony, a strategic base for attack against Vietnam and for the annexation of Indochina, and a springboard for expansion to Southeast Asia.

II

We will now see how the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique built "democratic Kampuchea" on the model of the Chinese "cultural revolution."

Domestically they announced the application of "Kampuchea's original communism." Under the supervision of Chinese advisors they put into effect the most curious, most reactionary kind of "socialism"--a barracks-type socialism.

They desperately aimed for a society without cities, families, schools, markets, currency and pagodas.

There were only concentration camps labelled as "big communes" where people were subject to hard labor driven by the ANGKA. In these "communes" everyone, the old and the young alike, had to work like slaves and were beaten like beasts of burden. Women became sterile, people were likely to be massacred at any moment, with spades and gunbutts.

Patriots who loved freedom and justice, people of culture, were all "condemnable," even army officers and soldiers could be executed immediately on the least suspicion. Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, and even Chinese, were also subject to persecution and mass execution. The Kampuchean Communist Party was completely destroyed and replaced by Pol Pot's Maoist "party." Kampuchea became a hell on earth. Three million of the seven million Kampucheans were killed off during those three years of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. That was a disaster brought about by the most horrible regime of genocide in human history, which paraded under the guise of socialism and communism to destroy the names of socialism and communism. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique of butchers, heart and soul dedicated to Beijing expansionism, tried to eliminate the Khmer nation within the shortest time possible for the Chinese settlement of Kampuchea to turn it

into a Beijing controlled Chinese district for use by Chinese expansionism and hegemony.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, in essence, was the combination of a blood-thirsty dictatorship and medieval feudal tyranny disguised as socialism.

Externally, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, under Beijing's baton, advocated an arrogant policy of aggression and war. They launched an aggressive war against Vietnam, conducted armed provocations against Laos and Thailand, refused all cooperation with the non-aligned countries, and isolated itself from the outside world, maintaining contact only with China. The so called democratic Kampuchea became a great danger to peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the world as a whole.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique adopted an openly hostile attitude towards Vietnam, immediately after the two peoples, fighting in the same trench, had just brought to victory their struggles against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. In May 1975, they landed their troops on the islands of Phu Quoc and Tho Chu and encroached on Vietnamese territory from Ha Tien to Tay Ninh. Toward the end of 1975 and throughout 1976 they staged nibbling attacks on Vietnamese territory in the provinces of Gia Lai-Kontum and Dac Lac. From mid-1976 onward they tried to arouse chauvinist, anti-Vietnamese feelings among the Kampuchean people and armed forces, describing Vietnam as the "sworn enemy," the "enemy number one." On April 30, 1977, they deployed many divisions along the whole length of the border in the Vietnamese province of An Giang, broadening armed conflicts on the common border into a real war of aggression against Vietnam.

Their aim, which was part of the overall intention of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, was to take Vietnamese territory, undermine the Vietnamese people's peaceful endeavor to build socialism, fan up national enmity between the two nations while under the pretext of internal war time purges, hiding from the public at home and abroad their genocidal crimes against the Kampuchean people. They also intended to make Kampuchea a starting point for Beijing's two-pronged aggression against Vietnam, which was to be attacked from the north by Chinese troops and from the southwest by the mercenary army of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. The strategic blow from the southwest was intended as a vicious flank attack on the Vietnamese people.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique's aggression against Vietnam was essentially a war by the reactionaries in the Beijing leadership, entirely organized, fed and commanded by Beijing. It was part of the plan to gradually contain, weaken and annex Vietnam. It was an attempt to exert Beijing's chauvinist policy under the pretext of "self-defensive offensive" against "Vietnamese aggression." It was the thieves who were crying for help.

What an evil scheme! And the Vietnamese people, still smarting with the wounds inflicted during the 30 years of the war for liberation from the

French colonialists and U.S. imperialists, had to shed their blood again in a new war to safeguard their beloved socialist country.

So, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique of butchers, henchmen of Beijing, were perpetrating a double crime--genocide against the Kampuchean people and aggression against the Vietnamese. By frantically practicing genocide and aggression, they seriously violated the principles of the U.S. Charter. Any Kampucheans who were opposed to the aggression against Vietnam were eliminated. Those who served in the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army were used as cannon fodder for the Beijing expansionists and their henchmen. The butchers in Phnom Penh, by rousing national hatred against the Vietnamese people, sought to channel the Kampuchean people's struggle out of their country. On the strength of war time discipline, they savagely cracked down on the people who resisted their bloody rule.

III

While conducting a proxy war on southwestern Vietnam, the reactionaries in the Beijing leadership tried to undermine Vietnam from within. They used ethnic Chinese as a fifth column to spy and oppose various policies of the Vietnamese government. While giving aid to Vietnam during the war against U.S. aggression, they resorted to a policy of containment and pressure in an effort to make Vietnam dependent on China.

As from 1975, after the U.S. imperialists' ignominious failure in Vietnam, they not only refused Vietnam's request for more aid, but also deliberately delayed and postponed the execution of aid projects. In July 1978, they suddenly unilaterally declared a halt to all economic and technical aid to Vietnam, and recalled all their experts and technical cadres from Vietnam. That was while the Vietnamese people had to cope with a war on the southwestern border, while restoring an economy ruined by U.S. imperialists' aggression and overcoming the consequences of successive natural calamities. Also during that period they launched a slander campaign charging Vietnam with "ostracizing, persecuting and expelling the Hoa." The fact was that they themselves were using their mouthpieces and spy rings in Vietnam to intimidate, deceive, and seduce the Hoa. They sowed fear among the Hoa about the outbreak of a Sino-Vietnamese war and made the people doubt and hate Vietnam, thereby causing them to abandon production, stop working and go to China en masse. In essence the "problem of persecution of the Hoa" was a campaign to compel the Hoa to migrate to China in an attempt to cause disturbance and difficulties to Vietnam politically, economically and socially and, at the same time, to incite and deceive the public in China in preparation for an anti-Vietnam war.

To prepare for a large-scale war of aggression, the reactionary faction of the Beijing leadership deliberately caused constant tension on Vietnam's northern border, deployed their armed forces, built fortifications, airports and military roads, stepped up provocations and nibbled at Vietnamese territory.

In the southwest, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, on orders from their bosses in Beijing, stubbornly resisted the Vietnamese government's good will and great patience, turning down every reasonable proposal for a peaceful

settlement of mutual problems.(1) Their intention was to maintain the border war on the southwest while preparing for a large-scale aggression in conjunction with an offensive by their bosses from the north.

Meanwhile in the west, the reactionaries in Beijing were also trying hard to threaten the Lao People's Democratic Republic. They provided assistance to U.S. planted Lao reactionaries and Meo bandits, and used the so called "road builders" to cause political and economic troubles in Laos, and threatened northern Laos militarily. Their aim was to threaten Vietnam from the west and to force the Lao people into submission.

Thus, Vietnam was facing a two-pronged aggression and was caught in a pincer movement deployed, from the southwest, by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army and, from the north, by China's expansionist army which was ready to cross the border at any moment. Following Chinese big nation expansionism vis-a-vis Vietnam, Beijing repeated the offensive strategy applied time and time again by feudal China in its history of invasions against Vietnam, namely, launching frontal attacks in coordination with rear attacks. In the 11th century, when Vietnam was ruled by the Li Dynasty, the Sung Dynasty in China, in collusion with the King of Champa, used the Champa army in incursions on Vietnam's southern border to weaken Vietnamese resistance to the Sung army's attack from the north. In the 13th century, under the Tran Dynasty, the Yuan feudalists, during their second invasion of Vietnam, used a relatively strong force commanded by Generalissimo Sagatou to join the Champa army in attacking southern Vietnam in coordination with the main force commanded by Togan attacking from the north. But, the Chinese aggressors' strategies of pincer movements and pronged attacks were ignominiously defeated. Recently, they were again smashed.

The Beijing expansionists' intended strategy of strangling Vietnam has become perfectly clear. The Vietnamese people, again, are facing a life and death problem.

IV

It is clear that the fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Kampuchea have to fight a common enemy--the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists and their henchmen, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. The struggles of the two people have naturally complemented each other and, in fact, have been well coordinated. Thus, while the Vietnamese people were carrying out a patriotic war against Beijing's agents, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary aggressors, the Kampuchean people conducted a revolutionary civil war against these same forces. This war resulted in the ousting of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime and the liberation of the nation from the domination by the Chinese hegemonists. The characteristic of fighting both inside and outside enemies is a special feature of genuine revolutionary war conducted by the peoples of colonies (especially neo-colonies) in our time.

Imperialism and Beijing hegemonism claim that the Kampuchean revolution is "mounted by Vietnam" and that the revolutionary regime in Kampuchea is

"Vietnam's puppet." But oppression always breeds resistance, and the more barbarous the oppression, the fiercer the resistance.

In 1973, people and patriotic forces of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army, from Rattanakiri to Co Kong, rose in arms. In Rattanakiri there were uprisings of highlands minority nationals. In Co Kong Thai nationals took up arms after 10 members of the provincial party committee had been executed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. One member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea laid down his life in this struggle.

From 1975 to 1978, when the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was stepping up its genocidal policy, massacring people, intensifying the purge of its forces inside and outside the army, and waging a war of aggression against Vietnam, the movement of popular uprisings and army revolts and rebellions against the authorities and war of aggression against genocidal policy grew rapidly throughout the country. Some typical cases: the uprising of the people in Chomka Loung in March 1976 and another uprising of the people in Siem Reap in April 1976. People in north Siem Reap and in Battambang rose up in arms in January 1977 in coordination with the first division garrisoned in Phnom Penh.

As on other occasions, this uprising was ruthlessly suppressed. Many high-ranking officers of the division were executed, including members of the Central Committee of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary party. Next came the popular uprisings in Kampong Cham and Monduliri in March and April 1977, and in the eastern provinces in May 1978.

The bloody purges carried out by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in the South-Western Army Corps 203, in May 1978, triggered off stronger opposition in the army. More units declared their disassociation from the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. The struggle of the army and people gradually developed into a broad mass movement involving various social strata. The patriots and dissident army units took to the jungle and built resistance bases. The struggle, which became more and more conscious and organized, led to the birth of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea on December 2, 1978, headed by Heng Samrin, a former executive member of the party committee in the Eastern Region and former commander and political commissar of Division 4.

Obviously, revolution cannot be imported into any country. The revolutionary civil war of the Kampuchean people broke out and developed entirely within the country of the Angkor civilization, due to internal developments to the antagonistic contradictions of an abnormal society rigged up by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary reactionaries under Beijing's guidance. In this revolutionary struggle, the Kampuchean people closely combined uprising to overthrow the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique with the struggle for an end to the aggressive war against Vietnam waged by the Beijing expansionists and the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique.

Many officers and men of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army, forced by their reactionary commanders to commit crimes in Vietnam, refused to go to the front. They deserted and shot their commanders, then crossed over to the people, or took to the jungle to build resistance bases or crossed the border to join the Vietnamese people in fighting the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique of traitors and their bosses.

The genocide committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in Kampuchea and their aggressive war against Vietnam again united the two peoples in a struggle against their common enemy. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique concentrated its forces on the border to accelerate the war of aggression against Vietnam, but sustained heavy casualties inflicted by the Vietnamese people and armed forces. That created a great gap in their rear and even in their last hideouts. That was the most favorable opportunity for the Kampuchean people to rise up vigorously to overthrow their oppressors.

In late December 1978, on Beijing's orders, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, with 19 out of their total 23 divisions, launched a large-scale attack on Vietnam's southwestern border. Many Pol Pot-Ieng Sary divisions attacked the area of Ben Sol, Tay Ninh Province, with the aim of seizing the Tay Ninh provincial capital to pave the way for further military adventures deep in Vietnamese territory and to pose a serious threat to Ho Chi Minh City.

The patience of the Vietnamese people and armed forces, however, had its limit. The Vietnamese armed forces, together with local civilians on the southwestern border, immediately fought back fiercely and firmly, destroying an important part of the enemy force on Vietnamese territory. Then they rapidly extended their counter-attack to enemy territory, wiping out the aggressors on their own ground. The war of aggression on Vietnam's southwestern border was brought to an end.

Taking this opportunity, when the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary forces concentrated on the border to broaden the aggressive war against Vietnam were heavily decimated by the Vietnamese people and armed forces and, therefore, were unable to repress the revolutionary movement in their own country, the people and revolutionary armed forces of Kampuchea, under the leadership, of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, rose up simultaneously, turning the aggressive war against Vietnam into a revolutionary civil war and, with strong offensives and uprisings in combination with the fierce blows dealt by the Vietnam People's Army quickly overthrew the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary domination.

On January 7, 1979, the national capital, Phnom Penh, was liberated. The Kampuchean people were freed from the danger of extermination by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, by neo-colonialism and by Chinese expansionism.

The Vietnamese people's patriotic war and the Kampuchean people's revolutionary civil war combined to quickly smash their common enemy who was unable to counteract because it was attacked both in front and from the back.

Thousands of Chinese experts hurriedly retreated to Thailand, tens of thousands of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary troops had to evacuate the cities, provincial capitals and district towns to hide in the jungle, and either were wiped out or had to surrender or disband.

Fulfilling their internationalist duty, the Vietnamese people and armed forces helped the Kampuchean armed forces and people liberate, one by one, many cities and the vast countryside of Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people's offensive and uprising, in combination with the war for self-defense by the Vietnamese people and armed forces, triumphed completely. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council was founded. The People's Republic of Kampuchea came into being. The Kampuchean people, now revived, became masters of their destiny. The long-standing fraternal friendship between the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples was restored. China's strategic southwestern attack against Vietnam was broken.

Not resigned to failure, the Beijing expansionists went ahead with plans they had long prepared. On February 17 last, they arrogantly threw 600,000 Chinese troops into a direct war of aggression against Vietnam from the north. Their aggressive forces included 11 regular army corps and more than 20 infantry divisions, many technical units and almost 600 tanks and armored vehicles, thousands of artillery pieces and hundreds of aircraft of assorted kinds. They also readied the best units in the Wuhan, Chengtu and Beijing great military regions in preparation for expanding this aggressive war. With such massive forces, had they not been halted by the Vietnamese people and armed forces they would certainly have advanced deeper into Vietnamese territory with their "human wave" strategy.

This was a war of aggression conducted by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists who in so doing, completely exposed their reactionary nature, their opposition to national independence and socialism, their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, and their sabotage of the long-standing friendship between the peoples of Vietnam and China. This was given the green light by U.S.-led imperialism during Deng Xiaoping's visit to the United States and Japan (in early February 1979).

[0850 GMT 24 Nov]

To cope with public condemnation at home and abroad, they resorted to the "thief crying 'stop thief'" trick, alleging that was a "defensive counter-attack" by border forces, "an operation limited in time and scope." They also arrogantly claimed to smash "the myth of Vietnam's invincibility" and to "teach Vietnam a lesson." It was ridiculous for those who had received a well-deserved lesson in Kampuchea to speak of teaching others.

The public in the West has said that China attacked Vietnam to save its face and to save its henchmen in Kampuchea. But we should not forget the essential facts. The Chinese warmongers attacked Vietnam because it had bravely resisted Chinese expansion and hegemony, because it was the biggest obstacle on their southward drive and because it held a very important strategic position in their plan to annex Southeast Asia. By their

aggressive war against Vietnam, the Chinese aggressors wanted to show themselves off as the counter-revolutionary shock force against socialism and the national independence movement. They wanted to prove themselves to the imperialists, especially the Americans in order to gain U.S. aid to promptly carry out the "four modernizations"--a step towards "world conquest."

Bringing into play their tradition of unity against foreign aggression and enjoying the assistance of the whole country and the encouragement of the Soviet people the peoples of other socialist countries and by peace and justice-loving people throughout the world, Vietnamese armed forces and civilians in the northern border provinces victoriously defended their beloved country. Beijing's aggressive war met with a very heavy, bitter and thorough defeat, militarily, politically and economically. The enemy failed to achieve its main objectives. The war revealed the shortcomings of the Chinese aggressors when in confrontation with a combat seasoned opponent. It is obvious that the Chinese army, though numerically impressive, is not strong. The Vietnamese people can defeat any Chinese military adventures under whatever circumstances. The Beijing expansionists also met with bitter political and diplomatic failure. To the public at home and abroad they revealed themselves as pseudo-revolutionaries.

A protest movement against the invasion of Vietnam broke out in many Chinese cities. Many Chinese soldiers deserted to avoid fighting Vietnam. A wave of indignation at the Chinese aggression swept the world. The Soviet Union, the most powerful socialist country, the pillar of world revolution and world peace, gave the Vietnamese people great, timely and effective support and assistance in the spirit of the Vietnam-USSR Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. Other socialist countries, other forces of peace and progress and people of conscience in the world vigorously condemned the Beijing expansionists' unjust war. An international emergency conference in support of Vietnam held in Helsinki severely condemned the Chinese aggressive war and demanded that China "immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its troops from Vietnam." The slogans "The whole world sides with Vietnam," "Chinese aggressors, get out of Vietnam," and "Don't lay hands on Vietnam" put forth at the Helsinki conference were translated into practical support for the Vietnamese fight against Chinese aggression.

People who had loudly charged Vietnam as "aggressors in Kampuchea" when the Vietnamese people were backing the Kampuchean people's struggle to save themselves from genocide either had nothing to say about China's blatant aggression against Vietnam or merely indulged in demagoguery.

Thus, both the friends and the enemies of the Vietnamese people and the other Indochinese peoples identified themselves, as did the friends and the enemies of world peace and justice.

V

So we can now see that both the aggressive war of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary-henchmen of the Beijing and Beijing war against Vietnam were unjust. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique's genocide of the Kampuchean people was also unjust, whereas the two wars by the Vietnamese people for national defense and against the Chinese and Pol Pot-Ieng Sary aggressors were both just. The Kampuchean people's revolutionary civil war which climaxed in the offensive and uprising in early 1979 to topple the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was just. Therefore, the assistance by the Vietnamese army and people to that offensive and uprising by the Kampuchean army and people was also just. The Vietnamese people and the Kampuchean people had the right and obligation to do what was just. The Vietnamese people and the Kampuchean people also had the right and the obligation to oppose what was unjust. The imperialists and their lackeys cannot make black white and confuse right and wrong.

Having regained independence and freedom after so many years of hard struggle, the Vietnamese people wanted nothing more than a life in peace to redress the wounds of war, build a plentiful and happy life, entertain solidarity and friendship with neighboring and other countries. President Ho Chi Minh said, "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." The more we cherish our own independence and freedom, the more we sincerely respect the independence and freedom of other peoples. Vietnam's history has been one of unflagging, indomitable struggle for independence and freedom. Aggression and enslavement of other nations have nothing in common with the nature of the Vietnamese socialist regime or with socialist Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese army and people carried out a war for national defense, annihilating the enemy and defeating the aggressive war by the Pol Pot-Ieng sary clique on the southwestern border, and the aggressive Chinese war of the north that was an exercise of the legitimate right to self-defense of an independent, sovereign nation.

The Kampuchean people waged a revolutionary civil war which was essentially a liberation war, to overthrow the genocidal domination of Beijing's henchmen, get rid of the Chinese hegemonist yoke, recover the right to be masters of their destinies, conduct another revolution to replace the betrayed one, and continue taking the land of the Angkor forward along the road of genuine independence, democracy and socialism. That was the sacred, unalienable right to self-determination of a people.

The Vietnamese army and people helped the fraternal people of Kampuchea in fighting Beijing's genocidal puppets for real independence and freedom. By their victorious struggle, the Kampuchean people helped remove the danger of aggression from Kampuchea, thus assisting the Vietnamese people in national defense. That was a legitimate exercise of the right of nations to unite with one another and assist one another in opposing common enemies and for their legitimate interests. For these reasons, we consider the recent UN resolution invalid, since it ignores justice, is immoral and defies

the objective realities of Kampuchea. That resolution goes against the declaration of the 25th UN General Assembly on the occasion of the 25th founding anniversary of the United Nations (November 2, 1970), saying that countries and peoples, in their just fight, may request and accept all necessary moral and material aid conforming to the objectives and principles of the UN Charter.

The just rights of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples conformed to the principles of the non-aligned movement and the UN Charter. Vietnam has observed and defended this Charter while the Beijing authorities and their vassals have brazenly violated it.

Members of the Vietnam People's Army are still in Kampuchea to help the Kampuchean people defend their independence and freedom from schemes to reimpose the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary genocidal regime and the Beijing neo-colonialist regime. That is in the interests of peace and justice, it is a nationalist and internationalist obligation, and also a very legitimate act, because it meets the vital aspirations of the Kampuchean people and is taken at the official request by the National United Front for the Salvation and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea--representatives of the Kampuchean people. The treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation signed between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea on February 18 last is the logical basis of the Vietnamese presence.

July 16, 1979, the Foreign Ministry of Kampuchea declared: "The Kampuchean people throughout the country have welcomed with great joy the Vietnam People's Army as dear brothers and are grateful for the valuable assistance of the Vietnamese people and the Vietnam People's Army. That is a fact acknowledged by hundreds of foreign visitors in Kampuchea, and warmly admired by progressive humanity. No one can distort this fact... The presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, therefore, is completely in line with the interests of the two peoples, and with the principles of the non-aligned movement and the UN Charter.

As soon as the danger on the restoration of the genocidal and aggressive regime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary executioners and of the aggression by the Beijing expansionists, the imperialists and their henchmen is removed and if the Kampuchean revolutionary government request it, Vietnamese forces will return to Vietnam, as they did years ago after having helped the Kampuchean and Lao people successfully carry out their resistance wars against France and the United States.

In its statement on July 16, the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of Kampuchea also reaffirmed: "The government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam always respects the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. As soon as remnants of the disbanded Beijing backed Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army and other reactionary

forces employed by the imperialists, cease their sabotage against the Kampuchean people's peaceful life, as soon as the Beijing expansionists and their imperialist allies stop threatening Kampuchea's independence through the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary and other reactionary cliques, Vietnamese troops will go home immediately.

A joint statement signed on August 25, 1979 on the official visit by a delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam says: "The two parties solemnly declare that after the Beijing expansionists, the imperialists and other reactionary forces have ceased threatening Kampuchea's independence and territorial integrity and the peaceful life there, the Vietnam People's Army will return home with the full agreement of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council. This is a matter between Kampuchea and Vietnam, nobody is entitled to interfere.

Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, living together on the Indochinese Peninsula, were dominated by the colonialists and imperialists, the French, the Japanese and the Americans, tried all possible means to dominate these three countries and to turn Indochina into their colony and military base. The imperialists' policy was to divide and rule, to pit one country against another, and to use the territory of one country to invade another. In their aggressive wars, both the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists made Indochina a single battlefield to break the resistance of the three peoples who, therefore, had to closely unite and help one another to fight the common enemies.

The unity and militant alliance between the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, built, consolidated and tempered in protracted liberation wars, contributed to the success of each people.

So, when the Kampuchean people, forced by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique--Beijing's instrument of genocide--to act as cannon fodder against Vietnam and for the consolidating of the yoke of Chinese hegemonism, the Vietnamese people could not fold their arms. They had to save both themselves and the fraternal Kampuchean people from disaster.

The Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Lao peoples will resolutely unite in fighting and defeating all Chinese schemes under whatever circumstances.

The revolutionary actions of the peoples of the three Indochinese countries have practical contribution to the safeguarding of the independence and sovereignty of the Southeast Asian and South Asian countries, to the maintenance of security in this region and elsewhere in the world.

In the 13th century, the Yuan invaded Vietnam, attempting to trample the Vietnamese people in their advance toward Southeast Asia and South Asia. The Vietnamese united and fought with the invaders, stopping the Yuan in this southward drive, thus saving themselves and contributing to the defense of other nations in Southeast and South Asia.

Today, history has entrusted the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean peoples with the mission of defeating Chinese expansionism and hegemony. The Vietnamese people are determined to fulfill their sacred national duties and their international obligations as assigned them by history.

VI

The Kampuchean situation is irreversible. The government led by President Heng Samrin has control of the whole country. The claim that there are in Kampuchea two zones with two regimes, two administration and two armies in conflict is untrue. Under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, 4 million Kampucheans, re-emerging from the brink of death, are racing against time to rebuild their country, and after less than a year they have recorded outstanding achievements. The last dens of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique have been razed to the ground. The remnants of the Pol Pot army have been gradually swept away. Only small bandit groups are operating along the Kampuchean-Thai border. The people's administration has been firmly established from the central to the grassroots levels.

People have returned to their native places and families were reunited after many years. All the activities in the country have gradually returned to normal. The economy has been gradually restored. Farmers have voluntarily set up production teams and are preparing to harvest the first rice crop since liberation. Many factories, including power plants, water supply plants, textile mills, etc., have resumed operations. The transport system, including roads, waterways, railways and air routes has been restored. The postal network has been extended to hamlets and villages. Many hospitals in various cities and provinces, having been repaired, have admitted patients. Mobile medical teams have worked in many remote regions. Schools have reopened. Pagodas and temples have been repaired. Markets have opened and trade between the various parts of the country has resumed. Cultural, artistic and sports activities have resumed, bringing joy to the people. The Kampuchean people have become the real masters of their own lives.

The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea has pursued a foreign policy of peace, friendship, non-alignment and international cooperation. It is developing diplomatic and friendly relations with other countries. The KPRC's international prestige has enjoyed warm sympathy and the strong support from the revolutionary people and all international forces of peace and progress. As at November 1979, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea has been officially recognized by more than 30 countries. Right from the beginning, the peoples of Vietnam, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries gave the Kampuchean people great and effective assistance, helping them to stabilize their lives. They are continuing to help the Kampucheans to ease the famine inherited from the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. The new administration led by President Heng Samrin, surmounting many difficulties, has received and effectively distributed hundreds of thousands of tons of food given by the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and humanitarian organizations.

Certainly, all the serious consequences of many years of aggressive wars by the imperialists and 4 years under the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime cannot be overcome within a short period of time. But obviously, the achievements recorded by the Kampuchean people over the past 10 months are worth being proud of. The administration led by President Heng Samrin has established its credentials as a real revolutionary administration of the people representing the people's interests and enjoying their warm support. It is the only genuine and legal representative of the Kampuchean people. From the graves of genocide, a nation with the glorious Angkor civilization has re-emerged and is steadily advancing in step with broad historical trends.

We warmly hail the great historic victories of the Kampuchean people. The Kampuchean revolution is advancing vigorously. The wheel of history cannot be turned back as the reactionaries would wish. The Kampuchean problem has been settled through revolutionary measures by the Kampuchean people themselves with the help from Vietnam, Laos, the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, and from peace and justice loving people around the world.

At present, the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, the imperialists, the colonialists and their henchmen have, with their new maneuvers, attempted to revive the genocidal regime in Kampuchea and continue to oppose and sabotage the revolutions in Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos. One group of them has advocated a military solution to the Kampuchean problem while another advocates a political solution, another group has opted for a combination of military, political and economic solutions. All the most reactionary power of our time are gathering to oppose national independence and socialism in Indochina as well as the Kampuchean revolution. But they forget that the Kampuchean problem can only be solved and is actually being solved by revolutionary measures taken by the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea. There is no other way.

Recently, the U.S. imperialists, the Beijing hegemonists and other reactionary forces have attempted to exploit the issue of humanitarian aid to Kampuchea in order to achieve their own designs. Obviously, they have deliberately exaggerated the famine in Kampuchea in an attempt to put pressure on the Heng Samrin government and create conditions to beef up the disbanding Pol Pot remnants along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

In his October 30, 1979 letter to UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, the foreign minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea sternly "condemned and rejected all attempts at using the 'humanitarian aid' pretext to interfere in Kampuchea's internal affairs," and affirmed that "using the 'humanitarian aid' pretext to supply the remnants of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and help them restore the genocidal regime in Kampuchea is a crime."

People of conscience may well ask why not fully utilize the aid receiving capacities of Konpong Som port and the Pochentong Airport, which were opened for the reception of aid by the Heng Samrin government. If genuine humanitarianism is the motive? Though the Vietnamese government and the Kampuchean government agreed to let ships carrying famine relief to Phnom Penh go up the Mekong River, some kept asking to transport aid overland from Thailand. When this demand was not satisfied they claimed that the Kampuchean and Vietnamese governments had obstructed a humanitarian act, and that they had carried out a new policy of "genocide" and left the Kampucheans starving. Why did they persist in attempting to send aid to the Kampuchean people without going through the present government in Kampuchea led by President Heng Samrin? The answer to this question is not difficult to find.

Up until now, humanitarian aid consisting of food, medicines, etc., from the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other socialist countries to the Kampuchean people is much greater than that received from other countries. That selfless assistance, together with tremendous efforts made by the revolutionary administration and the people of Kampuchea are helping gradually but effectively overcome the famine left by the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique.

While the Chinese leaders and the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary butchers are clamoring for "humanity," they have stepped up their war preparations. Beijing is threatening to give Vietnam a "second lesson." Ready to plunge into new military adventures, it slanderously charges the Soviet Union with building up its forces in Asia, and Vietnam with preparing for an aggression in Thailand. In the meantime, U.S. imperialism, under the pretext of rescuing refugees, has deployed its naval forces in the eastern sea and Southeast Asia.

Reactionary forces are feverishly preparing for "internationalizing the Kampuchean problem." Their aim is to pry into Kampuchea's internal affairs and oppose the fraternal Kampuchean people's right to self-determination. The Indochinese peoples, therefore, must consistently enhance vigilance.

The frenzied reaction of Beijing colluding with imperialism to counter the Kampuchean revolution and the other Indochinese peoples' revolution, has made Indochina and Southeast Asia one of the hottest areas in the world. Obviously, this is not a problem about Kampuchea, but actually an historic confrontation between the most reactionary forces and the revolutionary forces in the post-Vietnam period time.

To conduct a so called "second long march" to modernize China so that it may become a global hegemonist power, Beijing expansionism and hegemonism have colluded with U.S.-led imperialism, in opposition to the Indochinese people's national independence and socialism.

In its global strategy of counter-revolution, U.S. imperialism is also playing the China card to oppose Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the mounting movements for national independence and socialism, and world peace.

In this sinister alliance, in spite of many contradictions, imperialism and Chinese expansionism have one thing in common--their policy of sabotaging the Indochinese revolution. The Asian countries, subject to annexation by the Beijing rulers in their expansionist strategy for Southeast Asia, are being courted by China. A number of ASEAN countries are considered as China's allies in its expansionist and hegemonist schemes. This is a new mustering of forces conducted by all international reactionary forces to oppose the three Indochinese peoples, greatly endangering peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the world over.

All these frenzied acts and perfidious maneuvers by Beijing hegemonism and by imperialism, however, will certainly meet with ignominious failure, no matter what labels and forms they may be under. The situation in Indochina and in the world as a whole has changed substantially. For the first time on the Indochinese Peninsula, there are three independent and sovereign countries advancing to socialism. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This is a new, unprecedented and propitious. In the world in this decade, since U.S. imperialism sustained ignominious setbacks in its aggression against Vietnam, and especially in the period described by many strategists as "post-Vietnam" period new developments have taken place in the three revolutionary currents of our time. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist system have become stronger politically, economically and militarily. The banner of socialism is flying in many countries. On all continents, from Europe to Asia, from America to Africa, the movements for national independence have developed vigorously, closely bound to socialism. The struggle for democracy and social progress carried out by the working class and other working people in the imperialist countries has matured. The forces struggling for peace have become more numerous and have progressively pushed back the most warlike forces.

The strength of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea has been greatly increased by their close relations. The peoples on the Indochinese Peninsula have the strong and effective support and assistance of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, and progressive humanity. The Kampuchean people and the other Indochinese peoples, therefore, can preserve and develop their revolutionary gains. The peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, which came into being on January 7, 1979 and is now gradually progressing to socialism, is maturing quickly. The Pol Pot-corps is decaying. The magicians in Beijing and Washington, no matter how good they may be, cannot revive it in Kampuchea.

In the interests of national independence and socialism, Vietnam will closely unite with the fraternal peoples of Kampuchea and Laos to thwart

Beijing's expansionism and hegemonism, and foil all the malevolent policies of imperialism and international reaction. Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the three fraternal peoples will firmly safeguard and build their countries each in their own way, thus actively contributing to the world people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

FOOTNOTES

1. In a statement made February 5, 1978, the Vietnamese government made the three following proposals to the Pol Pot regime:

An immediate end to all hostile military activities along the border, the withdrawal of the two armies to 5 kilometers behind the border.

An immediate meeting between the two sides to discuss and sign an agreement on friendship and non-aggression and a border treaty.

Agreement on a suitable form of international guarantee and supervision.

THE PROCEDURES FOR HANDLING LETTERS FROM READERS OR LETTERS FROM LISTENERS
SENT TO THE VARIOUS NEWSPAPERS AND RADIO STATIONS

Hanoi Tai CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 79
pp 22-23

[Text] On 13 November 1979, the premier issued a directive, the complete text of which is as follows:

The press agencies of the party and the mass organizations are the voice of the party and mass organizations and, at the same time, the voice of the people. Letters sent to newspapers by readers and letters sent to radio stations by listeners are a form through which citizens exercise their right of collective ownership in managing, supervising and inspecting the activities of the agencies, cadres and personnel of the state. Political Bureau resolution number 60/NQ of 8 December 1958 and Party Secretariat directive number 197-CT/TU of 13 March 1972 established the task of intensifying the practice of criticism and self-criticism in the press. Article 23 of Council of Ministers' decision number 217-CP of 8 June 1979 stipulated that all state agencies must respect, examine, act upon and seriously answer the opinions forwarded by the people to the mass organizations, press agencies or radio stations.

Recently, press agencies and radio stations have received many letters complaining about or denouncing cadres and personnel on the various levels and in the various sectors for violating policies and laws, misappropriating or wasting property of the state, violating the right of socialist collective ownership of the people or suppressing and intimidating the masses. A number of cases have been examined and handled relatively well by responsible agencies and this action has been welcomed by the masses. On the basis of letters sent by readers and listeners, newspapers and radio stations have reflected the situation and aspirations of the people to the leadership levels of the party and government. At the same time, they have helped to praise and encourage good people and good work and criticize and put an end to improper activities.

However, at many places, there is still the problem of not accepting criticism or only accepting it in a form for form's sake manner; responsible persons only examine in a cursory manner or totally ignore suits and complaints by the people; there have even been cases in which the letter of complaint has been turned over to the person about whom the complaint was made to be examined and this person has suppressed or created difficulties for the person who made the complaint or initiated the suit. With regard to a number of cases that have been reported in the press or on the radio, not only have the responsible agencies refused to take action, but sector management agencies on the upper level, including central agencies, have also failed to conduct inspections, provide supervision and take action or have not adopted a serious attitude toward the incident or gained experience in order to provide agencies on the lower levels with guidance. There have also been cases in which sectors have not wanted the press to publicly criticize the mistakes or bad habits of cadres and personnel in their sector.

In order to put an end to this situation, the premier has directed:

1. The press, radio stations and wired radio stations, when receiving letters from readers and listeners that criticize or complain about violations of the law or violations of state regulations and policies, have the right to investigate, inquire and request that the responsible agencies shed light on or take action upon the matters raised by readers and listeners. Under the guidance of the Departments of Propaganda and Training of the Central Committee and the provinces and municipalities, the editorial boards of newspapers and stations can, after verifying an incident, take the initiative and decide to publicly report on the matters reported by readers and listeners to newspapers, radio stations and wired radio stations in order to struggle against negative phenomena and support the good deeds of the masses and state agencies. In cases of necessity, press agencies, radio stations and wired radio stations have the right to not print or report the name of the person who wrote the letter in order to protect this person. It is necessary to insure that the matters printed in the newspaper or reported over the radio are true, that state secrets are kept, that decadent elements are not allowed to take advantage of this form of activity, make false accusations and so forth.

2. After receiving reports, letters of denunciation and letters from readers printed in newspapers about cadres and personnel who have violated laws, policies or regulations of the state, the head of the agency in charge of managing the work in question or managing the cadres or personnel in question must, in the spirit of scrupulously complying with the directives and resolutions of the party and the laws of the state, immediately examine the charge and must, within the space of 30 days, take action and reply to the person who made the report or respond to the newspaper or radio station that forwarded the reader's or listener's letter to his agency.

In cases in which additional investigation is required, the person in charge must, during the 30 day period mentioned above, notify the person who made the report of this need and must reply to this person within 3 months from the day he received the report. In the case in which responsible agencies do not examine, do not act upon or incorrectly act upon the matters that are raised, press and radio agencies have the authority to issue a reminder to them and, if necessary, can report to the management agency or leadership agency on the upper level or continue to publicly criticize them in the newspaper or on the radio. The government prohibits every act of retaliation taken against the writers of letters to newspapers and radio stations to impede the work of investigation and verification by reporters, every attitude of irresponsibility toward misdeeds and tolerating or protecting persons who commit crimes.

3. Every agency or individual who is criticized or questioned in the newspaper or over the radio has the responsibility of accepting the criticism that is offered and rectifying the shortcoming in question; they have the right to clarify charges brought against them by mistaken public opinion and correct statements that are not true.

4. When noticing that the press has printed matters related to their sector or locality, the heads of the agencies managing the sectors on the central level and the people's committees of the various provinces and municipalities must investigate and verify the incident; at the same time, they must urge and remind lower level agencies to take action against the misdeeds. When requested by a reader or listener, the head of a management agency on the central level or the chairman of a provincial or municipal peoples committee must reply to the people or to the press or radio agency. The management agency on the upper level must gain experience, reorganize the management activities on its level and find ways to prevent these misdeeds from reoccurring at other places.

5. When noticing that a newspaper or radio station has reported news concerning misdeeds by an agency, organization or individual, the various state control agencies and the control committees of workers and the people have the right and responsibility, within the scope of their authority, to urge and remind related agencies to examine and act upon the charge or conduct their own examination and take action on their own. If a related agency is given a reminder but does not take action, a report can be submitted to the control agency or the sector management agency on the upper level in order to intervene and take action.

The Office of the Premier has the responsibility of helping the premier keep abreast of public opinion in the various newspapers and on radio stations and observe, supervise and inspect the various sectors and levels in complying with this directive.

THE VIETNAM'S PEOPLE'S ARMY IS 35 YEARS OLD

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 79
pp 24-31

[Article by Hoang Minh Thao]

[Text] Over the past 35 years, our army has grown from small units equipped with rudimentary weapons into powerful military corps that have fought with unparalleled bravery, recorded brilliant feats of arms and, together with all the people, written the remarkable epic of the Vietnamese revolutionary war.

Over the past 35 years and together with all the people, our army has:

--Opposed the Japanese fascists and staged the general uprising to seize political power (August 1945);

--Won victory over the French colonialist aggressors and completely liberated North Vietnam (July 1954);

--Waged the victorious war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, liberated the entirety of South Vietnam (April 1975) and reunified the fatherland;

--Annihilated the aggressor army of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary, the lackeys of the Beijing reactionary authorities, thereby helping the National United Front for National Salvation and the people of Kampuchea save the country of Kampuchea from genocide, and defeated more than one-half million Chinese aggressors, forcing them to flee from our country (February 1979).

Over the past 35 years, our army has successfully implemented the teaching of the revered Uncle Ho: "Be loyal to the party, filial with the people... complete every task, overcome every difficulty and defeat every enemy."

What are the factors that have created the strength of our army?

Our Army Has Been Organized, Built and Led by the Vietnam Communist Party

It is the leadership of the party that has determined the revolutionary nature, the working class nature and the new style nature of the army. As a result of the absolute, comprehensive leadership provided by the party, our army, the army of a country that has a backward, decentralized agricultural economy and underdeveloped industry, a country in which farmers constitute the majority of the population, also possesses the full nature of the working class. It has been the primary force used by the party and people to wage the armed form of the revolutionary struggle, has been the effective, dependable tool used by the party to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat, maintain the independence and freedom of the fatherland and maintain socialist construction.

The ideals of the party are the ideals, the combat objectives of our army. The line of the party has created an invincible strength for our people's armed forces.

The party has Marxism-Leninism as its compass, as the foundation for building and teaching the army and has made the ideology of Marxism-Leninism the ideology of the army. On the basis of its boundless loyalty to the fatherland, the nation's tradition of unyielding struggle, the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class and its own tradition of determined struggle, the party has forged the army, has armed the army with revolutionary heroism.

Organizationally, our army has been built in accordance with the line set forth by our party on organizing the people's armed forces. The party has trained a large corps of cadres who are firm in combat, wholeheartedly serve the people and the country, possess high military and political qualifications and are determined to tightly manage the armed forces and complete each task assigned by the party. The party has built a firm system of party organizations to serve as the leadership nucleus so that the army stands firm in the face of all political upheavals and meets every arduous challenge in combat against the enemy, regardless of how large or strong they might be.

The party has taught the army to achieve a unanimity of will, thought and action within its ranks and maintain close unity between cadres and soldiers, between the army and the people. The party has made comradeship the basis for building the internal relations within the army, for making everyone truly equal politically, for causing everyone to love and help one another, protect one another and selflessly support his comrades and the other members of his unit.

The party has molded the spirit of self-imposed discipline, molded strict discipline within the army.

The party has attached full importance to organizational strength, to the strength of material-technical bases and has constantly endeavored to provide the army with increasingly improved weapons and the material bases needed to fight the enemy. The party has organized and encouraged the army to delve deeply into military science, learn technology and limit the effectiveness of each type modern weapon of the enemy. The party has been very concerned with building an increasingly modern, regular force army.

The party has imbued the army with genuine patriotism and the pure proletarian international spirit. Under the leadership of the party, our army has fought with the strength of the entire nature and the strength of international solidarity, the strength of our 4,000 year tradition and the strength of our times.

The strength of our army originates primarily and fundamentally in the leadership of the party, in the correct and creative, revolutionary and scientific line, in the tremendous organizational skills of the party. Under the banner of the party, our army is fully determined to win victory over the enemy. Being totally loyal to the party and fully complying with each order of the party are the nature, the principles, the law of victory of our army.

Our Army Is an Army of the People, an Army That Fights for the People,
an Army That Joins Forces With the People in Combat

Our army was born and has grown up in the revolutionary struggle movement of the people under the leadership of the party. In the process of building its corps, our army has never admitted into its ranks any unit that was an armed organization of the colonialist imperialists or the feudalists. Our army, which was the assault unit in the great army of uprising of all the people, grew like a gale in the general uprising to put political power into the hands of the people. It is the army of persons who arose to seize the right to be the masters, arose with the strength to move mountains and shatter the chains of the colonial and feudal system. It has assembled large numbers of youths seething with revolutionary zeal. It symbolizes the strength with which a heroic, victorious nation has arisen and won the right to be its own master.

This spirit, psychology, confidence and strength have been nurtured, forged, strengthened and developed in the wars of resistance against imperialism and the various types of reactionaries.

After the South was liberated and the country was reunified, the Vietnamese revolution entered the period of the advance by the entire country to socialism. Our army has also acquired new vitality from the system of collective ownership, acquired the strength of spring of the socialist system that is being built in our country.

The Vietnamese always care for their army. Wave after wave of youths have volunteered for the army. Mothers and older sisters have saved every available grain of rice and potato for troops. Within the strong crucible that is the people, the first units of the army grew and the units operating among the enemy developed. The mountain forests of Viet Bac "protected our troops and surrounded the enemy." The hearts of the people became the strong, solid base of the army. The city of Saigon was filled with army and police forces of the United States and the puppets, but we always had the bases needed to support troops, support their operations and continuously attack the rear base and nerve center of the Americans and the puppets.

Under the leadership of the party, the people of Vietnam have joined forces with the army in combat, thereby upholding the tradition of the entire country fighting the enemy. When the enemy attacks, every citizen becomes a soldier, every village becomes a fortification, every district becomes a fortress. The people have used weapons and ammunition and every political, economic and military proselyting weapon to coordinate with the army in attacking the enemy at all places and times. As a result of all the people joining forces with the army in combat, the strength of the army has been multiplied many times and many marvelous methods of fighting have been developed.

Constantly upholding the revolutionary spirit of the masses, our army is also a working army. When it was first established, the army was a traditional army. In the course of its growth, our army has tirelessly performed revolutionary work among the people and achieved a common will between itself and the people.

Our army is deeply devoted and grateful to the people. Our army has always shown itself to be a son who is extremely devoted to the "mother" who gave it life. Because the people have been so selfless, our army fights for the country, for the people. Respecting the people, helping the people and protecting the people are part of the oath of the army. Born of the people and fighting for and along side the people, our army protects the unity between itself and the people as it protects its own life. The flow of "mother's milk" from the people to our army is an inexhaustible strength.

The Strength of Our Army Lies in Its Scientific Organization, the High Quality of Its Training, Its Abundant Reserves and Its Strong, Solid Rear Area

The forces with which we fight the enemy are the forces of all the people exercising ownership. Even in ancient times, our forefathers fought the enemy and defended the country on the basis of the strength of the people. The forces of all the people which we use to oppose the enemy are both political forces and armed forces.

Our political forces are the political army of the masses. A unique aspect of the war of resistance against the United States was the long haired army. A political army can very quickly become an army of uprising, an armed army.

Our armed forces are the forces of all the people armed and organized into three military elements for the purposes of being the masters of the battlefield, being the masters of each locality and gaining the participation of each citizen in the fight against the enemy, a fight in which the nucleus is the army.

With a strong organization of all the people fighting the enemy, our forces become powerful. Our army's small forces become large and the enemy's many forces become few. The enemy, even if they attack in waves, will be drowned in the sea of all our people bearing weapons ranging from the rudimentary to the modern and exercising ownership of the locality, of the country.

In terms of its troop strength, the army need only be a certain size but its quality, its ability to fight must be very high. We use well trained troops to fight large enemy forces. At Ap Bac and Van Tuong, enemy forces were 10 times more numerous than ours and their weapons and means of war were 100 times more modern than ours but we won glorious victories.

Our army is strong organizationally, politically and ideologically, strong in terms of material bases, strong in terms of science and technology. Today, ours is a modern army. Our main force troops consist of many military corps, divisions and combined branches and we have many local units and many special, well trained units. We also have large militia and self-defense forces that are tightly organized, have been challenged in combat and are equipped with weapons that are no less modern.

Training activities, especially cadre training, insure that the army has a firm grasp of military science and technology, has a firm grasp of technology and is able to skillfully apply it in combat, is able to make the most effective use possible of the weapons with which it is equipped and, at the same time, has special tactics and techniques for limiting the effectiveness of each of the most modern weapons and means of war of the enemy.

In the buildup of the army, we have attached importance to both organization and personnel. As regards organization, we give our attention to everything from the entire structure of the army to the large military corps, the basic units and the command agencies and insure that the various organizations of the army have the highest possible overall strength. We attach importance to unanimity of will, unanimity of tactical thinking and self-imposed discipline and endeavor to mold strict discipline in order to meet

the requirements of combat involving modern technical equipment. In many major battles, 10,000 persons in our army have fought as one.

While building the army's organization, we have attached importance to training its personnel, especially cadres. We have also attached importance to training soldiers. The Vietnamese soldier is a person who possesses lofty combat ideals, is loyal to the country and filial to the people, is willing to give his life for the performance of his task, is resourceful and creative, is brave and tenacious and is very flexible while still maintaining self-imposed discipline. The soldiers of Vietnam fight with a deep love of the people and the country, with humanitarianism and revolutionary heroism, with intelligence and talent, with maturity in tactics and combat skills.

Over the past 35 years, our army has fought continuously. The buildup of the army has been carried out under war time conditions. We have fought the enemy while building the army, built the army while fighting the enemy. We have promptly gained experience from combat and promptly summarized combat experiences to insure that our army is always abreast of the latest battlefield experiences and can successfully deal with the newest combat developments of the enemy. Today, our army is an army that has a large corps of highly experienced cadres and very well trained soldiers.

Our war is the people's war. Our reserve forces lie among the people. Our rear area is a people's rear area. Another important source of supplies for our troops is the frontlines.

We have local rear areas and large rear areas. In the war of resistance against the United States, in addition to the local rear areas in the various zones, provinces, districts and so forth, the socialist North was a great rear area. The U.S. army frequently directed attacks against our rear areas. However, our rear area and resupply operations insured that our troops were well fed and could win victory. The Truong Son troops, who fought the enemy while marching, carried grain, ammunition and fuel across high mountain passes, across deep streams, through floods and under a rain of enemy bombs and shells to the frontlines on their shoulders, on bicycles and on mechanized equipment.

The just nature of the war and the correct international solidarity line of our party provided our army with a strong, solid rear area not only at home, but overseas as well, in the fraternal socialist countries and among the peace-loving forces of the world.

These reserve forces and rear areas are of very important significance as regards the strength of our army.

The Strength of Our Army Lies in Its Firm Grasp of the Laws of War, Its Highly Developed Military Science and Art and Advanced Technology

Military science is the science of waging a struggle by means of strength between opposing social forces, the science of creating a strong position, creating strong forces. This strength is the combination of many factors: weapons; material-technical bases and, most importantly, man.

As a result of the correct and creative political line and military line of the party and the brilliant guidance of the war by the party, our army has, through the realities of the great fight to defend the country, been able to formulate a military theory and military science of Vietnam.

The objective of the wars we have waged have been to liberate the country and protect the fatherland. Our war is the revolutionary war, which is a just war. Our army has used the strength of its just cause to fight the enemy.

Whom have we fought? With whom have we been at war? Here, we must look at the enemy we faced and the enemy behind them; must look at the enemy with whom we are fighting and at the enemy who might develop into our principal enemy. With the party charting the course, our army has always known exactly who its enemy is. In the early 1940's, once France had been defeated, we determined that our principal enemy was the Japanese fascists. In 1945, with many enemy units stationed in our country, our army determined that our principal enemy was the French colonialists. After Dien Bien Phu, our army considered the U.S. imperialists to have become our principal enemy. When the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation was in its final period (1972-1975), we recognized that we had to rapidly end the war with the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in order to be ready to deal with the traitors, the international reactionaries. Knowing who one's enemy is at an early date is very important in war.

We also clearly understand and correctly evaluate our enemy. We know the enemy's nature, forces, potentials and schemes. We know how the enemy is related to the antagonisms of our times, know the opposing forces of the enemy, know the points of agreement and the antagonisms among the imperialists and reactionaries. We know what the enemy is like in their own country and in the world, know the enemy in our country, in our region. An evaluation of the enemy must be very scientific. We accurately evaluate the enemy because we firmly adhere to the thoroughly revolutionary stand, base ourselves on the interests of the nation and the international interests and, with all the calm that bravery provides, examine the enemy. We correctly evaluated that "the position of the French is like fire, our position is like water, water puts out fire." We determined that the strength of the United States was merely a "limited strength." We have correctly evaluated that the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are "large but not strong."

The basic strategy of the Vietnamese revolutionary war is the strategy of all the people exercising ownership fighting the enemy and our unanimous thinking is the thinking of an offensive strategy. This has been our strategy since the August general uprising and through all subsequent wars. This is the strategy of all Vietnamese arising to be the masters of their destiny, to be the genuine masters of the country over a period of several thousand years, to win back and keep their country, to use their own strength to liberate themselves. This strategy is consistent with the offensive strategic position of the world revolution.

Our offensive strategy is based on uprisings by all the people against the enemy, on our superior political and moral positions, on the overwhelming strength of the revolutionary masses, on the firm battle position of the people's war, on our powerful forces, including our political forces and armed forces.

In the war of resistance against the French and the recent war of resistance against the United States, we took the position of waging protracted wars. While waging protracted wars, we took positive steps to gradually win victory and constantly made every effort to win a decisive victory in a short amount of time.

The offensive strategy of all the people exercising ownership is implemented through a number of measures. We fight the enemy using the combined strength of military forces and political forces, coordinate military struggle and political struggle, coordinate military offensives with uprisings by the masses, coordinate attacks with uprisings. Although the armed struggle and the political struggle are generally waged in tandem, in the concluding period of the war, the military struggle is usually the deciding factor. We fight the enemy from the position of being the masters of all three strategic regions and coordinate with the three military elements and the political forces of the masses deployed in these three regions. We gain control in order to attack and annihilate the enemy and stage uprisings and annihilate the enemy in order to achieve increasingly strong control. We always seize the initiative in attacking the enemy on the entire battlefield, thereby forcing the enemy to deal with our methods of fighting, dispersing and isolating the enemy, attacking them everywhere and always overwhelming them.

Our military science and art are characterized by the use of few forces to win victory over many forces. We are able to do this because we have the combined strength of the people's war, because our cause is just, because we are fighting aggressors in our country, because our army is well trained, our high ranking officers are resourceful and our troops are especially brave, overcome every difficulty and steadfastly advance toward victory.

Our army has grown from guerrilla warfare, from a type of positive, offensive, mobile and flexible guerrilla warfare that has its roots in antiquity, a type of guerrilla warfare in which the enemy is attacked not only in the mountainous forests and the countryside, but also continuously attacked in the cities. This is a type of local people's war, a war waged by the masters of the locality fighting the enemy within the locality. Our small-scale, guerrilla method of fighting has grown into operations requiring a high level of training, as seen in the activities of the sapper troops.

In large-scale, concerted, regular force combat operations, the role of weapons, means of war and material-technical bases is even more important; in this regard, we have usually been inferior to the enemy. We have had to use our organizational energies and talents, the high quality of the units in the various services and branches and our military talents and art to create a material strength superior to the enemy on the battlefield in order to win victory over them. In the history of combat, our army has fought many large battles and many types of campaigns. We have staged many large-scale ambushes and assaults and conducted numerous campaigns of an increasingly large scale in which there has been coordination among the various branches. We have also conducted many integrated, large-scale campaigns in which we coordinated attacks by main force troops with uprisings by the masses. As regards the various services and branches, we have conducted outstanding air to air battles, conducted many battles at sea and carried out many highly efficient air defense campaigns, such as the campaign which resulted in the defeat of the B-52 raids by the United States against Hanoi in December 1972. We have also conducted many nationwide offensives or offensives throughout an entire region of the country, such as the 1953 - 1954 winter-spring offensive, which concluded with the Dien Bien Phu campaign, the Mau Than Tet offensive, which delivered a thundering blow to the U.S.-puppet army, and the general offensive and uprising in the spring of 1975, which concluded with the Ho Chi Minh campaign that killed or forced the surrender of more than 1 million enemy troops in the space of only 55 days and nights and totally liberated the southern region of the fatherland.

The various campaigns and large-scale battles have been highlighted by our talent in predicting the plans, forces, capabilities and measures of the enemy, in general, and on the scope of the battlefield, in particular; by our attention to detail and our resourcefulness in organizing superior battle positions, providing rear service support and providing the roads needed to retain our initiative in the various stages of campaigns; by our talent in deceiving the enemy, dispersing the enemy and limiting and rendering ineffective the strengths of the enemy; by our cleverness in selecting places at which to break through enemy lines, in moving our battle positions, in deploying and utilizing our forces efficiently and at the correct time, thereby insuring that we are stronger than the enemy

on the principal front; by our talent at suprising the enemy by our detailed calculations and thorough preparations; by the resourcefulness and creativity, the bravery and intelligence, the united actions of our troops; as a result, we have been able to defeat the basic tactics employed by the enemy and annihilate the primary forces of the enemy, thereby insuring ourselves of victory in combat, in the campaign, in the war.

The French colonialists challenged us and planned to crush our forces at Dien Bien Phu; however, it was we who drew their best trained forces there to destroy them. The U.S. imperialists assembled a large number of troops supported by many aircraft and tanks for the Johnson City campaign but suffered heavy losses. The U.S. imperialists and the international reactionaries never suspected that we could, by means of three continuous campaigns, quickly destroy an army of more than 1 million men. The Beijing expansionist reactionaries, even though they have not encountered our main force troops, learned a bitter lesson.

A history of 35 years is not a very long history for an army; however, our army has overcome more than a few hardships and difficulties. And, our army has completed its mission and won glorious victory under all circumstances, even the most difficult. The realities of the buildup and the combat operations of the army clearly show that it possesses the strength to win victory over every enemy. This strength originates in the revolutionary nature, in the heroic tradition of our army and nation, in the wise leadership of our party, in the army's tightly structured, high quality organization and powerful reserves, in our military science and art.

With the heroic people and the great party, our army is an invincible revolutionary army.

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THE REACTIONARY NATURE OF MAOISM*

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[Article by Nguyen Duc Binh]

[Text] Whereas Mao was able to conceal his anti-Marxist nature under a Marxist-Leninist cloak for a long time, when China shifted to the socialist revolution, this nature could no longer be concealed. Because, unlike the national democratic revolution, during which it was possible to tolerate the petty bourgeois stand, even the bourgeois stand, the socialist revolution, due to its proletarian nature, absolutely prohibited this. The socialist revolution, and only the socialist revolution truly reveals whether or not the class stand is proletarian or non-proletarian and reveals whether the essence of the ideology is genuine Marxist or non-Marxist. Of course, there is another matter to be taken into consideration: there are several different types of socialism; Mao himself speculated in socialism and was, at one time, able to deceive many persons. However, it is also clear that the true countenance of Mao was revealed when the Chinese revolution reached the turning point of shifting to the stage of socialism.

Thus, what can be said about the viewpoints of Maoism concerning matters related to socialism?

The very nature of these viewpoints is that Maoism uses the ideology and methods of socialism to serve the goals of big-country chauvinism and hegemony. Actually, Mao and his disciples were never Marxist socialists. They saw in socialism not a science, a theory, a platform or a revolutionary road designed to thoroughly transform society, but a means whereby they could exert a special influence over the masses. They have used and lived as parasites on the revolutionary and socialist aspirations of the Chinese people.

In today's age, no banner has the power to motivate and attract the people in a country such as China, "a poor country that has nothing," as much as the socialist banner! They have used it extremely well to conceal their

goals of big-country chauvinism and hegemony. Therefore, it conforms entirely to reason why Maoism is called socialist chauvinism. In fact, it is chauvinism, but chauvinism in the cloak of socialism!

Regarding this aspect of the nature of Maoism, it must be said that Maoism did not impregnate the line of the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in 1956. The line of this congress was, for the most part, a Marxist-Leninist line. "One transformation, three improvements," improving the life of the people, uniting with the USSR and the socialist camp, struggling against imperialism and so forth, these were the correct factors in the line of the 8th Congress, that is, the congress that repulsed the thinking of Mao Zedong.

However, Mao did not retreat. He found a way to counter-attack immediately after the congress. As a result, in 1958, during the second session of the 8th Congress, he reversed the situation: he abolished the correct line adopted by the 8th Congress in 1956 and imposed his "general line" on the socialist revolution and socialist construction of "devoting our full enthusiasm and energies to taking the lead, to building socialism on a large scale rapidly, well and inexpensively." Then, Mao took two more "new initiatives": the "people's commune" and the "great leap forward." Thus, the so called "three red flags" were formed.

Here, instead of deeply analyzing the "three red flags," only one basic point will be raised: the "three red flags" were the strange product of an insane desire born in the big-country chauvinistic and hegemonistic mind of Mao Zedong. In fact, it is not difficult to see the motive lurking behind the "three red flags": to catch up to and overtake Great Britain in the space of 15 years, then catch up to and surpass the United States and reach communism before the Soviet Union! Here was a blind illusion born of nothing but lust for hegemony. And, everyone very clearly remembers the tragedy that ultimately fell upon the country and people of China around that time.

After the defeat of the "great leap forward," the plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in Lu Son in 1959 pushed Mao back to the "second line." However, Mao, a tricky scoundrel, having been defeated in one scheme, immediately formulated another one. Actually, Mao had not been completely defeated because no one had won victory. Among the top leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, no one was truly a Marxist-Leninist in order to win thorough victory over Mao. To do this, it was necessary to abolish the foundations of the ideology of Mao: big-country chauvinism and hegemony. However, this was not only the ideology of Mao himself, but also served as the common foundation of the entire leadership. Moreover, at the time, this ideological base was in a very strong position. Using the banner of anti-revisionism and making strong statements concerning the serious counter-revolutionary events in Hungary and Poland, Mao raised

the prestige of China at that time to a very high level in the international arena. Against this background, it was not very difficult for Mao to reassemble his forces and deploy his position for a new attack on the Chinese Communist Party and socialism in China. The "great proletarian cultural revolution" was personally launched by Mao.

Although called a "revolution," it was, in substance, nothing more than a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat; although called "cultural," it was actually the destruction of a culture; although called "proletarian," it was thoroughly anti-communist. Here, it is especially necessary to emphasize that the essence of the "great proletarian cultural revolution" was still big-country chauvinism and hegemony.

Its foremost tasks were to replace Marxism-Leninism with the thinking of Mao Zedong and restore the thinking of Mao Zedong that was recognized at the 7th Congress but denied at the 8th Congress. According to the calculations of Marx and his followers, if the 8 million Chinese people were armed with the thinking of Mao Zedong--the "pinnacle" of the intelligence of mankind in our times--they could do anything, even force the entire world to obey them.

Imbued with the fanatical chauvinistic spirit of the "great proletarian revolution," the followers of Mao made every effort to deify Mao and his ideology and tried to impose the hegemony of Mao's ideology not only upon China, but upon the entire world as well. To achieve this fanatical, savage ambition they raised the fraudulent banner at home of "opposing those authorities who want to follow the capitalist line" in order to smash the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese proletarian state and the entire political structure of the dictatorship of the proletariat system. On the outside, in order to raise the position of China and raise the role of the thinking of Mao Zedong to that of "guiding the entire world," they uttered false words about opposing imperialism in order to deceive others while, in fact, gradually moving to imperialism; on the other hand, they rallied forces to oppose "Soviet revisionist, socialist imperialism," that is, they opposed the world socialist system and the entire international communist and worker movement, frantically worked to bring about a "parting of the ways" in the world revolutionary movement and schemed to establish their own international system ruled by the Maoist clique.

The 11 years of the "proletarian revolution" brought untold suffering to the people of China and inflicted serious losses on China in every field of social life; the Chinese economy was on the "brink of collapse." Compared to the "three red flags," the "great proletarian revolution" brought such greater tragedies to the Chinese people.

Do the present "four modernizations" represent the denial of the "cultural revolution," represent "de-Maoization" and a return to the Marxist-Leninist line? No, not at all. They are the continuation of Maoism by different

means. The nature of the "four modernizations" is still chauvinistic socialism, that is, the four modernizations are based on the thinking of Maoism.

The true motives and goals of the "four modernizations" are the same as the motives and goals of the "cultural revolution" and the "three red flags"; the four modernizations represent the continued and consistent implementation of the directive of Mao: "Do not allow us to fail to become the leading superpower in the world in the space of the next several decades." In 1956, Mao set the goal of overcoming the United States economically within the space of 50 or 60 years and said in a voice reeking of chauvinism: "This is a responsibility. If, with so many people, with such a large country, with such rich natural resources and having built socialism, with its superior nature, you work for 50 or 60 years and have still not overtaken the United States, will you have any feats of magic left to perform? If this is what happens, you will fall from your position on this planet. Therefore, overtaking the United States is not only possible, it is totally necessary, it is something we absolutely should do. Otherwise, we Chinese will not be worthy of the other nations of the world and our contribution to mankind will not be large." In the preface to the recently published Book V of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Hoa Quoc Phong repeats this directive of Mao and, in words that also reek of Chauvinism and are filled with provocation, says: "Having read these words of Chairman Mao...can any Chinese, with the exception of the 'gang of four,' remain indifferent? Is there one Chinese who will not struggle with enthusiasm?"

It must be immediately stated that achieving modernization on the basis of socialism and along socialist lines is an objective demand of China; that the aspirations of the Chinese to build a great socialist China that has a modern industry, modern agriculture, modern national defense system and a modern culture and science-technology and to build, on this basis, a life of comfort and happiness for the people is a totally legitimate aspiration. This aspiration has our sympathy and total support, as well as the sympathy and total support of every communist, because it will bring happiness to the people of China, raise the prestige of the banner of socialism and serve the interest of increasing the strength and influence of world socialism. To us, a truly socialist, great, prosperous and powerful China that is linked by "mountains and rivers" to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam would be extremely valuable!

However, the traitorous disciples of Mao within Beijing ruling circles think differently. They have speculated in the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese and used the banner of socialism to serve the goals of big power chauvinism and hegemony. "Making China the most modern and powerful socialist country in the world by the end of this century," this slogan is one of formidable demagogic force. Here, nationalist thinking concerning the role of China as the center of the world has been elevated and acclimated to the times by giving it the name "socialism"; the great strength

and stature of the country are the overriding political task while the "four modernizations" are the measure being taken to achieve the goals of big-country chauvinism.

The ultimate objective is always the most important objective in a line. It reflects the nature of that line. It determines the nature of the tasks and measures set forth under the line. The slogan "the four modernizations" retains the original thinking of Mao concerning economic development to primarily support the strengthening of China's military might with a view toward making China a "superpower"; they do not have the purpose of improving the material and cultural lives of the Chinese working people. In substance, Maoism replaces the goals of socialist and communist construction, the historic mission of the working class, with the goals of big-country chauvinism and hegemony.

One spurious, extremely reactionary and anti-Marxist theory in Maoism is the so called "theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Beijing's propagandists have ceaselessly praised this theory as the "systematic summarization of both the good and bad aspects of the historic experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat" and "the greatest lesson of international communism in more than one-half century." They confirm that, through this theory, Mao "brilliantly developed upon the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning class struggle, brilliantly developed upon the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and created the third great milestone in the history of the development of Marxism"; that this is "the greatest contribution," the "greatest innovation" of Mao Zedong.

The singular characteristic of Maoism is the use of "leftist" revolutionary words to conceal a rightist viewpoint, a counter-revolutionary line. This characteristic is clearly evident in the so called theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Here, the fraudulent revolutionary nature of this theory lies in such terms as "revolution" and "dictatorship of the proletariat," which Mao and his followers have used not for any purpose related to the socialist revolution or the true nature and mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the tool of this revolution.

In fact, Maoism considers the dictatorship of the proletariat to be nothing more than overwhelming force; its organizational and constructive tasks--the most basic functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat--have been totally ignored.(7) This is not to mention that the dictatorship of the proletariat's function of "suppressing the reactionary class and reactionary factions" has, in actuality, been totally distorted by Mao and his followers just as they distorted Marxist theory on the class struggle, in general, under the dictatorship of the proletariat to mean involved factional struggles for power. This is not to mention that, in terms of a system, an apparatus, the dictatorship of the proletariat in China is no longer a dictatorship of a

proletariat, but has become the ruling apparatus of the traitorous followers of Mao, who consider "the army to be the nucleus of the dictatorship of the proletariat," which, in substance, makes theirs a bureaucratic, militaristic dictatorship.

It is obvious that the class struggle does not disappear once the proletariat seizes political power. It continues under the new conditions that exist, under new forms and, of course, with new contents. The proletariat must continue the class struggle in order to transform the old society, build the new society and reach the ultimate objective of successfully building communism, a society in which there are no classes and, as a result, is no class struggle.

Accomplishing this requires more than simply overthrowing and suppressing the exploiting and reactionary classes. The most important task continues to be transforming and rebuilding the entire social economy on the basis of the system of socialist collective ownership and a modern, heavy industrial system equipped with an increasingly high level of technology in order to constantly develop production with a view toward satisfying the constantly rising material and cultural needs of the people more fully with each passing day. However, Maoism does not consider this task to be one of class struggle. Maoists talk about three movements: the class struggle, the production struggle and scientific experimentation, the key one being the "class struggle." They say: "Grasp the revolution, accelerate production."

Having separated the production struggle and scientific experimentation from the class struggle, from the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Maoism does not consider the task of building socialism to be a class struggle; actually, however, this task is the most basic element of the class struggle, of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In an article entitled "Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Until the End" written as a preface to Book V of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Hoa Quoc Phong clearly and resolutely restates the thinking of Mao Zedong as follows: "Chairman Mao requests that we never forget the class struggle for 1 minute, that we view the class struggle as the element of prime importance and gradually perform the work of the socialist revolution and socialist construction... This is what Chairman Mao requested that we do; and, this is what we must do, must do in an unswerving and unshakeable manner."(8)

Talking about the class, about the class struggle in a manner divorced from the mode of production, from the level of development of production is totally contrary to the Marxist viewpoint. Such is Maoism. It argues that "in socialist society, antagonisms, classes and class struggle still exist"; this is the basis of the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This "basis" is nothing more than an abstract assertion.

First, antagonisms exist not only under socialism, but at all times and places.

Secondly, if Mao and his followers "specifically" mean "the antagonism between production relations and production forces, the antagonism between the economic base and the superstructure," they should know that these antagonisms exist under socialism, under every form of society, even under communism.

Thirdly, if they more "specifically" mean the "antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the antagonism between the two ways of life, capitalism and socialism," they are still being abstract. Actually, socialist society is a very long stage of history that extends from the dictatorship of the proletariat until the successful shift to communist society. In this stage, socialism has a period of growth and formation (transition), a period of development on the basis of itself and a period of perfection and maturation in order to reach the high stage of communism. How the structure of the classes, the face of the classes, the relationships among the classes and the fate of each class change during these various periods under the decisive influence of changes in production forces, in production relations, these are very complex questions requiring "specific analysis of the specific situation." For example, is it possible to visualize the bourgeoisie as continuing to exist and exist in its original form through all the different periods of development of socialism! Can the antagonism between the two classes, between the two ways of life continue to exist, exist in its original form, from the start to the end without resolving the question of "who defeats whom"! etc.

With no regard for all the complexities of historic reality and substituting the abstract for the specific, Maoism has created chaos concerning the matter of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Maoism has distorted Marxism on every issue; however, it can be said that Maoism has confused no issues more than the issues of the class, the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the so called "continuing of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

On the basis of this abstract outlook, Maoism considers the class struggle as a non-ending phenomenon. Mao said: "In the future, when imperialism has been overturned throughout the world and the classes have been annihilated, do you think there will still be a revolution? I believe that we will still have to wage revolution." He said: "Ten thousand years from now, there will still be antagonisms, still be struggle and we must still carry out the revolution."(9)

In the report on revising the Party Statutes at the 11th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Diep Kiem Anh repeated a thought expressed by Mao in 1966: "We do not know when communism will be achieved, but when it is,

imperialism will have been totally overthrown and the entire world will have become socialist. Because, the bourgeoisie, although overthrown, will not be completely dead. It will look for every way to undermine the communist party."

A class struggle for thousands and thousands of years! Poor farmers and lower stratum middle farmers for thousands and thousands of years! Maoism, having suffered tragic defeat under the "three red flags," its illusion of achieving communism having been destroyed and having lost all hope of competing with the USSR for the banner of communism, turned to trying to create a lack of confidence in the victory of communism; their talk about building "socialism" and "communism" in China is nothing more than using a fashionable label to easily deceive the people.

As practiced under Maoism, "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" means continuous struggles among factions for power, coup d'etats, the liquidation of one another, "rebellions" and "great proletarian revolutions in the nature of great political revolutions." All of this scheming filled with savage ambitions has been cloaked in such attractive but fraudulent revolutionary and scientific theories as "waging the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat until the end," "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," "preventing the restoration of capitalism," "insuring that the dictatorship of the proletariat never changes its color," etc.

In his article "Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Until the End," Hoa Quoc Phong writes: "In 1965, Chairman Mao set forth a scientific concept: the faction in power within the party that espouses the capitalist course of development is the principal danger regarding the restoration of capitalism." In addition, Hoa Quoc Phong says: "The enemy within is the most dangerous enemy." Actually, this "scientific concept" about which Hoa speaks is an extremely vague concept drawn by Mao from such extremely vague analyses as: "there are comrades waging the socialist revolution who do not even know where the bourgeoisie are. These comrades are right here in the communist party"; "a political party is a kind of society, a political society, the first type of political society is the faction"; "there are factions inside and outside the party," etc. It is all too confusing for words! What an insane dialectic! Through this dialectic (that is, this fraudulent dialectic), Mao and his followers turned us into enemies, turned enemies into us, turned friends into enemies, turned enemies into friends, turned white into black, said one thing and then another, been dishonest, broken promises, etc.

By waging "continuous revolution," "the battlefield of which is both in and outside the party," Mao and his followers toppled the three "bourgeois commanders": Luu Thieu Ky, Lam Buu and "the gang of four." However, the masses, who have been deceived, are very tired with and bored by these

"continuous revolutions" and now only want to live quiet lives. The Beijing leadership clique, partially because of pressure from the people, partially because of the need to rally forces to carry out the "four modernizations" and, on the other hand, in order to moderate internal antagonisms, win the confidence of the imperialist capitalist countries and ultimately maintain their ruling position, declared a change in policy from "great upheavals" to "stability and unity" and eventually to "government by the masses." However, can they achieve "stability and unity" and successfully implement "government by the masses"? Hoa Quoc Phong himself gave the same warning that was given at the 11th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party:

"Stability and unity cannot be achieved without class struggle. The victorious conclusion of the first great proletarian cultural revolution absolutely did not mean the end of the class struggle, absolutely did not mean the conclusion of the effort to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between socialism and capitalism continue throughout the entire historical stage of socialism. This struggle is a long, involved and sometimes very sharp struggle. The great political revolution, the nature of which is the great cultural revolution, must be carried out many more times. We definitely must follow the teaching of Chairman Mao to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat until the end..."(10)

III. The Unavoidable Bankruptcy of Maoism

The history of the international worker movement since the "Communist Manifesto" has not known an act of sabotage, a betrayal greater than Maoism. Compared to the various tides of opportunism and the betrayals committed in history, Maoism has caused tragedies that are 100,000 times larger and more serious. This is because Maoism controls the state and, in addition, is being practiced in the most heavily populated country in the world, a country that is large and rich in natural resources. As a result, it holds within its hands the huge material forces and means created by the labor of nearly 1 billion persons and has used these material forces and means to implement its anti-Marxist, reactionary platform and go completely against the legitimate national interests of the Chinese people, against socialism, against the forces of revolution and progress throughout the world.

The great tragedy caused by Maoism is primarily the tragedy brought upon the people of China, upon the Chinese revolution. It has awakened and stimulated modern Chinese chauvinism within a large portion of the population and, on this basis, has seriously repulsed the influence of Marxism-Leninism, of scientific socialism and of proletarian internationalism in China. It has changed the nature of the Chinese Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat state in China. Within the party that is now in power in China and within the present Chinese state, there are surely

more than a few and will surely be more and more genuine revolutionaries, genuine Marxist-Leninists; however, generally speaking, speaking from the point of view of the nature of these organizations, this party and this state are not a communist party, not a dictatorship of the proletariat state.

The nature of the entire superstructure in China has changed and is no longer socialist; even though it is still replete with antagonisms, even though some of its factors are revolutionary and socialist in nature and even though very many members and segments of society are discontented with the Maoist dictatorship, the non-socialist, anti-socialist elements of this superstructure, generally speaking, occupy the ruling position.

As everyone knows, Engels very clearly pointed out the reciprocal impact of the superstructure upon the development of the economy. He wrote: "The reciprocal impact of state power upon economic development can be of three types: this impact can be in the same direction as the development of the economy, as a result of which everything develops more rapidly; it can go against the direction of economic development and, today, in the large nations, it will come crashing down within a certain amount of time; or it can impede economic development by going in a few directions at once and stimulating this development in other directions. In the final analysis, this case also leads to one of the first two cases mentioned above. However, it is clear that in the first and second cases, political power can inflict major damage upon economic development and cause a major waste of manpower and materials."(11)

The second and third cases presented by Lenin are the People's Republic of China. Over the past 20 years, since 1958, China should have taken very long strides down the road of economic and cultural development. However, the non-ending "great upheavals" launched by Maoism have pushed China into a tragic situation in every aspect of social life. From 1974 to 1976 alone, according to Hoa Quoc Phong, "due to the disruptions and destruction caused by the 'gang of four,' the country lost approximately 100 billion people's dong in industrial output, 28 million tons of steel, 40 billion people's dong in financial income and the entire national economy was on the brink of collapse."(12)

And, how can the situation surrounding production relations be evaluated? Are they of a socialist nature or not? How much damage has been done to production relations? These are complicated questions that demand detailed, cautious and truly objective and scientific research. It is, however, a certainty that once the superstructure has virtually lost its socialist nature, it has a negative impact upon the nature of the economic base. It cannot be stated with certainty that the economic base in China at this time retains its socialist nature. The production relations in China, which were originally of a socialist nature but very weak, have gradually had their nature changed due to the negative impact of the superstructure. This change in nature has occurred primarily within the state-operated segment of the economy.

We know that, under the genuine socialist system, state ownership is national ownership. There is also state ownership under capitalism; however, it is absolutely not ownership by all the people, rather, it is ownership by "collective capitalists," as Engels called them.(13) And what is the present situation in China? It would be too hasty to say that there are "collective capitalists" in China, that the bourgeoisie has been restored and controls the state and the economy. However, it can be stated with certainty that the present Chinese state is no longer a dictatorship of the proletariat state, consequently, state ownership in China is not national ownership, rather, it is in the process of changing its nature. In China, the working people are not truly the masters of the two forms of ownership, state ownership and collective ownership, rather, it is the state apparatus of the militaristic, bureaucratic clique that is effectively using these two forms of ownership, using the labor and the basic instruments of production of society to serve the goals of big-country chauvinism and hegemony and betray the people. This state economic policy of voluntarism is distorting the process of reproduction and shifting from the goal of meeting the requirements of the fundamental economic law of socialism to creating the material base for insuring that the requirements of Maoism regarding hegemony are met.

Under the rule of Maoism, the socialist achievements of the working class and laboring people of China have been seriously harmed. Those achievements that have not been seriously harmed are being threatened with gradual elimination. Of course, it would not be realistic to say that everything has been lost. First, it is necessary to realize the existence of one law, namely, that changes in the base generally occur more slowly than changes in the political-state superstructure; secondly, the working class and laboring people of China will not easily allow the imposing socialist successes, successes that are closely linked to their vital, daily interests to be lost; thirdly, the Beijing leadership clique must take into consideration the reaction of the people and, no matter what happens, must continue to live as parasites upon socialism--even a kind of socialism they have completely undermined--or else they cannot maintain their ruling position.

The tragedies brought by Maoism upon the world revolution have, of course, been very large. Imagine how much the face of the world today would have changed the revolution if the People's Republic of China pursued the correct course over the past 2 decades, stood shoulder to shoulder with the USSR and the other socialist countries and remained in the tight ranks of the revolutionary forces of our times! This method of raising the matter, however, is incorrect in some respects and, moreover, resolves nothing. Because, the vagaries of history might, at some point in time, be surprising, but unexpected developments are, generally speaking, inevitable in the entire course of history. Lenin said: "If the history of the world developed smoothly without problems, without occasional and very large setbacks, there would be no dialectic, history would not be scientific, would not conform to theory."(14)

Even though they must be aware of the tragedies brought upon their country by Maoism, all of the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles continue to worship Maoism because it is the common, complete and irreplaceable symbol of big-country nationalism and hegemony. A need had to be fabricated and this need had to be made an ideological banner, the need for "the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our times" of the Chinese, a need which is closely linked to the ambition to make the country of China, a country of 1 billion persons, the ruler of the entire planet. Therefore, the 11th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party continued to assert: "Brandishing and protecting the banner of Chairman Mao is not only important to the victory of the revolution in China, but also important to the destiny of the people of the world."(15)

To abolish Maoism, it is necessary to abolish big-country chauvinism, expansionism and hegemony and vice versa. This can only be the revolutionary undertaking of genuine Marxist-Leninist forces, of the working class and people of China awakened, organized and led by these forces. This cannot be done by the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles, the simple reason being that they will never abolish themselves, never carry out a "revolution" against themselves. However, the country has become so miserable and confused that the people, "the bottom," can no longer stand what is going on, consequently, the "top," the Beijing leadership clique, will not be able to rule any longer if they do not change the method by which they rule and, as a result, bring about some changes in the situation of things. This explains why, since the 11th Congress, a process has been underway to make "major readjustments" in the economy, culture, education, science, technology and so forth; why there has been a shift in policy from "great upheavals" to "stability and unity" and eventually "government by the masses"; and why the 3rd plenum of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party "decided to end the nationwide mass movement in order to expose and criticize Lam Buu and the 'gang of four' and shift the efforts of the party and the attention of all the people to the work of carrying out socialist modernization."(16)

The matters mentioned above show the very serious nature of the comprehensive crisis of Maoism and indicate the scheme that has been selected by the Beijing leadership clique in a vain attempt to escape this crisis. And, examined in terms of its substance and basic aspects, not in terms of its form, measures and maneuvers, the escape route they have selected is not de-Maoization, to the contrary, it has the purpose of imbuing Maoism with greater vitality and effectiveness. By this method, while rescuing Maoism, the Beijing leadership clique is taking it to the farthest extremes of reactionary politics.

However, the farthest extremes of reactionary politics lead to the farthest extremes of crisis, thus, they are also bringing Maoism closer and closer to total bankruptcy. There is a host of antagonisms that have been created by Maoism; in the practice of Maoism, these antagonisms are being increasingly

exposed, are developing and becoming increasingly deep. These antagonisms will lead Maoism to unavoidable bankruptcy. Among these antagonisms is the antagonism between the subjective goals and ambitions of Maoism and the objective laws of history, which is the most basic antagonism.

It can be said that the history of China over the past several decades has been a history of development in the face of sharp antagonisms between the objective laws of the development of Chinese society in our times and the theory and practice of Maoism. The establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 was primarily a victory of the Chinese revolution coming into the orb of our times; by advancing directly from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, the "third course" of Maoism, the "new democracy," was rejected. During the period from 1949 to 1957 was the period during which China happily began advancing to socialism on the common momentum of the entire socialist camp and, naturally, Maoism was repulsed in the face of the platform of the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. From 1958 on, when Mao imposed his "general line" to replace the line of the 8th Congress (the first session), the entire Chinese economy and the entirety of Chinese social life fell into a period of pervasive chaos and production forces were very seriously damaged; this was the harsh penalty and the sharp reaction of the objective laws of history against the Maoist superstructure, a structure impregnated with subjective idealism and voluntarism.

Mao and his followers, whose subjective idealism knows no bounds, had and have no understanding of the truth which Lenin (as a result of developing upon Hegel's viewpoint on the basis of materialism) so profoundly stated: "The objective world" "follows its own course and the practice of man, in the face of this objective world, encounters "obstacles in achieving" objectives and even encounters "things that cannot be done." (17)

Is the present leadership clique in Beijing "aware" of this "stubborn nature" of the objective world? Are they, by criticizing Lam Buu and the "gang of four" for not being truly realistic, for being subjective, idealistic, egotistical, metaphysical and so forth, actually criticizing Mao himself? The Beijing PEOPLE'S DAILY "sorrowfully" lamented in June 1978: "For many years now, both spiritually and materially, we have smelled the foul odor of an unrealistic style far too much! This can be viewed as nothing but a profound lesson to us."

"Unrealistic" is a gross understatement! In fact, the voluntarism of Mao and his followers reached the point where they not only disregarded objective truth, but also fabricated the truth, invented the truth and turned the truth upside down to suit their objective desires and needs. In the JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES, No 3-1978, the Chinese philosopher Tong Chan Dinh exposed the "gang of four" in the following manner: "In summary, they fabricated whatever truth they needed, fabricated whatever example they needed. Substituting falsehood for truth, making something from nothing, turning

something into nothing, all of these things they did on the basis of their own desires and needs." Is this the criticism of the "gang of four" who "betrayed Chairman Mao" or is it the confession of Maoism itself? Is it self-criticism by Maoism or criticism of Maoism?

Along with this theoretical criticism, "changes" have been made in practice. The need to "work in accordance with economic laws" has been stressed.⁽¹⁸⁾ There is rather bitter criticism that "ideology is still considered to be of foremost importance." There is also much talk about distribution in accordance with labor, about economic levers, about profits and production costs, about the market, about management in accordance with plans, etc. And, they quote Marx and Lenin on all of these matters! Thus, let it be asked once again: is this truly the process of de-Maoization? In particular, when they assert that "practice is the only standard of truth" and "dare" to say that "the thinking of Mao Zedong must continue to be tested in practice," are they not bringing back the entirety of the thinking of Mao Zedong, not just individual "principles"?

It is not difficult to see that behind this theoretical debate on "practice being the only standard of truth" lies a political struggle among the various factions in Beijing. However, the following questions are raised: is this an antagonism between the proponents of Maoism or the proponents of de-Maoization? Or, is this only an antagonism among the various groups within Maoism? There is more of a basis for believing that the latter is true. Because, among all of these factions, no one has rejected big-country nationalism and hegemony, the base and nature of Maoism.

Thus, the subjective goals and ambitions of Maoism are maintained in their original form in the present line of Beijing's leadership; these subjective goals and ambitions quite naturally prolong the antagonisms with the objective laws of development of Chinese society.

At present, in a vain attempt to more effectively achieve the goals and ambitions of big-country chauvinism and hegemony, the Beijing leadership clique has been forced to make changes in its methods, forms and maneuvers, changes that some persons mistake as de-Maoization, as the return to materialism, to historic laws, to the scientific principles of Marx-Lenin. Actually, however, there can be no mistaking materialism with pragmatism. Pragmatism is nothing but a form of idealism, of voluntarism. By means of methods and forms adopted in the spirit of pragmatism, the present leadership in Beijing can achieve its goals and ambitions (which are also the goals and ambitions of Maoism, generally speaking) more effectively and can easily give the impression to someone that they are returning to the correct course. This shows that the traitorous, pro-Mao clique within Beijing ruling circles is, compared to the "gang of four" and to Mao himself, even more dangerous as it travels its course of betrayal and reactionary politics.

They are more dangerous and more reactionary because the pragmatism within the methods being used to achieve the goals of chauvinism will increasingly push the Beijing leadership clique toward reactionary bourgeois ideology; politically, they are bringing China into increasingly close collaboration with imperialism and opposing socialism more brazenly and insanely with each passing day; the danger that the people of China will lose all of the achievements of socialism they have recorded is also increasing with each passing day. This pragmatism that is inherent in Maoism--which the present Beijing leadership clique is thoroughly implementing, as seen most clearly in the Deng Xiaoping faction--allows them to be very "flexible" in order to shift from one extreme to another.

In fact, the debate on "practice being the only standard of truth" has no other value but to show that they are in the process of radically shifting from absolutizing the role of ideology, as they did in the past, to absolutizing the standard of practice to the point of a principle. And, if truth is "it makes no difference whether a cat is black or white as long as it catches rats" (Deng Xiaoping), it also makes no difference whether socialism or capitalism is followed as long as "modernization" is successfully achieved and China becomes a superpower, becomes the ruler of the world! The Beijing leadership clique is following this logic (even though Hua astutely reminds Deng to not to forget to say "revolutionize" before saying "modernize"). Is it not for the goal of becoming a superpower and achieving big-country hegemony that they are sending persons to knock on the doors of the western capitals asking for capital and technology to carry out the "four modernizations" (especially the "modernization" of the national defense system)? Why are they attaching so much importance to the management experiences of Yugoslavia and the West, even praised the management experiences of South Korea, Taiwan and so forth! Of course, it is totally possible and necessary to give attention to the good aspects of the management experiences of capitalism and to know how to apply these experiences on the basis of socialist principles and for the goals of successfully building socialism. However, these principles and goals have been betrayed by the leaders in Beijing!

We must pay special attention to observing where their present emphasis upon material incentives, profits, commodity production, the market and so forth leads. On paper, it is difficult to find anything wrong with this emphasis and, moreover, it represents the "rectification of some mistakes"; however, from an overall point of view, it can easily be seen that the general trend is to absolutize these economic categories on the basis of this emphasis; and, once this happens, we can predict the ultimate outcome. They criticize the "gang of four" as being afflicted with the "malady of absolutism": absolutizing the role of ideology, politics and subjective factors. However, when they make this criticism, they do not do so from the stand of Marxist scientific materials, but from a different radical viewpoint: they absolutize the standard of practice, absolutize economic factors, absolutize material incentives, etc. And, when criticizing one another, both sides are seen as

committing the crime of being "bourgeois," of "scheming to restore capitalism"; thus, in the ridiculing words of Marx, theirs is "a marriage of opposite extremes"! This is true because both sides base themselves on Maoism. However, it can be said in addition that, compared to the "gang of four," the present leadership clique in Beijing, as a result of its thorough adherence to pragmatism, can lead China to capitalism more rapidly. And, this will cause the basic inherent antagonism between Maoism and the objective laws of the development of Chinese society to become increasingly sharp!

Maoism is fundamentally opposed to the laws of development of the entirety of history, not only the history of China, but of the entire world in the present age. If the "four modernizations" strategy is capable of deceiving some persons, it is very difficult to conceal the counter-revolutionary and reactionary nature of the global strategy based on the "three worlds" theory! The big-country chauvinism, hegemony and expansionism of Mao and the traitorous followers of Mao within Beijing ruling circles at this time are most directly, clearly, brazenly and fully revealed in the "three worlds" theory and in the realities of the foreign policy of Beijing.

Under present day historic conditions, under which the three revolutionary currents are rising throughout the world, it is highly possible that Maoism will meet its bankruptcy in the field of foreign affairs first. The iron law of our times inflicted the first tragic defeat upon Maoism in Kampuchea and dealt it a thundering blow on the northern border of our country. Heavier defeats await Maoism if it continues to close its eyes to the laws of history. The defeats in the field of foreign affairs will have a strong impact upon domestic affairs and cause the antagonism between Maoism and the laws of development of Chinese society, between Maoism and the Chinese people to become increasingly sharp. In the end, it is the Chinese people who will determine the fate, the total bankruptcy of Maoism.

FOOTNOTES

- * Continued from previous issue.
- 7. See: "Concerning the Matter of Correctly Resolving the Antagonisms within the People" by Mao Zedong.
- 8. HONG KY Journal, No 5-1977.
- 9. Excerpt from the editorial note to Book V of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," HONG KY Journal, No 7-1977.
- 10. Recently, the Beijing authorities have changed their tone somewhat when talking about the issue of class struggle in an effort to moderate internal factional struggling. This was due to the pragmatic need to create so called "stability and unity" in order to carry out the "four

modernizations" as the foundation of the plan of expansionism and hegemony and the need to achieve internal calm and deceive the people. In substance, their viewpoint concerning class struggle has not changed. Internal strife continues to be very deep because the underlying causes of it have not been eliminated. We will have an opportunity to discuss this matter when talking about "Maoism after Mao."

11. Marx and Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume II, p 600.
12. Hoa Quoc Phong. Work report of the government at the first session of the 5th National Assembly, 26 February 1978.
13. F. Engels: "Anti-Duhring," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, p 475.
14. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 22, p 385.
15. Report on revising party statutes by Diep Kien Anh.
16. Notice of the 3rd plenum of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, December 1978.
17. V.I. Lenin: "Philosophical Notes," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, p 238.
18. See the article by Ho Kieu Moc, chairman of the Chinese Institutes of Science.

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INVESTIGATION: WHY HAS THE DONG DA WOVEN RUG COOPERATIVE BEEN ABLE TO PRODUCE MANY RUGS FOR EXPORTATION?

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 79 pp 46-50

[Article by Dieu Huong]

[Text] As the leading unit of the Hanoi artisan and handicraft sector, the Dong Da Exported Woven Rug Cooperative has been able to produce many rugs for the state over a period of many years, thereby providing jobs for many laborers in the various wards of the city while constantly raising the income of the cooperative and its members.

Below are several specific figures:

Index	Unit	1976 Actual	76/75	1977 Actual	77/76	1978 Actual	78/77	1979 Potential
-Revenue	d	1,742,668	167	2,106,733	120	1,995,303	94	2,404,000
-Total Income	d	733,000	108	818,793	111	977,738	119	1,224,000
-Tax Paid To State	d	153,958	125	193,787	125	214,507	110	240,000
-(Business Tax+Income Tax)								
-Business Expenditures +Sector Profits	d	19,544	147	16,903	86	27,024	158	36,720
-Capital Accumulation Fund	d	95,303	108	106,433	111	127,105	119	159,000
-Public Welfare Fund	d	73,310	111	81,879	111	97,774	119	122,000
-Average Monthly Wage Per Worker	d	66	101	66	100	67.2	101	69

The country is in need of an increasingly large quantity of rugs for exportation, rugs of an increasingly wide variety, increasingly high quality and an increasingly high artistic level. However, the cooperative encountered a major difficulty: the need to strongly develop production was in contradiction with the cooperative's limited production area. The cooperative had enough liquid capital to expand production and purchase equipment; it was able to hire much additional labor and had the technical and management capabilities needed to undertake a large volume of work; however, its present production area could not be enlarged, the density of looms within its shop is very high and its warehouse is very crowded.

Thus, how has it resolved this problem? The cooperative has not sat idly by and allowed the lack of a few thousand square meters of shop space to limit its production capacity. Nor was it willing to allow this situation to cause the state to lack several tens of thousands of meters of exported rugs each year.

The cooperative had to find a way to burst forth, to overcome the limitation posed by its small amount of production area and had to establish a truly efficient organization in order to tap the technical capabilities and management skills of the cooperative and produce many export goods. Only in this way could it resolve the problem of "benefiting both the country and the family" well.

To overcome its difficulties and meet the requirements of its task while satisfying the aspiration of many cooperative members, the cooperative took some rather creative steps.

1. Decentralizing production among families and cooperative members who have taken looms home to work.

On the basis of the characteristics of the rug weaving trade, namely, that there are many stages of production that are totally independent of one another and that each handicraftsman can perform one stage of this work, the cooperative decided to decentralize its looms among the various families. This new method of operation affords many advantages:

- It resolves the immediate difficulty of the cooperative, namely, the lack of production space, and, on this basis, eliminates the cost of building a shop measuring 3,000 square meters.

- It puts more people to work making export goods (persons who did not have a job, subsidiary laborers and overtime work by cadres, manual workers and civil servants within families). This has helped cooperative member families raise their incomes in a legitimate manner.

- As a result of sending looms to homes, cooperative members and the other persons within families are able to find more time to work, raise their

labor productivity and raise their income while still being able to perform housework.

--Sending looms to homes while taking positive management measures will heighten the spirit of responsibility of the laborer in production, which includes maintaining production tools well, maintaining and economizing on raw materials, raising labor productivity and raising product quality.

Cooperative members have responded well to the sending of looms to households and this action has, in actuality, yielded good returns. With the 441 looms sent to homes (of the total 511 looms of the cooperative), cooperative members have been able to produce 90 percent of the total products of the cooperative. On the average, each loom at a home has produced 10 square meters of rug more than the average loom at the cooperative's shop and each loom at a cooperative member's home (operated by the cooperative member himself and the subsidiary labor within the family) has yielded from 60 to 100 dong more in income compared to the average loom at the cooperative in 1 month.

This method of operation is consistent with both the aspirations and circumstances of cooperative members. However, in order to have the most positive effect possible and limit the negative aspects of this method of operation, the cooperative has implemented the following guideline well: the development of decentralized production must be based on the development of centralized production and must be carried out under tight management measures. The production shop of the cooperative has been strengthened in order to carry out centralized production well and gain experience for organizing decentralized production and formulating economic-technical quotas for decentralized production. The various stages of technical work, such as making patterns, trimming, dyeing and weaving (a separate shop), are performed at the cooperative. The weaving of rugs and the processing of raw materials (jute fiber) are performed at homes. The cooperative has organized a test production group beside its centralized weaving shop, a group which has the task of producing products in accordance with the plan while test producing new products on the basis of suggestions made by customers. Through its test production, this section establishes economic-technical quotas for each product to be sent to the various households that have looms and also disseminates the requirements and experiences regarding the weaving of new products.

2. Taking effective measures to properly manage and provide incentive for production at homes.

On the basis of the quotas established by the test production group, the cooperative has assigned ceilings on the consumption of raw materials, production deadlines as well as quotas on the quantity and quality of products to the persons operating looms within their homes. Of course, the

quantity of products and the type of products assigned to these persons are based on the technical skill and productivity of each person. Skilled cooperative members and veteran cooperative members are assigned products with high technical requirements; new cooperative members are assigned simple products. However, due to the establishment of reasonable economic-technical quotas, even though their skill levels differ and the technical requirements of their products differ, cooperative members still receive an income commensurate with the labor expended by them. Cooperative members producing difficult products or products that meet high qualitative standards are provided incentive in order to fully utilize their skills; at the same time, they are paid higher wages for difficult products and products that meet grade A standards (20 percent more than the wage paid for grade B products), etc.

When assigning production plans to cooperative members, the cooperative always includes within these plans ceilings on the consumption of raw materials and product completion deadlines. The products submitted by cooperative members are tested (each rug) for quality and weight so that payment can be made for raw materials and in order to avoid the practices of cooperative members consuming too many raw materials as a result of placing heavy emphasis upon output and the pilfering of raw materials because of greed. When there is the pursuit of output and a failure to meet qualitative standards and raw material consumption ceilings and the violation is only minor in nature, the cooperative member is criticized and fined when production accounts are settled; if this phenomenon is repeated many times or if someone joins the cooperative and is lazy instead of actively completing his production plan, the cooperative notifies the ward government and, at the same time, reclaims the loom and puts it back into centralized production. After a period of time and depending upon the work spirit and attitude of the cooperative member while he has been in centralized production, the cooperative considers the possibility of returning the loom to the member's home.

3. Attaching importance to making technological improvements and constantly improving product quality, thereby providing an increasingly diverse supply of export goods.

Regular training is provided to improve the skills of cooperative members. New cooperative members who wish to work by themselves, in addition to working with an experienced cooperative member at home, must attend a formal training class that lasts from 6 to 8 months. During this period, the handicraftsman develops certain skills and, at the same time, it is possible to establish quotas on the amount of work and product quality as well as a raw material consumption ceiling for him. On this basis, the cooperative member, after spending time in formal training, is able to accept the production plan assigned him by the cooperative and ask that a loom be sent to his home.

Export rug patterns frequently change. If the cooperative had to hold 20 formal training classes to improve the skills of its members and provide

guidance in new products, the installation would have to stop production for 2 months each year. As a result, each time a new product is developed, the dissemination of technical requirements and skills is carried out by the "training one person to train another" method. The skilled handicraftsmen of the various teams are assembled for training at the test production group; afterwards, they return and instruct the cooperative members at the various households. By means of this new method of teaching and learning, the nearly 600 official members of the cooperative are trained in the space of only 1 month whenever a new product is developed, thereby insuring that qualitative requirements are met without the need to provide formal training to everyone and saving the cooperative tens of thousands of dong each year that would have otherwise been spent holding training classes.

The cooperative has also attached importance to improving its products, to providing an increasingly diverse supply of products and satisfying the different tastes of each type customer. As a result of keeping abreast of technology and attaching importance to this matter, the cooperative, which once only produced corn rugs and thin rugs, is now able to produce various types of thin rugs, thick rugs and rugs with various designs from such fibers as jute, pineapple, wool, viscose and so forth. The "Thang Long" rug is famous on the markets of many European countries and was awarded the Gold Medal at the Leipzig Fair in 1974, being praised as a product of "unparalleled quality." By the end of this year, coconut fiber rugs, a product that is liked very much by the world's shipping industry, will be put into production.

As a result of taking the initiative and improving its old products, researching and developing new products and attaching importance to product quality, the cooperative has been able to maintain its product line and has many customers. As of 1978, 16 countries were customers of the cooperative.

In order to create the conditions for making full use of the capacity of the looms at the cooperative shops and the looms at the homes of cooperative members, the cooperative has established a machine-carpentry shop. At this shop is a team tasked with providing mobile repair services when looms break; this team also has the task of improving and rationalizing production tools so that looms are small, compact and suited to the space within the homes of cooperative member families while meeting production requirements when products are changed. On the basis of using improved tools, on the basis of the constant improvement of skills and on the basis of a more diverse supply of raw materials, the members of the cooperative will be able to weave diverse, attractive products that are liked by customers.

4. Actively engaging labor in the production of export goods.

The Dong Da Woven Rug Cooperative has a correct understanding of the oneness of the interests of the state, the interests of the cooperative and the interests of each cooperative member in developing the production of export

goods. For this reason, although it has encountered difficulties, the Dong Da Woven Rug Cooperative has still looked for every way to hire labor for the production of many export goods.

The cooperative has closely coordinated with the various precincts and wards to assess the situation and characteristics of the labor within each ward and has propagandized the task and benefits of producing handicraft goods for exportation while encouraging laborers to join the cooperative, thereby providing them with the conditions to have a job and earn a legitimate income.

The cooperative has creatively applied the statutes of the artisan and handicraft sector in order to hire additional labor, for example, laborers need not possess the necessary skills (the cooperative will train them); during their training, trainees receive a subsidy of 18 dong per month provided from the cooperative's operating funds. Once cooperative members are able to produce products on their own, they are supplied with production tools and paid in accordance with product accounting procedures. It is not until cooperative members are earning a stable income that the cooperative determines the percentage of their income that should be allocated to buying shares. The cooperative members who work on looms at their homes have the same benefits as cooperative members who work at the cooperative shop; in addition, they are paid a sum equal to 3 percent of their total yearly income for the rental of space in their homes and electricity (this subsidy, however, does not exceed 50 dong). The heads of the decentralized production teams, in addition to enjoying the same benefits as cooperative members, receive an administrative costs subsidy to cover the cost of traveling to conduct inspections, working beside and training team members, etc.

To utilize the source of potential labor for making export goods and prepare for classes of new handicraftsmen, the cooperative, relying upon the special characteristics of the handicraft sector, takes its various training classes into the precincts and streets, into the general schools, into the work-study schools. This activity has helped the schools to develop the material bases and acquire the instructors needed to implement the guideline "training must go hand in hand with practice" and help students acquire a certain amount of knowledge and skill. Those persons who are unable to continue studying can be immediately transferred to the cooperative to work.

By means of scientific forms of organization and management, the production installations of the cooperative, which are located in all four wards and the two urban districts of Hanoi and have nearly 1,000 members and 511 looms, have completed their production tasks well.

The Dong Da Exported Woven Rug Cooperative is the model of a collective economic unit that has the correct point of view and method of operation in production and business, has an efficient organization for gaining the participation of labor in the heavily populated wards in the production of

export goods. By studying the experiences of the Dong Da Exported Woven Rug Cooperative, the other artisan and handicraft cooperatives (especially those within the city, in the densely populated wards) will surely learn many valuable lessons, on the basis of which they will be able to develop new and creative methods of operating, methods consistent with their circumstances, in order to produce many consumer goods and export goods for the country.

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CSO: 4209

RESEARCH: INDUSTRY WITHIN THE DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI XONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 79
pp 51-56

[Article by Dinh Quang]

[Text] Part I

Ever since the party and state adopted the policy on strengthening the district level and, in particular, since the adoption of the resolution of the 4th Congress of the Party on building the district agro-industrial economic structure, a number of localities have taken the initiative and set forth correct and reasonable guidelines for the initial stage: accelerating crop and livestock production, gradually reorganizing labor, developing local raw materials and developing the handicraft trades while concentrating on building state-operated industrial production installations within the district.

As of today, 53 districts (excluding the cities) have achieved an annual industrial output value of 10 million dong or more. Many areas in which only agriculture was once practiced now have a number of industrial installations and the economic and social life at these places has undergone new, wholesome changes. The average income of the laborer has increased 25 to 50 percent; the redistribution of labor has begun to be carried out. These results, while only initial ones, do prove that the line and policy of the party are correct.

However, the results of building the district economic structure, in general, and district industry, in particular, in the recent past have been low compared to the requirements set forth in Political Bureau directive 33 and compared to actual capabilities. This is evident in the following areas:

1. The rate of development of industry within the district has been slow. The number of districts that have industrial installations is small, only

11 percent of the total number of districts; in addition, these installations are not uniformly distributed, being located primarily in the lowlands. The midland and mountain districts, which are strategically important economic and national defense areas of the country, have many raw material capabilities but industry has not been appropriately developed. The level of production and the level of social life in these districts are far below the levels in the lowlands. Every industrial product made by manual labor and all pottery, ceramic, bamboo and wood consumer goods must be purchased from other places at a time when the locality has the raw materials needed to produce these products; both material life and cultural life have developed slowly and the role played by the district as a combat fortress has not been strengthened.

2. The districts that have begun to build industrial installations have not coordinated industry with agriculture within an efficient economic structure. Industrial production is not supporting or stimulating the development of agricultural production; conversely, agriculture is not serving as the base for the firm development of industry. Industrial production is also dependent upon imported raw materials, consequently, it is unstable and the economic returns from production are low.

3. As regards guiding thinking, there is a lack of self-reliance, a failure to take the initiative and develop each potential (labor, raw materials and self-acquired capital) in order to develop production, heavy reliance upon others and a habit of waiting for the central level to supply capital, raw materials and equipment.

In the construction of material bases and the development of the trade sector, the principle of economic returns has not been used to evaluate and select the best plan. There is a tendency to place heavy emphasis upon size and form instead of developing industry on the basis of actual conditions and capabilities; heavy emphasis is placed upon building state-operated installations while light attention is given to handicraft cooperatives and the household trades; attention is only given to building new installations, not to developing the capacity of existing production installations.

The organization of production is not systematic, there is no system extending from the production of raw materials to the processing and marketing of products. Production is marked by departmentalism, partialism and a lack of a division of labor and cooperation, consequently, provinces and districts, production installations within the same district and state-operated installations and cooperatives frequently work at cross purposes or duplicate each other.

Building the district agro-industrial economic structure is an important, large task and a very new job. We do not have a full awareness of the

position of the district; at the same time, we have not had much time to gain experience in order to develop the best method of working, consequently, it has been difficult to avoid shortcomings.

Part II

Today, following a trial period, there are units that are models of one aspect or another in every area of the country, units that have operated under favorable as well as difficult conditions, units that help us to better understand things that we once only had an initial understanding of and help us to realize that we are fully capable of performing those jobs that were once thought to be too difficult. Of decisive importance is the need to have the correct outlook, to provide close guidance and adopt positive, specific measures.

Our country is in the process of advancing from small-scale production directly to large-scale socialist production without experiencing the capitalist stage of development. Therefore, to implement the policy of accumulating capital for socialist industrialization while constantly improving the life of the people, we must intensify the construction and development of the local economy; within this economy, district industry is capable of closely coordinating with agriculture at the installation and making efficient use of each decentralized source of raw materials, especially raw materials from agriculture, forestry, marine products and rejected materials and discarded products in the countryside. With small-scale operations and not very complicated equipment, district industry can be constructed and rapidly put into production, thereby helping to meet the needs of the production and everyday life of the people while providing jobs. The formation of district industry will create the conditions for central industry to focus its efforts on building large, modern projects producing basic, essential products to meet the needs of the entire country.

At present, our people are directly contending with the scheme of aggression and expansion of the Beijing reactionary authorities, who are engaging in acts of armed provocation, opposing us diplomatically and undermining our economy. In order to coordinate the economy with the defense of the nation, establish local rear services and insure that we become stronger with each battle, it is of even more pressing importance that we intensify the development of district industry and establish an efficient economic structure within the district.

Building the district agro-industrial economic structure involves organizing a close, harmonious relationship between industry and agriculture within each area, at each production installation and during each stage of development so that every sector fulfills its function of stimulating the smooth development of other sectors in a manner that yields returns. This relationship must be comprehensive, must extend from start to finish.

The plan for building and developing district industry must first be designed to support agriculture, forestry and fishing and help agriculture to carry out the technological revolution. The products of industry must meet the requirements of the important farming measures (water, fertilizer, seeds, tools, livestock feed and so forth) in order to practice intensive cultivation, practice multicropping, raise crop yields and increase the output of livestock products. Industry must make every effort to process agricultural products, including byproducts, into industrial products of high value, thereby increasing the economic returns from agricultural production. A plan must be adopted for developing the trade sector and gradually accepting labor that is displaced in the process of agricultural mechanization. Industry can most effectively support agriculture within the district by organizing a network that repairs machinery and implements at agricultural production installations, thereby insuring that the agricultural production schedule is maintained. In addition, industry can supply consumer goods to agricultural laborers.

Agriculture, in addition to its function of supplying grain and food products to industrial workers, must also adopt a plan for developing the production of raw materials in order to provide a stable and increasingly large supply of raw materials as industry develops. Agricultural production units must take positive steps to mobilize the capital and savings of cooperative members and make full use of idle agricultural labor to organize handicraft businesses and subsidiary household trades; these are good forms of organization for coordinating industrial production with agricultural production.

In the organic relationship between industry and agriculture within the district, each sector has a positive role to play; one sector competently supports the development of another and demands that the other sector supplement its production guidelines to coordinate them with the requirements of its development in accordance with a common economic plan in order to gradually advance to large-scale socialist production.

The structure of district industry must be based on the specific characteristics of each district in order to skillfully coordinate labor with the natural resources of the locality and create many products for domestic consumption and exportation. As a result, we cannot develop a common industrial production model for the various districts; however, we can define two types of industrial trade sectors that can be built and developed within each district:

First, there are the universal trades which every district must have and which can only produce consumer goods effectively within a small area, such as:

--The machine network repairing machines for the various economic sectors within the district;

--The machine sector manufacturing common and improved tools for laborers, especially agricultural and water conservancy laborers (with cooperation in production among the various districts);

--The sectors producing ordinary building materials; bricks, tiles and lime; the sectors excavating stone, sand, gravel and so forth;

--The sectors producing simple household utensils from local raw materials, such as woven bamboo and leaf products, ceramicware, pottery, glassware and wood products;

--The sectors processing grain and food products, such as the milling of paddy and rice and the processing of subsidiary food crops, soysauce, ice cream, beverages, honey and livestock feed;

--The sector building public projects and housing for the people;

--The rudimentary transportation sector.

Secondly, there are the special sectors of each district whose development is given priority provided that they produce products for sale on a broad scope outside the district or for exportation. Specifically:

--The coastal districts must concentrate on harvesting and processing marine products, such as shrimp, fish, fish sauce and salt, and organize the planting, cultivation, harvesting and processing of special ocean products, such as pearls, "hai san," sea slugs, swallow eggs, seaweed and turtles. They must reclaim land from the sea and make full use of coastal soil to plant and process rushes and mangroves.

--The midland and mountain districts must concentrate on planting forests and harvesting and processing timber, rattan and tre and nua bamboo. They must plant, harvest and process special forestry products, such as lacquer, cinnamon, pine, t'ung trees, mallotus philippinensis and valuable pharmaceuticals.

--The cities and districts that have traditional artware handicraft trades are highly capable of accelerating the processing of export goods under contracts, such as ready-made clothing, embroidered and woven goods, lacquerware, carvings, art glassware and pottery, etc.

--The districts that specialize in the production of such industrial crops as cotton, jute, mulberries, sugarcane, rubber, tea, coffee, peanuts, soybeans and so forth must concentrate on supporting the processing industry (including the pre-processing of raw materials and the contract production of industrial goods) in order to make integrated use of raw materials.

Within the structure of district industry, each locality must select those sectors and trades for which it has abundant raw materials and stable, permanent markets; it must concentrate on strongly developing these sectors while constantly improving their technology and improving the quality of their products in order to create primary products for the locality. Only in this way is it possible to build a strong backbone for the industry of each locality and give it a "card" with which to engage in economic trade with other places and achieve a specialized division of labor in production on a permanent basis. This is a good method of operation for helping to upgrade small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

On the basis of the overall capabilities of the country at this time and the experience gained in the recent past, we hereby propose the following goals for the development of district industry between now and 1985: raising the output value of the industry of the districts in the lowlands to 20 million dong or more and roughly 40 percent of the economic output value of the entire district; raising the industrial output value of the mountain districts to 10 million dong or more and roughly 20 percent of the total economic output value of the district; raising the percentage which industrial labor constitutes of the total labor force of the locality (in both lowland and mountain districts) to more than 20 percent; and raising the total value of exported industrial products to more than 30 percent of the total industrial output value of the district.

In terms of specific products, efforts must be focused on satisfying the needs for the following products: common and improved tools; the repair of working machines; ordinary consumer goods which the locality is fully capable of producing; processing subsidiary food crops for the people and in order to supply much livestock feed, thereby truly liberating the shoulders; providing a full supply of ordinary building materials and providing the forces needed to construct public projects and housing for the people.

Part III

In order to meet the goals mentioned above, we must take the following primary measures:

First, we must research and formulate plans for the development of district industry, balance capabilities with the need for industrial goods during each planning period and at each production installation and closely coordinate the interests of the state with the interests of the locality. On this basis, we must reorganize production along the lines of an increasingly high level of specialization and cooperation in production. We must strengthen existing production installations by stabilizing their production guidelines, stabilizing their sources of raw materials and markets, improving their technology and supplementing and balancing their technical

equipment; at the same time, plans must be adopted for constructing necessary production installations. Additional cadres and skilled workers must be provided in order to make the highest possible use of existing installations.

The capital invested in the construction of district industrial installations consists primarily of capital accumulated by the locality, capital mobilized among the people and capital in the form of credit. However, during the initial stage, the districts require investments by the state in the construction of a number of key installations, such as installations repairing machinery and manufacturing farm implements and installations producing the primary products of the locality to serve common needs outside the district or support export requirements. The state must assign the central industrial sectors and those provinces in which industry is rather well developed to help the midland and mountain provinces and districts build their industry.

The districts in the South must continue to complete a socialist transformation of the artisan and handicraft industry and closely coordinate transformation with construction, with primary emphasis upon construction. It is necessary to research the use of various forms of organization ranging from a low to a high level of development to insure that once transformation has been completed production develops, the quantity and variety of products become increasingly large and diverse and product quality is constantly improved.

Secondly, it is necessary to resolve the raw material problem. Raw materials for industrial production as well as grain for humans are the factors of foremost importance in stabilizing and developing production in a steady manner. The leadership levels in the various localities must be fully conscious of and focus their efforts on building and developing sources of local raw materials by means of every positive measure available, such as allocating enough arable land and labor to specialize in the production of raw materials and supplying grain to and increasing the income of laborers who produce raw materials. In addition, they must encourage the people to make full use of all available arable land (gardens, along fences, ditch banks, alluvial deposits, barren hills and so forth) to plant crops that provide raw materials for industry and must provide incentive for the collection and good use of discarded materials and rejected products. Where possible, localities should concentrate on raising, harvesting and pre-processing raw materials. Those localities that produce raw materials to meet common needs must be given priority with regard to supplying them with the raw materials they need for processing (with the exception of raw materials that are exclusively managed by the state). It is necessary to quickly promulgate a policy on income distribution that benefits the installations and localities specializing in the production of raw materials for industry.

Thirdly, in order for the districts to be able to take the initiative and implement their plans for the construction of industrial production installations, the finance sector must research specific regulations regarding the sources of revenue for the district budget. Depending upon the characteristics of each type district, an appropriate percentage of revenues can be allocated for the district budget, provided that these percentages are consistent with the general regulations of the state.

Fourthly, it is necessary to apply the general management regulations and policies of the state in a manner consistent with the conditions of district industrial production. Positive steps must be taken to revise those regulations and policies that are no longer suited, such as the regulations on production and product purchasing plans, the product price policy, the policy on the income of laborers, contracting regulations, credit regulations and so forth.

Fifthly, the district people's committee is the level that has the primary responsibility for comprehensively managing district industry. To help the district people's committee manage district industry, it is necessary to organize a district industrial bureau (which is separate from the district economic committee). At the same time, it is necessary to organize a district level federation of artisan and handicraft cooperatives to help the district people's committee manage the artisan and handicraft industry. These two organizations on the district level can lie within the same organizational structure in order to coordinate administrative-economic management and establish close, new production relations.

District industry encompasses many economic segments (state-operated, cooperative and private) and many forms of production (specialized businesses, joint businesses and subsidiary household trades) on a small scale. Each economic segment and each type of production plays a specific role within the district industrial structure, with the important, long-range role being played by the artisan and handicraft industry. As a result, as regards products that are being produced by cooperatives, positive steps must be taken to help these cooperatives expand their production in order to meet needs instead of building state-operated installations to take the place of these cooperatives. We should not automatically organize cooperatives to produce products for which there is little demand or to undertake services that can be more conveniently provided by private installations.

In addition, in order to satisfactorily resolve disputes between production installations and the provincial and district industrial sectors, the interests of production must be placed above everything else. The management of installations should be assigned to any sector or level that possesses the management capabilities needed to meet requirements, can create the most convenient conditions possible for production and can help the instal-

lation implement technical advances and develop production as best possible. For example, the following industrial production installations must be put under the direct management of the district:

--Industrial installations whose products serve needs primarily within the district;

--Small-scale production installations of a traditional nature that are taking advantage of the locality's superior position as regards raw materials and labor and are equipped with technology suited to the management qualifications of the cadres and workers within the district;

--All artisan and handicraft installations within the district.

The socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country are continuing to develop. However, our country still faces many difficulties and every effort must be made to overcome them, but we surely have the potential and ability to implement the policy of the party of building a new industrial-agricultural economic structure, coordinating the central economy with the local economy, gradually building the districts into agro-industrial economic units, coordinating the economy with the defense of the nation and making every effort to build socialism and protect the socialist fatherland.

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CSO: 4209

REVIEW OF LE DUAN'S BOOK: "ON PARTY BUILDING"

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 79
pp 57-65, 88

[Article by Pham Thanh]

[Text] The history of the activities of our party has provided us with very valuable lessons in party building. These lessons have been summarized by Le Duan, general secretary of the Party Central Committee, in many important speeches and articles. These speeches and articles, which have been assembled in the book "On Party Building" printed and distributed by the Su That Publishing House, present the major experiences that have been gained concerning the following matters:

1. Building the party in an agriculturally backward country that was once a colony, once a semi-feudal country;
2. Building the party when the party is in political power.

This article attempts to present the thinking of Le Duan concerning these matters.

Part I

The most important theoretical question that has faced and is facing many colonial or formerly colonial countries is: how can we build a new style proletarian party in an economically underdeveloped country whose population consists primarily of farmers and whose working class is still small?

Summarizing the experiences gained in party building in our country, Le Duan points out: "Our party has been able to lead the people in performing such great deeds primarily because it firmly adheres to Marxism-Leninism and is totally loyal to Marxism-Leninism. The party adheres not only to the words of Marxism-Leninism, but also to its revolutionary and scientific nature, the two fundamental attributes combined as one within Marxism-Leninism. The

party has thoroughly implemented these fundamental attributes of Marxism-Leninism in its political, ideological and organizational activities, in its revolutionary line and revolutionary method, in the entirety of the struggle waged by the party in all periods of history. This explains why our party, even though it was born and has grown up in an agriculturally backward country, in a former colony and semi-feudal country whose working class is still very small, has constantly maintained its nature as a party of the working class"(370)(+).

Thus, adhering to Marxism-Leninism and being absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism while applying it in a creative manner are the prerequisites of a proletarian party.

Many articles within this book present the experiences of our party in creatively applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism to build the party politically, ideologically and organizationally, with building the party politically being the matter of foremost importance.

Le Duan emphasizes that, under the talented and clear-sighted leadership of President Ho, the person who founded and forged our party, our party has, since the day it was founded, established a totally correct revolutionary line. The documents founding the party that were written by President Ho as well as the political platform drafted by Tran Phu, the first general secretary of the party, are brilliant examples of this correctness and prove that our party closely coordinated the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the practical aspects of the revolution in our country and firmly adhered to the working class stand, to the stand of Marxism-Leninism. On this basis and in each stage and period of the revolution, our party, has continued to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to the circumstances of our country and has adopted a correct revolutionary line for leading our people in carrying out the revolution and winning increasingly large and sound victories.

Le Duan points out that the success of our party in building the party politically lies in the fact that our party learned the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism, learned its spirit and method and used them as the compass for its revolutionary actions. He states: "Throughout the process of leading the revolution, even at very complex turning points, our party has always displayed a tenacious and unyielding fighting spirit, a spirit of sacrifice, bravery and devotion and has always been totally loyal to the interests of the class and the nation while resolving the strategic matters of the Vietnamese revolution in a manner consistent with objective laws. This is because our party is very loyal to Marxism-Leninism, thinks independently, creatively applies the stand and method of Marxism-Leninism to the specific, constantly developing and changing situation of our country, selectively studies the revolutionary experiences of the world and concerns itself with summarizing the lessons learned in the extremely diverse revolutionary struggle of our people."(328-329)

To a Marxist-Leninist party, a correct line is not an objective, rather, it is the means for transforming and building all of society. To make this line reality, to insure that it penetrates first the entire party and then all the people, organizational work is required. The purpose of building the party ideologically and organizationally is to insure the successful implementation of this line.

Concerning building the party ideologically, Le Duan stresses the need to mold the working class stand among cadres and party members. To our party, a party whose members come primarily from the strata of petty bourgeoisie (farmers are also petty bourgeoisie), this is a matter of decisive significance in insuring that the party's line is correctly implemented and that the thinking of the party is unanimous.

Le Duan rejects mistaken concepts of the class stand which maintain that this stand is "nothing more than hatred of exploiters and the determination to overthrow the old system." He says: the class stand is also "love of the working people, the attitude of wholeheartedly serving the people, the spirit of struggling to abolish poverty and backwardness and the spirit of building a new life filled with happiness for society." (69) He also criticizes the concept that the class stand is merely an ethical question, merely a matter of qualities, a matter which separates ethics and qualities from revolutionary intelligence.

To adopt the correct working class stand, it is necessary to regularly cultivate this stand in the realities of the revolution. Le Duan says: "Experience has shown that molding the class stand is a very difficult, very detailed task. Even persons who have been in the party for many years realize that molding and strengthening their working class stand are still a difficult job. This job demands that the party member have very deep feelings for the working class and have a knowledge of revolutionary theory. A person does not possess the proletarian stand if he has a knowledge of revolutionary theory but does not have deep feelings for the proletariat. Conversely, a person who possesses feelings for the proletariat but does not have a knowledge of revolutionary theory cannot have a strong proletarian stand. Proletarian feelings are the feelings of the poor, in general, the feelings of the working class, the most progressive class of our times, the class that symbolizes the advance by mankind." (77)

Le Duan points out that the tremendous achievement recorded by our party in its party building has been placing primary emphasis upon ideological education and leadership and considering raising the class awareness of party members, molding proletarian thinking and struggling against all non-proletarian thinking among party members to be an important factor in insuring the working class nature and vanguard nature of the party. As a result of this ideological education and leadership, "our party, even

though it was born and has grown up in a colony, an agriculturally backward country, even though the majority of party members come from the background of farmers and urban petty bourgeoisie, has maintained its proletarian nature and vanguard nature, has adhered to the proletarian line and proletarian thinking and has led the revolution to victory." (23) With regard to holding the proletarian stand, Le Duan attaches particular importance to researching and learning the theory of Marxism-Leninism, considering this to be the task of party members, to be "a matter of partyhood, a matter related to the life of the party." Because "the working class stand is the Marxist-Leninist stand and the party, its political line and its activities are concrete and practical manifestations of this line." (242) A stand is not merely a matter related to outlook, thinking and feelings. Of importance is how one's revolutionary outlook, thinking and feelings are expressed in practical revolutionary activities. Le Duan says: "Stand" is not an abstract concept that can be applied at all times and places, rather, it is a concept "whose content is concrete and consistent with the political task of each stage of the revolution, consistent with the position and working conditions of each party member and cadre." (144) The party member who possesses a firm working class stand is a person who fully adheres to the revolutionary line of the party and has the ability to excellently complete the task assigned him in accordance with this line. Because, "the objective standard for evaluating the stand and qualities of a cadre or party member is first and primarily the results of his work, the degree to which he completes the task assigned to him. No party member can possess a "good stand" if he procrastinates in his work and does not complete his task." (144)

Holding the stand and thinking of the working class is a matter of decisive significance to a proletarian party. However, to convert ideology into revolutionary action, organization is required.

Le Duan's concept of organization is very broad. When talking about the relationship between cadres and the organization, he says: "Here, organization is not only the party organization, but also the state organization, the economic and cultural organization, the mass organizations, military organization, organization in each field of life and social activity." Organization supports ideology, organization insures that words go hand in hand with actions. Revolution is the practical action of transforming society. Practice is the organization of actions. Putting things into practice requires organization, requires a oneness between ideology and organization. In building the party, our party has been fully aware of this tremendous importance of organization and has constantly concerned itself with building a party that is organizationally strong in order to insure the successful performance of the political task set forth for each stage and period of the revolution.

Summarizing the experiences gained in building the party organizationally, Le Duan particularly emphasizes our party's tradition of solidarity. He says: "The strength of a Marxist-Leninist party lies in its solidarity, in

its ideological and organizational unity. Of the fine traditions of our party, this is the finest."(217) "Our party never tolerates any manifestation of factionalism. Our party considers divisions and factions within the party to be the most serious crime against the revolution. As the vanguard unit of the working class, as the most positive element of society, the party has one will and only one will."(218)

He points out that the unity of the party is based on Marxist-Leninist ideology, the purity of which the party always preserves, based on the correct political line and firmly supported by the system of democratic centralism. Citing the two basic, organically related aspects of democratic centralism, democracy and discipline, Le Duan says: "The system of democratic centralism both demands and insures that each party member has the right to discuss and decide each job of the party, the right to present, within the organization of the party, each of his opinions on any matter related to the interests of the revolution. Within the framework of the political platform and the statutes of the party, which the entire party formulated, upholding the democratic rights and tapping the intelligence of each and every party member as much as possible are one of the most important guarantees of the vitality of the party. Suppressing thought is totally foreign to a proletarian party, to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. However, freedom of thought absolutely does not mean turning the party into a place for debate. The party is an army and must act as one person when it goes into battle. Therefore, the principles of the minority obeying the majority, the lower level obeying the upper level, the party obeying the whole, the entire party obeying the central level--the highest leadership agency between party congresses--are the basic principles of the system of democratic centralism. Violating these principles undermines the iron discipline within the party, undermines the unity of the party."(219)

Closely related to the system of democratic centralism is the principle of collective leadership, which Le Duan considers to be the highest principle in the leadership of the party. He resolutely criticizes the dictatorship of the individual and states: "One person, regardless of how special his position might be, can never understand, never know all things with all their varied ramifications and manifestations. Therefore, it is necessary to rely upon the intelligence of the collective. Only collective decisions based on the intelligence of the collective enable us to avoid the subjectivism that leads to mistakes and consequences that are frequently dangerous."(220) While confirming the principle of collective leadership, Le Duan criticizes the tendency to rely upon the collective, to give light attention to the personal responsibility of the leader.

In addition to the principle of democratic centralism, the speeches and articles printed in this book also fully summarize the other principles pertaining to the new style party, such as self-criticism and criticism, the relationship with the masses and so forth, which Le Duan develops upon in very rich detail when discussing the party leading the government.

Part II

Once the exploited, oppressed class, the working class, speaking from a worldwide point of view, has only been a class in political power for slightly more than 60 years. Our party, the representative of our country's working class, has only been a party in political power for slightly more than 30 years. Therefore, building the party when the party is in political power is something totally new, especially to our party, a party that is leading our people in using the state government as the tool for building the new society in every respect, building it on the basis of an economy that is primarily a system of small-scale production advancing to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. We must fully realize the newness of this endeavor in order to adopt the correct theory, position and guidelines on building the party when it is in political power. Le Duan says: "'Party building is a science, is a part of scientific socialism. Developing upon the theory of Marx and Engels concerning the party, Lenin set forth the theory on the new style proletarian party, which includes important arguments concerning the party under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, building the party when it is in political power is still something very new; it raises scores of problems regarding the theory, specifics and guidelines of party building.'"(313-314)

Le Duan points out that "advancing from struggling for political power to becoming the party in political power represents a major leap forward."(236) When not in political power, the party is in opposition to the government of the ruling and exploiting classes and has the task of leading the working class and laboring people in overthrowing this government. However, once it is in political power, the situation is completely changed. "Being in political power means that the party leads the people in managing the country, means that the leadership of the party is expanded to the whole of society, encompasses very many aspects of life and becomes increasingly rich and complex."(236)

Therefore, the first question that must be answered is: when it is in political power, what is the task of the party? And, how must the party be built politically, ideologically and organizationally to insure the successful completion of this political task?

Le Duan points out that the political task of the party at this time is to organize all fields of life in accordance with the principles of socialism, that is, to successfully implement the line on the socialist revolution; firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat; upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people; simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution; building the new system, the system of socialist collective ownership, building the new

economy of large-scale socialist production, building the new culture and molding the socialist man. This is a new task, the task of building, which contrasts to the task of destroying the government of the enemy in the previous stage, the stage when the party was not in political power.

To complete this brand new task, the party must make tremendous efforts, must bring about strong changes in its organizational work and leadership and must, above everything else, be built in a manner consistent with the requirements of its new task.

The matter of most decisive significance continues to be building a party that is politically strong and adopting the correct political line for leading the country to the final objective, socialism and communism. To a party that was once accustomed primarily to clandestine activities and political and military struggles against class enemies, this is a difficult job. The party must continue to firmly adhere to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, especially the basic principles regarding the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition, the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the management of the socialist economy and so forth; must firmly adhere to the methodology of Marxism-Leninism; must study and learn the objective laws of the development of society; must know the realities of its country; must study and learn the experiences of the fraternal socialist countries; and must, on this basis, properly apply this knowledge in formulating the line on the socialist revolution. It is here that the difficulties begin. Because, "the party has matured with regard to learning the laws of the national democratic revolution and the laws of the people's war; however, our party has only begun to learn the laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is necessary to make an extraordinary effort, to achieve extraordinary growth in this regard in order for our party to be fully capable of fulfilling its task of leading society." (198) This difficulty is multiplied many times due to the fact that "in advancing from a country characterized primarily by small-scale production directly to socialism without experiencing the capitalist stage of development, we clearly face a host of brand new problems," a host of problems never before faced by the other socialist countries.

Because our understanding is constantly developing and because the realities of society and life are constantly changing, especially under the circumstances of our country, it is impossible to complete the formulation of the line on the socialist revolution all at once. We must constantly draw from practice, must "perform the necessary deep analysis, review of experiences and generalization of theory in order to constantly supplement, develop and further concretize the line and policy of the party" (199) so that the line and policies of the party are of an increasingly scientific nature and, as a result, have an increasing effect upon life.

In the building of the party politically, the party cannot stop at its general line, but must involve itself in organizing the implementation of this line, in turning this line into reality. The difficulty here originates in our inexperience in organizing implementation, in economic management, especially in managing a society and an economy that are constantly and rapidly changing in the period of transition. Le Duan says: "We not only face two courses of economic development, capitalism or socialism, but also face two methods of organization: handicraft or large-scale industrial"; however, "what we really lack is the ability to organize the construction and development of the economy, the development of the culture and the support of the life of the people, which are the basic tasks of a party in political power, of a dictatorship of the proletariat state." The reason for this situation is: "Advancing directly to socialism without experiencing the capitalist stage of development means that we have not experienced large-scale, mechanized production." (200-201)

Closely linked to its new political task and in order to support this political task, the party must be strongly built ideologically and organizationally. Le Duan points out that the building of the party ideologically at this time must first of all insure that the entire party is clearly aware of the great leap forward taken by the working class and laboring people from the position of working for hire or being private masters to the position of exercising ownership, collective ownership and is clearly aware of the difficult and complex task of building resulting from this leap forward; on this basis, there must be a strong change in ideology and organization in order to be ready to undertake this task. He says: "In the stage of struggle for political power, our party had to learn the science of uprisings, learn military science, learn how to propagandize, enlighten and organize the masses in struggle and lead the uprising and the fight against the enemy; the organization of the party had to consist of persons who were tenacious and unyielding in the face of the enemy, who were willing to make sacrifices, who struggled to win victory. Today, in order to build and develop the economy, our party must learn economic science and technical science, must be able to organize the people in carrying out the three revolutions; the party must consist of persons who possess the spirit of making sacrifices for the common good, dare to be creative and innovative in production, have the ability to learn science and technology and have the skill to organize and manage the economy and manage the state in order to successfully build socialism. These are the new requirements of party building in the new stage. If we do not adhere to these new requirements in the organizational work and ideological work of the party and insure that our party truly acquires new quality, the party will not have the strength to fight to transform its political line into revolutionary actions by the masses and unable to resolve the problems raised by life, consequently, it will be unable to fulfill the responsibility of a leader, unable to faithfully represent the interests of the people and the nation." (153-154)

Concerning building the party ideologically when the party is in political power, Le Duan stresses the molding of the class stand of the working class as the class symbolizing the system of socialist collective ownership. The working class stand at this time reflects new elements and qualitative developments that are consistent with this greatest leap forward in the history of man. This stand "not only requires a full sense of collective ownership, but also the knowledge of how to exercise ownership and the full ability needed to exercise ownership, to be the master of society, the master of nature and the master of oneself." (243) It requires the strengthening of revolutionary ethics, the elimination of individualism and a tireless effort waged in the spirit of sacrifice and selflessness to build socialism, protect the socialist fatherland and bring happiness to the people.

Le Duan points out that in order to build a firm class stand at this time it is necessary to intensify the teaching of communist ideals now more than ever before. The period of socialist construction, especially to a country that is advancing from small-scale production, such as ours, is a period involving many difficulties: the difficulties caused by the aftereffects of many years of war, the difficulties originating in the backward economy of the country, the difficulties caused by our lack of experience and the new difficulties caused by the scheme of sabotage of the imperialists and the international reactionaries. These difficulties have an impact upon the life of each person every hour of every day, easily create a psychology of timidity, pessimism, skepticism and a lack of confidence and create petty inevitable upheavals even within the ranks of the party. Therefore, the teaching of communist ideals must emphasize the spirit of enduring hardships, the spirit of sacrifice, the proper motives for working, the proper attitude toward work, the spirit of labor and the *raison d'être* of serving the people, serving society. Le Duan says: "The communist differs from the bourgeois in that each of his thoughts, each of his actions and his lifestyle must, above everything else, serve the collective, serve the common good." (50) Considering the arduous and complex nature of building socialism even in the specific jobs we perform each day, he requests that cadres and party members see that "this is an arduous and decisive struggle against nature, a struggle against an entire set of production habits of society, consequently, we must possess a strong revolutionary spirit, must forego food and sleep, must engross ourselves in thought." (47-48)

Le Duan stresses the close relationship between building the party ideologically and building the party organizationally. He says: "When we say that the party has one will and only one will, we are not only talking about ideology, but about organization as well. Ideology is revolutionary theory and only with the correct ideology can we take correct revolutionary actions; however, to put ideology into practice, organization is required. Organization is the tool, the means for transforming ideology into action, into practice." (59) Building the party organizationally when the party is in political power "requires that full importance be attached to strengthening

and building the party's organization and requires the management of party members, the inspection of the ethics and qualities of party members, the maintenance of the political and ideological activities within the party and the upholding of party discipline on the basis of the organizational principles of the party. We must seriously practice self-criticism and criticism and establish a system of full democratic activities within the various party committee echelons, especially within the party chapters; through the implementation of the policies and positions of the party and state, we must inspect the ethics and qualities of cadres and party members and actively struggle against bureaucracy, bossism, misappropriation and waste."(97) Building a strong party when the party is in political power is not only a requirement of the party itself, but also a requirement of the masses. Because, when the party is in political power--as the masses forthrightly state--it means that "the party does not only belong to the members of the party, but also to us, the people."(149)

building the party when it is in political power cannot separate the party organization and the activities of the party from the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system and the activities of this system, from the right of collective ownership of the working people. Le Duan says: "As the party leading the state, it is only natural that the organization of the party, the apparatus of the party and the vast majority of party members and cadres become deeply involved in each field of activity of the state and society, none excluded. The life of the party lies primarily within the activities of the state, in political, military, economic, cultural and social life and activities. The party is the nucleus of social life that is changing the entire apparatus of the system and stimulating the advance by all of society."(265) We must recognize this close relationship between the party and the masses, between the party and the state, between the party and society in order to realize all that is involved in building the party organizationally when the party is in political power; realize everything that is involved in the principles governing the activities and organization of the party, the relationship between the party and the masses and the leadership role of the party within the collective ownership system; correctly understand the specific matters involved in building the party, such as the matter of organization and cadres, the party member question, the matter of the basic party organization, the matter of teaching ideology within the party, etc. These are subjects which Le Duan analyzes very thoroughly and deeply in the various articles and speeches in "On Party Building." Le Duan especially emphasizes the two aspects of building the party when it is in political power: the first is that party building must be closely linked to building the state; the second is that party building must be carried out in a close relationship with the masses in order to uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people.

Reviewing our party's experiences in party building, especially the experiences gained in building the party when it is in political power, Le Duan sets forth five major guidelines for party building:

First, we must build the party so that it is strong in all three areas: politically, ideologically and organizationally. These three areas are closely linked to one another and have a decisive effect upon one another. Building the party ideologically and organizationally must be closely coordinated, must be based on the political line and task and must, at the same time, insure that the political line and task are correct, are thoroughly understood and are fully implemented.

Secondly, party building must be carried out through the revolutionary movement of the masses, through the building of the system of collective leadership of the masses; the masses must participate in building the party, must help to inspect the activities of the party, inspect the work and qualities of cadres and party members.

Thirdly, when it is in political power, the strength of the party lies in the combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat system. Therefore, building the party and increasing its fighting strength must be closely linked to strengthening the organization and improving the capabilities of the state, closely linked to building and strengthening the mass organizations.

Fourthly, the effort to improve the quality of cadres and party members must be coordinated with the effort to improve the quality of party chapters and basic party organizations, with strengthening the leadership agencies and the entire organizational apparatus on each level and within each sector. A strong organization is the prerequisite to insuring that each person is strong, which, in turn, is the prerequisite to insuring that the organization is strong.

Fifthly, in party development, importance must be attached to quality and we must combat the tendency to place emphasis purely upon numbers; the development of the party must always go hand in hand with strengthening the party. On the one hand, we must accept persons who are truly outstanding and have all qualifications; on the other hand, we must promptly expel from the party those persons who have degenerated or become deviant. We must vigilantly guard against decadent elements, reactionaries, opportunists and saboteurs infiltrating the party." (374-375)

The very scientific and profound viewpoints on party building presented by Chairman Mao in his book "On Party Building" are not only of tremendous practical value in terms of the guidance they provide, but also make important contributions to shedding light on the thinking of President Ho regarding party building and, at the same time, are an important contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory on the new style party. Seriously studying Chairman Mao's book "On Party Building" in order to gain a thorough understanding of the positions of our party regarding building the party at this time is of utmost significance now that our party is beginning the

implementation of Secretariat directive 72 in order to strengthen the entire party and make the party increasingly strong so that it is fully able to perform the weighty, difficult and complex tasks of our country's revolution in the new stage.

FOOTNOTES

- + All excerpts in this article marked by a page number (in parentheses) are excerpts from Le Duan's work "On Party Building."

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THE WAY OF LOOKING AT AND EVALUATING THINGS

Band 1 TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 79
pp 66-68, 75 BK

[Article by Nguyen Ngoc Tam in "Ideological Activities" Column]

[Text] Faced with difficulties and manifestations of negativism in economic and everyday life, there are now in our society many different ways of looking at and evaluating things. A number of people, unaware of the many difficulties, especially those caused by subjective shortcomings, have maintained that the present difficulties and shortcomings are unremarkable in view of the current great revolution in our country. As a result, they have not sought ways to overcome difficulties and have not repressed their shortcomings in an urgent and resolute manner. Some other people have been obsessed by difficulties and shortcomings. They find only darkness wherever they look and only difficulties whatever they do. They are unable to fully analyze the root causes of the situation, which leads to denial of basic achievements and successes. This is not to mention the fact that our enemies, the imperialist and reactionary forces, are deriving satisfaction from our difficulties. They are opening their bulging eyes to gaze at and expose our shortcomings, and are seeking every possible way to create more difficulties for us and aggravate our shortcomings in order to incite sabotage activities against our country's revolution. They have claimed that "Vietnam is facing an unsurmountable disaster," and that "Vietnam triumphed in war but failed in peace."

Let us point out the enemy's slanderous, distorted and incendiary allegations. These are allegations and concepts which result from a stand and a world concept completely different from and contrary to ours.

Everyone knows that the way of looking at and evaluating things and phenomena in an objective manner is a very important matter. If we have a correct way of looking, we will correctly perceive and assess things and phenomena, and on this basis will adopt correct guidelines for our thought and acts. If we do not, we will set erroneous guidelines for our acts. Sometimes, if we are well-intentioned but lack a correct way of looking and assessing, in the end our mind becomes confused and dark.

Marxism-Leninism says that when we consider and evaluate a thing or phenomenon, we must always adopt a comprehensive, specific, historic and evolutionary view, in accordance with objective law. If we are subjective, perfunctory and mechanical and divorce ourselves from the specific historic circumstances, we will be unable to correctly perceive things and phenomena. Communists can accurately assess things and objective phenomena because they are armed with the "genius vision" of Marxism-Leninism and a scientific and revolutionary method of considering and resolving all realistic questions.

To evaluate our present economic situation and livelihood is to assess a complex social phenomenon which involves several aspects and many organic interrelations and is controlled by many factors concerning different categories and laws. Therefore, we must firmly grasp the evaluating viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism; we cannot simply rely on our subjective feelings.

First of all, we must admit that our country faces many difficulties with the economy and livelihood and that there are many negative phenomena in our society which cannot be overlooked. The present difficulties are the shortages of grain, food and consumer goods for the people's livelihood and of raw and other materials for production. As a result, production has developed slowly and slumped in some respects. The people's livelihood in cities, concentrated industrial complexes and natural disaster-hit areas is very difficult. Such negative phenomena in our society as theft, corruption, oppression of the people, loose discipline and slack application of laws are not quickly overcome and they tend to develop in some respects.

These difficulties and negative phenomena are caused by the objective fact that we have proceeded from a small scale production that was continuously and heavily damaged for some decades by wars. The towering consequences of these wars cannot be overcome overnight. Recently, at a time when our people were concentrating on healing the wounds of war and overcoming the consequences of neocolonialist war and natural disasters, the reactionaries among the Chinese leadership implemented their hostile policy of opposing and sabotaging the revolution in our country, perpetrating untold crimes against our country and causing us new difficulties. Along with successively waging two aggressive wars against our country, they intensively sabotaged us politically and economically and are threatening to attack our country again in order to weaken, exhaust and easily annex our country.

Subjectively, we still have many shortcomings and deficiencies. The most serious deficiencies are that we have failed to thoroughly understand the party's economic development lines, are weak in organizing and guiding implementation, have lacked experience in economic management and have been slow in changing and supplementing outdated economic policies. Some of our cadres and party members are irresponsible, degenerate, selfish and corrupt. Some of them have even capitalized on difficulties to engage in wrongdoings or to conceal their degeneration and irresponsibility. Many of the negative phenomena criticized several times by the party, state and people have not been dealt with and many of the difficulties which should have occurred have continued to recur.

We are neither afraid of dealing with shortcomings and deficiencies nor reluctant to speak of difficulties and negative phenomena. On the contrary, we must be well aware of all difficulties and negative phenomena, adequately evaluate shortcomings and deficiencies and, at the same time, resolve to correct them. If we are not fully aware of the difficulties and negative phenomena in society, we will fail to adequately perceive the present situation and revolutionary tasks and consequently we will be unable to have the determination and high sense of responsibility necessary to overcome difficulties and correct shortcomings. However, if we always attribute difficulties to some objective causes and consider the present negative phenomena inevitable, without profoundly analyzing and seriously dealing with the subjective shortcomings and deficiencies, we will become麻木 and irresponsible. Some of us have even engaged in wrongdoings in the name of difficulties.

Moreover, if we only see difficulties and negative phenomena and consider them as absolutely definitive while denying or undervaluing our great victories and achievements and if we fail to perceive the basically fine situation and essential trends of the revolution in our country and become pessimistic and worried, we will be completely wrong. It must be asserted that the difficulties, shortcomings and deficiencies which we are facing are absolutely not insurmountable and that the time in which we are living is not the most difficult time of the revolution in our country. Have we ever before had such a unified and independent Vietnam full of natural resources and with more than 50 million people advancing toward socialism? Although the Indochinese countries have historically shared a common fate, has solidarity among the Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Lao nations ever been firmer than it is now on this Indochina Peninsula? We also have the sympathy and support of our friends and brothers on all five continents who remain united with us. The revolutionary situation in our country is now fundamentally very fine. Our country's future is very bright and glorious. Never before has our nation been so powerful and strong. This strength lies not only in our will but also in our material forces. It is a combined strength of the whole country which can be seen in all fields. With this strength our people defeated the two aggressive wars waged by the Chinese reactionaries and helped the fraternal Kampuchean people overthrow the barbarous genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. Also with this strength our people have scored great achievements in carrying out socialist transformation, healing the wounds of war, overcoming the consequences of natural disasters and neo-fascism and firmly maintaining political security.

We neither shut our eyes to difficulties nor belittle shortcomings and deficiencies. It is clear that in such a very difficult and complex situation, the efforts thus far exerted by our people are extremely great and so is the development of the revolution in our country!

If we try to adequately consider the situation from all standpoints, profoundly analyze all matters objectively and realize our great achievements and the fundamentally fine situation of the revolution in our country and

if we base our reasoning on one-sided views concerning difficulties, shortcomings, deficiencies and negative phenomena and become suspicious, we will become disoriented, frightened and pessimistic, and lose our confidence and will.

We all know that confidence is a very important factor. It is a guiding star and a horizon toward which everyone is attracted and urged to advance. Losing confidence, we will lose our orientation, strength, will and energy for the struggle. Facts show that many people could no longer keep their orientation and energy in the struggle at certain times, having lost heart and confidence; and they collapsed when faced with fierce ordeals of the struggle. Therefore, as revolutionaries, our great duty is to remain constantly alert and to consolidate and firmly preserve our confidence. In a difficult situation, we must be all the more confident. Obviously, we should not be made blind and ignorant by our confidence. Our confidence must be based on scientific analysis and observations concerning the situation. It must be the confidence of those who constantly and firmly grasp the objective laws and thoroughly understand the evolutionary trends of history and revolution.

Only by comprehensively and adequately analyzing all aspects of problems in accordance with revolutionary and scientific viewpoints, can we correctly discern the present economic situation and livelihood in our country. On this basis, we will firmly believe in the correct and clear-sighted party leadership and the bright future of the revolution, advance toward overcoming difficulties with all our ardor and energy, and together with the entire party and nation resolutely struggle to develop our vantage points, correct deficiencies and ever vigorously and steadily advance the revolution in our country.

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FIRMLY UPHOLD THE VIEWPOINTS OF THE PARTY ON BUILDING THE SCIENCE OF CRIMINOLOGY

Translated from the article [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 79
pp 69-70

[Article by Thanh Le and Huyen Giang]

[Text] Since the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was established, our state has used its laws to punish imperialists and their lackeys who have attempted to sabotage the independence and unity of the country and punish other criminals. On the basis of the nature of the people's democratic system, our state has given much attention to educating and transforming criminal elements. On the basis of the humanitarian viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism and the fine traditions of the nation, the people's democratic government of Vietnam, with full love for man, has turned the prisons and concentration camps left behind by the colonialists into hospitals treating social diseases. Very many persons have returned from re-education camps to become law-abiding citizens and enthusiastically participate in building the new life.

On the basis of these correct viewpoints and glorious traditions, our science of criminology correctly explains the causes of crimes, thereby helping to transform the old society and build the new.

Under the socialist system, the law reflects the will and aspirations of the working class. Namely, under a system in which the state belongs to the exploiting classes, the law serves the exploiting classes in power; under the socialist system, the law is designed to protect the system of collective ownership of the working people, to carry out an extremely important task of the government, guaranteeing political security and social order.

At present, we stand at transition from capitalism to communism, that is, in the period between capitalism and communism. In this society, crimes are still committed, but they are not part of the nature of our system. The fertile ground needed for the birth and development of criminal activity is constantly being reduced in size and criminal behavior is constantly declin-

ing with the molding of the new, socialist man, with the formation of the new system of ethics with its new theoretical standards and new system of values. Le Duan has written: "Man is the product of history, consequently, he bears some of the scars of the past, has some of the bad habits of the old society and his actions are controlled to some extent by objective social conditions..."(2) This means that present crimes are products of the remnants of the old social system. At the same time, we must take into consideration the simultaneous existence of two opposing world social systems. In the unrelenting struggle between these two systems, the imperialists and international reactionaries spend each hour of each day looking for ways to bring the decadent influence of capitalist life to bear upon our society.

Examined from the viewpoint of the class struggle, we clearly see that the theory of criminology cannot lie outside or above the class like some "impartial" umpire on an athletic field. In fact, the views toward crime in exploiting societies are based on the stand of the bourgeoisie in power; this does not mean that a number of progressive researchers might view the origin of crime as the special social conditions and circumstances of capitalism, but even they do so from within the ideological system of the bourgeoisie. In basic contrast to the bourgeois viewpoint concerning crime, the criminologists of socialist society, while pointing out that the origin of crime is social conditions and circumstances, in which man is the criminal, go further: they use the latest achievements of the Marxist-social sciences to gain an understanding of the laws that determine the state, structure and development of the crime situation, the causes and prerequisites of crime and the special characteristics of crime and then formulate guidelines and measures for preventing crime on the basis of scientific forecasts as well as the research of a system of measures designed to transform criminal elements in order to build a wholesome society. Marxist criminology not only has the task of explaining the situation surrounding crime, but also has the task of showing the potential for transforming criminals, eradicating the causes of crime, reducing the extent of crime and eventually removing crime from our social life.

Criminology is closely linked to sociology and jurisprudence. Therefore, the class viewpoint toward crime is the test for determining who is a genuine criminologist and who is a fraud. To protect the selfish interests of the bourgeoisie, bourgeois criminologists look for ways to conceal the class nature of the law. In every system, according to these persons, crime hurts every class and the laws providing punishment for crimes are designed to protect the interests of every person regardless of his class, the law as well as the courts are prejudiced toward no one; and, on this basis, they conclude that criminology is not of a class nature, because they maintain that only by taking a position above the class and outside the class struggle can the truth as it pertains to crime be discovered.

Marxism-Leninism exposes this deceptive practice and fraudulent ethic. Criminology based on the Marxist viewpoint irrevocably states that crime is a social phenomenon of a very deep class nature, that the law and the courts are tools that directly serve the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, today, in order to determine the truth, we must firmly adhere to the class stand of the proletariat.

In our system, a crime is an action that is dangerous to socialist society, to the collective masters of society, the working people, the nucleus of whom is the alliance of workers and farmers. Crime is dangerous because it seriously harms the working people, the alliance of workers and farmers, the dictatorship of the proletariat state, the order of socialist society and the system of socialist collective ownership. Therefore, the state takes action to protect the system of socialist collective ownership by implementing laws designed to achieve relative control (of course, attention is given to coordinating punishment with education). And, to protect their system of collective ownership, the working people have the right and the obligation to actively and directly participate in the struggle against crime.

Having a firm grasp of the special characteristics of Vietnam in order to research increases or decreases in crime in our country is a principal requirement of criminology. Our country is independent and unified; however, the Beijing expansionists and the imperialists are scheming to commit aggression against and undermine our country. Within the country, counter-revolutionaries are obstinately resisting the socialist system. In the period of transition to socialism, the struggle between the two ways of life is a sharp and complex struggle throughout our country. The struggle against counter-revolutionary crimes as well as the struggle against crimes against socialist property and the property of the citizen have been given attention by the party, the state and our people.

While researching changes in the crime situation in our country, it must be realized that the Vietnamese are unlike the peoples of any other country; although they are in a state of small-scale production, they have inherited a heroic tradition of struggling against foreign aggression and, in particular, have been educated and trained in the model of persons who adhere to collectivism by the party over the past several decades. At the same time, however, it must be realized that our country is in the process of advancing from small-scale production directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. Selfishness, partialism, localism, departmentalism, the practice of doing as one sees fit and so forth, these are the inherent maladies of small-scale producers as well as small-scale production organizations. On the other hand, with regard to Vietnamese society, which has had living bamboo fences around hamlets, public fields and public lands for thousands of years, how have partialism, localism, departmentalism and so forth had a harmful effect upon the crime situation? What mark has small-scale production left in the situation surrounding the changes in crime and how has small-scale production had an impact upon the causes of crime, etc?

Although our country has been reunified for more than 4 years, the situations in the South and the North are not exactly the same. Because the North was liberated and began advancing to socialism before the South, the crime situation in the North is less complex than in the South, and this is only natural. However, it must be realized that the people of the North lived under the domination of feudalists for thousands of years and the French colonialists for nearly 100 years; therefore, they have been more than slightly influenced by the sentiments, thinking, habits and bad customs of the old society.

In the South, the pursuit of obstinate enemy elements resisting the revolution and resisting socialist transformation has achieved good results in the recent past; however, counter-revolutionaries still try to raise their heads and continue their acts of sabotage from time to time. The struggle against crimes against social order in the South has been developing well; however, in a number of fields, the situation is still rather complex, especially because of the impact of the poisons of colonialism, both old and new and bourgeois and feudal thinking; deserving of attention is that the crimes that are occurring against public property in the South are still widespread and serious.

On the basis of this situation and in the case of any crime, it is necessary to determine whether we face an antagonistic contradiction with the enemy or non-antagonistic contradiction among the people. Determining the nature of this antagonism is very important not only in the work of drafting criminal law and in criminal legal proceedings, but also in investigations, prosecution and trials, in particular, and the struggle to prevent and combat crime, in general. It is not only subversives, spies and counter-propagandists that are the enemy; persons who specialize in speculating, hoarding and undermining the economy, hoodlums and persons who steal or destroy socialist property are also the enemy. This "conversion" must be deeply researched as it pertains to ourselves, our friends and our enemies in order to support political requirements and meet the demands of science. Especially in the present situation, in which international reactionaries are collaborating with the imperialists and both have joined hands with reactionaries inside our country to look for ways to oppose our socialist construction, the matter of separating antagonistic contradictions from non-antagonistic contradictions becomes even more complex when researching crime in our country.

Correctly determining the causes and conditions underlying crime in socialist society is a very important matter, one with which our criminologists are particularly concerned; because, only by determining the causes and conditions of crime and discovering the laws governing the formation of criminal behavior is it possible to properly orient the struggle against crime and insure the victory of this struggle.

Bourgeois criminologists look for the reasons for crime in biological traits. Lombroso, an Italian, stated that the criminal generally has an

unusual countenance; thus, according to him, to prevent crime, all we need do is eliminate persons who have this unusual countenance. This theory is truly dangerous; the German Nazis relied upon this theory to murder countless law-abiding persons who did not endorse their fascism.

In addition, there are a number of bourgeois theoreticians who explain crime in terms of "social factors"; these factors, according to them, are not completing one's education, living in ghettos, prostitution and so forth. Then, they suggest that in order to eliminate crime, it is necessary to open more schools, build more housing, etc. On the surface, their arguments seem to conform with reason; however, what they are actually proposing are theories designed to weaken the class struggle, disorient the masses, conceal the class nature of crime, hide the true cause of crime, the system of man exploiting man, and deceive persons who are exploited and suppressed by the bourgeoisie.

Marxist criminologists point out that capitalism is the origin of each crime and that the bourgeoisie are the most dangerous and malicious criminals. Concerning this point, Engels said: "Under the circumstances of developed capitalist production, no one can determine where truth ends and deception begins." (3) Lenin also observed: "Rich people and thieves are two sides of the same coin. They are the two types of parasites nurtured by capitalism." (4)

As regards our system, the opposite is true: the nature of socialist society does not encompass one factor that can be the cause of crime; crime exists because of the remnants of the old system or because of the dangerous impact of bourgeois, imperialist and international reactionary influences coming from the outside.

In 1949, the old system, the colonialist, feudal and bourgeois system, was overthrown in our country; however, its remnants cannot be swept away all at once, rather, they continue to exist for quite some time in the viewpoints, the thinking, the habits and the lifestyle of a number of persons. Without waging a determined struggle against them, they will have an adverse influence not only upon the generations that grew up under the old system, but even upon the generations that are born and grow up under the new system. This is why social consciousness is of a somewhat independent nature; material life and political life change, but the old consciousness and thinking continue to exist in a number of areas, continue to exist for a certain amount of time. The struggle on the ideological and cultural front is truly a long and arduous one: to see why crime continues to exist in socialist society, it is necessary to look for the causes of this situation in the dangerous remnants of the old society; in addition, it is especially necessary to delve into the specific conditions and circumstances that have created the environment for these remnants to have a harmful impact in our society through crime. In fact, the remnants of the old society cannot, by themselves, cause crimes; in order to cause crimes, there

must be loopholes, shortcomings and weaknesses on our part in management and education, in the struggle to prevent and combat crime and even in the struggle to prevent and combat violations. Therefore, when crime starts to increase in one aspect or another, in one locality or another, criminologists must ask the questions: are there any serious loopholes in our management work? Have we fully concerned ourselves with the education of youths and teenagers? Are there any shortcomings in the political and ideological education of the masses? Have any aspects of investigatory work, prosecution and trials been handled incorrectly or ignored? Are prompt and effective steps being taken to prevent crime each day? Why have we allowed a number of minor infractions to become dangerous crimes? In summary, we should not forget that the remnants of the old society are the objective causes of crime; at the same time, we must realize that mistakes in management are subjective conditions, and objective causes can only lead to harm when subjective conditions create a favorable environment.

The criminal is the embodiment of crime. This is not in contradiction with the viewpoint that considers the nature of man to be the integration of social relations. Because, social relations determine the behavior of each person through his consciousness. This means that man is not totally passive in the face of the influences of society, consequently, the criminal must bear responsibility for his actions.

When we talk about the social nature of man, we are stating that within each social system, there is a "model person" consistent with that system. In fact, the model person of the capitalist system is molded on the basis of private ownership of the instruments of production, worships individualism and is selfish; the model socialist person is molded in the system of public ownership; therefore, he places the interests of the collective above all other interests.

When researching the criminal in socialist society, we must compare him to a totally opposite model, that is, the new, socialist Vietnamese man, the collective owner, the worker who possesses socialist patriotism and the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

We stress the model of the new, socialist Vietnamese man in order to use it as the foundation for educational activities designed to mold persons who possess an unswerving stand, who cannot be deceived or misled by any force, who are determined to struggle to stop and combat every criminal action; on the other hand, it is also the foundation for taking positive steps to transform persons who have made mistakes and committed crimes, for returning them to the wholesome, beautiful life of a citizen who enjoys all the rights of citizenship.

Forecasting the situation surrounding crime is an important requirement of criminology. An accurate forecast will help the struggle against crime to be smoothly carried out; at the same time, it will contribute to the management of the economy and the management of the state. In this field, as well

as every other matter in society, our ability to make forecasts is constantly increasing because we are learning more and more about the laws of development of society. However, to accurately forecast the situation surrounding crime, we must make use of the forecast data provided by authorized agencies in order to keep abreast of changes in this situation in the immediate future or over the long range, changes regarding each type of crime as well as all crime, changes regarding each locality as well as the entire country. In order for situation forecasts to be scientific in nature, it is necessary to realize the relationship between a violation and a crime. Something that is a violation in one situation might become a crime in another situation and vice versa. In addition, it is both possible and necessary to base forecasts on the crime situation on political, economic, scientific-technical and other forecasts. In order for forecasts of the crime situation to be both scientific and correct, we must also have knowledge of the law, history, political economics, demography, the science of education, etc.

Determining the measures for struggling against crime is the central task of socialist criminology. In this field, the agencies of our dictatorship of the proletariat have gained much experience and have systematized these experiences in the form of conclusions of a theoretical nature.

"Attaching more importance to preventing crime than combating crime," this guideline reflects the thinking guiding this struggle; it is extremely scientific as well as extremely humanitarian. If our policy is to do nothing until a crime is committed, even if the criminal is found and appropriately prosecuted, it is a "bad policy" because the harm has already been done. And, in this case, criminal proceedings only have the purpose of preventing future crimes.

"Attaching more importance to preventing crime than combating crime" means closely coordinating "education with punishment." Providing a good education is the most effective way to prevent crime. In the final analysis, punishment primarily has the purpose of teaching a lesson, teaching the criminal and teaching other persons.

In the "transformation" of persons who have been convicted of a crime, criminology has the task of researching optimum measures for educating them. We frequently talk about investigations, prosecutions and trials, but do not emphasize the education and transformation of persons who have been sentenced to prison. This, however, is an area of less importance; when a person who is released from prison continues to commit crimes, it is an indication that everything involved in prosecution and education needs to be improved.

In broad terms, the struggle to prevent and combat crime is a comprehensive struggle. As a result, it is necessary to coordinate general measures with specific measures. These general measures are building and managing socialist

society well economically, politically, culturally, etc. The specific measures involve the work directly performed by the public security sector, the Procuratorate, the courts, etc. These general measures and specific measures must be closely linked together within a unified plan.

Here, there are two points concerning the realities of this struggle that must be raised:

First, in their specialized work, the courts, the investigative agencies and the public security agencies must, if they see that crimes are occurring because of the shortcomings of an agency, mass organization, production installation or army unit, propose that this organization take appropriate and timely measures to correct these shortcomings.

Secondly, the people have the right and obligation to directly participate in both the general and specific measures employed in the struggle to prevent and combat crime. Because, as explained above, this is an important aspect of implementing the system of socialist collective ownership and is a prerequisite to successfully preventing and combating crime and eventually eradicating crime from our beautiful life.

Criminology based on the Marxist viewpoint demands that we give our attention to the special characteristics of Vietnam in order to formulate appropriate research guidelines. In this spirit, with a full understanding of the line of the party and with a firm grasp of Marxist methodology, the scientists researching crime in our country will fully and systematically research general theory while delving into the special characteristics of Vietnam in order to determine the special characteristics of the situation surrounding crime in Vietnam, build an organization to make the science of criminology a competent tool supporting the struggle to prevent and combat crime in our country and help to enrich the general theory of criminology based on the Marxist viewpoint.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duang: "Tang cuong phap che xa hoi chu nghia, bao dam quyen lan chu tap the cua nhan dan" [Strengthening the Socialist System of Law, Upholding the Right of Collective Ownership of the People], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 42.
2. Ibid., p 54.
3. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Complete Works," Volume 22, (Russian version), p 529.
4. V. Lenin: "Complete Works, Volume 26, (Russian version), p 372.

THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OVER THE PAST 30 YEARS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 79
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[Article by Yen Van]

[Text] Over the past 30 years, especially since the 8th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] (June 1971), the people of the GDR have won remarkable victories in every aspect of building their country. The GDR has successfully built socialism and developed socialism in the homeland of Marx and Engels, thereby creating one of the superior models of socialism.

Loyal to proletarian internationalism, the GDR has united with each force struggling against imperialism and the international reactionaries, each force struggling for national independence, democracy and social progress. The GDR has made true contributions to preventing the danger of war, thereby helping to increase the strength of the socialist system and the three revolutionary currents in the world.

The territory that is the modern day GDR was once a territory in which industry was underdeveloped, a territory that was almost completely dependent upon West Germany. The GDR had no traditional heavy industrial, metallurgical or energy production centers. In addition, when it was first established, the GDR was constantly the target of provocation by the imperialist powers and the West German restorationists who waged a cold war to surround, isolate, undermine the economy and intervene in the internal affairs of the GDR. Intending to "reverse the tide" of socialism in Europe, the imperialists schemed to turn West Berlin into the bridgehead of war and shamelessly used the wide border between the GDR and West Berlin in their insidious scheme. Therefore, to record the achievements it has today, the GDR, under the leadership of the SED, had to make extraordinary efforts for more than one-quarter century, had to overcome seemingly insurmountable difficulties and overcome the most perilous of obstacles in the course of building and developing the country. Today, the

GDR is a state that has been strengthened in every respect, has a modern industry and has a highly developed agriculture. Through mutual help and cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries, the GDR has joined the ranks of the 10 most highly developed industrial countries in the world and is one of the 5 countries with the highest industrial output in Europe. Having received widespread recognition in the world, the GDR became an official member of the United Nations and now has diplomatic relations with 127 countries; the sovereignty of the country, its territorial integrity and the inviolability of roads are guaranteed under international law. In recent years, the GDR has increasingly shown itself to be a firmly developed member of the community of socialist countries and has contributed to the continued growth of socialism in the international arena. The economic plans set forth by the SED have been platforms for continuous and steady leaps forward by the GDR. Today, the economy of the GDR is a stable, sound economy without crises. On this basis, the people enjoy a high real income and high average standard of living and their lives are cared for in every respect; the supply system is thoroughly organized and the housing problem has been resolved; the spiritual life of the people is a rich one; the people enjoy a high cultural level, have broad knowledge, possess a firm world view and are enthused about and conscious of building a new world of socialism and communism.

The process of building and developing socialism in the GDR has been the process of creatively applying the universal laws of Marxism-Leninism on socialism under the conditions of the GDR. Following the 1960's, when the primary tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism had virtually been completed and an economy filled with potential had been constructed, the GDR entered a new stage in constructing and developing its economy. At its 8th Congress (June 1971) and its 9th Congress (May 1976), the SED set forth the task of building, building on a large scale, developed socialism. The principal task of this stage is to continue to improve the material and cultural lives of the people on the basis of developing the socialist system of production at a rapid rate and increasing the efficiency of work on the basis of scientific and technological advances and higher labor productivity. The congresses particularly stressed the need to develop production in depth, considering this to be a political and economic task of decisive significance, to be the principle course for strengthening socialism and building a developed socialist society. The true significance of developing production in depth is rapidly increasing production by making full use of and modernizing existing production equipment and plants and by producing more without using additional manpower. Therefore, importance has been attached to the factors related to developing the economy in depth, such as accelerating and applying scientific and technological advances in production, economizing on supplies, making the best possible use of existing capital and fixed assets, making full use of work time, reducing idle time and so forth. In particular, during this stage, science and technology are viewed as the prerequisite, the key to increasing work

efficiency, raising labor productivity and improving product quality. The SED has placed scientific and technological research in a close relationship with production. Approximately two-thirds of the 15,000 persons engaged in work involving research and inventions work primarily in the production sector. Generally speaking, one of every four workers in the socialist emulation movement has participated in the movement to make technological improvements. The various scientific research facilities have been systematically expanded. The Institute of Science has been developed into a center providing leadership in scientific research; between 1971 and 1975, the implementation of innovations that improve and rationalize production saved society some 16 billion marks.

In the process of building socialism and developed socialist society in its country, the SED has always placed its economic policy and social policy in a close relationship to each other. The economy is considered the primary battlefield, the means for achieving the goal of satisfying the constantly rising material and cultural needs of the people. The SED has determined that, in order to constantly raise the standard of living of the people, the economy must develop at a high rate on the basis of applying the latest achievements of science and technology. Conversely, the working people will be more enthusiastic and will work much harder when they see that the results of their labor benefit their own interests and the interests of their families. At the same time, the party has always taught the spirit of being masters to the working people in order to show them that the mass, by means of their own labor, laid the foundations for improving the lives of their families and themselves. Thus, satisfying needs primarily demands an attitude of diligent labor, proficiency in technical skills and a high sense of responsibility on the part of each citizen. Whether or not the state implements a full complement of social policies to improve the life of the people depends primarily on whether or not the people create higher labor productivity in each field of the national economy. The needs of the interests of society and the interests of the individual can become a driving force of decisive significance in economic development in the GDR. The socialist emulation movement has attracted more and more persons and oriented their activities toward completing the tasks of the national economy better. This is the stable and firm foundation of the socialist system.

In the 1971-1975 Five-Year Plan, as a result of adopting a correct line and taking positive measures, the basic problems of the national economy were resolved well. Under this plan, the GDR attached importance to the production of consumer goods, to providing a regular supply of raw materials and finished materials to industry, to providing incentive for industry to supply semi-finished products, to building and expanding energy facilities, etc. The gross national income has increased from 109 billion marks to 141.7 billion marks. Net income has increased 27 percent and retail sales have increased 28 percent. Industrial output value has increased at the

annual rate of 6.5 percent. Increased labor productivity has accounted for 86 percent of the increase within industry. In 1976, the industrial output of the GDR doubled compared to the industrial output of Germany in 1936 (the population in 1970 only equalled one-fourth the population in 1936). The increases in labor productivity between 1971 and 1975 were the equivalent of adding 1.9 million persons to the work force. In 1975, 48 workers produced a quantity of products equal to that produced by 72 workers in 1970.

Tremendous achievements have also been recorded on the agricultural front. Developing agriculture is considered the work of all economic sectors. Many major requirements face agriculture, including the task of providing an increasingly full supply of grain and food products to the people and raw materials to industry, which is a large task. Developing production in depth requires that agriculture shift to industrial-style production and means that collective farmers have the obligation of making the most efficient use possible of the modern instruments of production with which they are equipped by the working class. The alliance between the working class and the class of cooperative member farmers is manifested in specific relationships: the state provides to farmers an increasingly modern supply of instruments of production and an increasingly diverse supply of industrial goods, thereby insuring that cooperatives are increasingly prosperous; farmers make every effort to supply an increasingly large amount of agricultural products to the state. Through this cooperation, agricultural production has increased rapidly and, conversely, labor costs have declined. There are only one-third as many workers in agricultural production as there was in 1950 but agricultural output has increased 4.4 times; the agricultural product produced by one laborer has increased 7.4 times. In 1975, each agricultural laborer supported 32 people (only 6 people in 1950).

At present, agriculture supplies roughly 45 percent of the commodities and 67 percent of the raw materials needed by the national economy.

The GDR produces about 0.7 percent of the world's cereal output. In 1977, the average amount of cereal grains per capita reached 519 kilograms, thereby surpassing the world average by 50 percent and the average for wheat by 75 percent.

On the basis of the achievements that were recorded under the 1971-1975 Five Year Plan, the 9th Congress of the SED set the goal of continuing to build a developed socialist society and, on this basis creating favorable conditions for gradually advancing to communism. The SED maintains that the gradual advance to communism is a task that cannot be postponed and that there is no clear line between socialism and communism. Therefore, continuing to build a developed socialist society and, at the same time, preparing the conditions for gradually advancing to communism, which include continuing to develop production in depth, must still be considered

the primary course, the decisive factor, the center of the economic work of the party.

The SED also maintains that developing production in depth is not a temporary measure, rather, it is of a long-range, strategic nature and involves the very nature of the socialist economy. Developing the economy in depth is not merely an economic task, but a factor in the entire advance by society, a mandate of conscience. It is not the work of only a number of people, but the work of everyone. As a country that is poor in raw materials and has a limited labor force, relying upon modernization to economize on supplies and manpower is always a matter of strategic importance. Therefore, the 9th Congress set high goals and set forth new and higher tasks for science and technology while establishing the following slogan for rationalizing production and raising labor productivity: "Achieving higher economic returns from each mark, from each hour of work, from each gram of materials..." Under the light of the congress, scientific-technological research has been intensified. Importance has been attached to the use at many positions of highly productive equipment and to universally increasing the rate of use of machinery and equipment. The application of advanced technical procedures in order to economize on supplies, raw materials, building materials, energy, work time and so forth has been particularly stressed in order to achieve the highest possible results in each field at the lowest possible costs, an important measurement of which is the continuous decline in production costs. Under the 1976-1980 Five Year Plan, the GDR has invested 4.2 percent of national income, the equivalent of 35 billion marks, in scientific and technical activities, some 10 billion marks more than were invested in these activities under the 1971-1975 plan. Due to applying the results of scientific-technical research in production, enterprises have saved 153 million work hours, the equivalent of the work results of 164,000 workers. The value of the 1 percent of raw materials and building materials saved in 1977 equalled 2.3 billion marks. In 1978, the improvement and rationalization of production resulted in a savings of 4.3 billion marks.

At present, the working class and laboring people at the economic installations of the GDR are enthusiastically emulating to work, produce, make innovations, rationalize production and improve product quality. During the first 6 months of 1979, the number of products meeting export standards increased 21 percent compared to the same period of time in 1978.

On the basis of the balanced, steady and continuous development of social production, the 10th Congress of the SED took the position of more closely coordinating economic policy and social policy. The congress set the goal of endeavoring to raise national income to 830 billion marks, an increase of 200 billion marks compared to the 1971-1975 plan. The total output of industrial goods will increase to roughly 1,400 billion marks, an increase of nearly 400 billion marks compared to the previous 5-year plan. By 1980,

agricultural production will increase 20 percent in terms of total crop output compared to 1971-1975. The capital invested in the modernization, retooling and expansion of equipment will increase to 240 billion marks, a 1.5 times increase compared to the investment made in 1975. Approximately 40 percent more new equipment will be put into use under this 5-year plan. It is projected that during the period from 1976 to 1980, the GDR will invest roughly 240-243 billion marks in capital construction to improve, modernize and expand equipment.

This continued development of material-technical bases will meet the requirements of building a developed socialist society better and create the basic conditions needed for the GDR to gradually make the transition to communism.

The past 30 years have been marked by continuous growth in every area of the GDR. Our people are very happy over this strong growth and consider these achievements as their own. We are especially moved by the pure, beautiful feelings the people of the GDR have had toward our people throughout the past 30 years. We are enthusiastic over the increasingly beautiful development of the relationship between the two countries of Vietnam and the GDR.

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THE FORCES OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND PEACE ARE ON THE OFFENSIVE

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[Article by Van Hien]

[Text] Part I

The annual session of the General Assembly of the United Nations begins on Tuesday of the third week of September and concludes between 18 and 20 December. The agenda for this year's session, the 34th session, consisted of 125 items, encompassing matters related to peace, international security and disarmament, economic, cultural, social and human rights issues, matters related to decolonialization, to the finances, budget and personnel of the United Nations and legal matters.

To us, the 34th session has been of important significance: it has taken place following our people's smashing of the two wars of aggression unleashed by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists against Vietnam, after the tremendous victory of the high level conference of non-aligned countries in Havana and, in particular, after the resounding victories of the peoples of Nicaragua, Panama and Grenada in Latin America, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, the Seychelles and many other countries in Africa and Afghanistan and Iran in Asia. In the face of the continuous victories won by the revolutions of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, the increased strength of the militant solidarity among these three countries and the strong sympathy and support provided by the USSR, the other socialist countries and all progressive mankind, the expansionists and the imperialists insanely launched one campaign after another to despicably distort and falsely accuse Vietnam in a vain attempt to isolate Vietnam and block and repulse the influence of the revolution in this region. For this reason, the 34th session of the United Nations' General Assembly has been a sharp, arduous political struggle, a struggle reflecting the new alignment of forces, between the forces of progress and revolution on one side and the imperialist and reactionary powers on the other. Vietnam came to this session on the offensive, ready

to repel counter-attacks by the expansionists and the imperialists. At the very first session, the opening session, the Vietnam delegation raised the matter of the right to represent Kampuchea, demanding the expulsion of the Pol Pot clique from the United Nations and the other international fora and demanding that the seats at these organizations be turned over to the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, the only genuine and legitimate representative of the people of Kampuchea. Never before had the Beijing reactionaries and the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique been as strongly denounced at the General Assembly of the United Nations as they were this time. At the United Nations now only Beijing defends the Pol Pot clique and only the Pol Pot clique praises Beijing. Having suffered a heavy political defeat, the imperialists and reactionaries were forced to resort to maneuvers involving the procedures of the United Nations to keep the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary political corpse at this organization. They demanded a vote to determine if it was necessary to consult the legal advisor of the United Nations concerning this matter. They demanded a vote to determine whether or not the revision proposed by India, which was designed to keep the Kampuchean seat empty--as stated in the resolution of the high level conference of non-aligned countries in Havana--was a proposed revision or a draft of a new resolution (if it was a proposed revision, it would have been voted on first). They demanded a vote to determine whether this proposal by India was a matter of priority. All of these clever maneuvers were designed to put the report of the Subcommittee on Delegate Qualifications before the General Assembly for a vote. Because the majority of this subcommittee consists of such countries as China, the United States, Pakistan, Senegal, Ecuador and Belgium, the report endorsed the so called credentials of the Ieng Sary clique as "proper," despite the stern protest of the USSR, Panama and the Congo. The results of the vote at the General Assembly was as everyone knew it would be: there were 71 votes for this report, 35 against it, 34 abstentions and 12 delegations did not vote. Thus, even though the imperialists and the expansionists managed to put together 71 votes, this represents less than half the 152 members of the United Nations. Moreover, of these 71 votes, only 2 votes truly supported the Pol Pot clique, the vote of China and the vote of the Pol Pot representative; very many countries, although they voted to endorse the report by the Subcommittee on Delegate Qualifications, that is, voted to keep the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique at the United Nations, stated that they could not denounce the genocidal regime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and voted in favor of the report due to "technical reasons"; this does not mean that they recognize the Pol Pot regime. This vote also shows their confusion and their weak position. It is a sign that some day they will be forced to abandon their illogical stand. Beijing should not be too quick to express pleasure with this vote; they should recall that it was votes similar to this one that made them wait 23 years to be seated at the U.N. and give even more thought to the strong words of denunciation of various countries that have exposed their horrible crimes and those of their lackeys. No! This is but the first step in the process of throwing the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary butchers out of the United Nations. The revolutionary

government of the people of Kampuchea, the only genuine and legitimate representative of which is the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, will surely win back its seat at the United Nations in the not too distant future.

Part II

After discussing the issue of who represents Kampuchea, the General Assembly entered a three week stage of debate beginning on 24 September and ending on 17 October 1979. The delegates from 144 of the 152 member countries of the United Nations expressed their opinions, including 13 heads of state and premiers.

Many countries raised the issues of the relaxation of tensions, disarmament, the new world economic order, the Middle East and South Africa. These are questions that have been raised by all countries for many years during the annual sessions of the United Nations. The general trend at the 34th session of the United Nations was to oppose imperialism, colonialism, both old and new, apartheid and racism, including zionism, and support international peace and security, the political and economic independence of nations and social progress. This is a trend that is being increasingly strengthened and cannot be reversed.

The session was highlighted by the suggestion by A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, to include in the agenda for the session an item entitled "Hegemony Cannot Be Tolerated in International Relations." He said: "The term 'hegemony,' although it is a new term, denotes a phenomenon that is not new; to the contrary, it can be said that this phenomenon has been known to man since the dawn of history. It is the desire to rule the world, to rule other countries and nations... Hegemony is the complete opposite of equality among state and nations, the complete opposite of the ideals which the October Revolution brought to the world..." Then, he appealed to the member countries of the U.N. to denounce hegemony and thwart every attempt at hegemony in international affairs.

In the field of disarmament in recent years, the USSR and the other socialist countries have taken many initiatives and shown their good will by stimulating the progress of negotiations on disarmament. The recent signing of the Second Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement (SALT II) between the USSR and the United States was a new victory for the policy of peace of the USSR. At the U.N. General Assembly, many countries welcomed this signing, considering it to be an important step in the struggle for nuclear disarmament. Generally speaking, the countries of the West have adopted a negative attitude toward disarmament; China, however, is insanely participating in the arms race in order to build the military strength needed to implement their policy of expansion and hegemony; they were the only ones in the course of the entire session who tried to defend the arms race through vague talk about the threat of a world war. The head of the Chinese delegation, Han Niem Long, predicted

the possibility of a world war in the 1980's! During the session, comrade Chnoupek, the foreign affairs minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, presented to the General Assembly a "draft declaration on international cooperation for the purpose of achieving disarmament." He said: "...It is necessary to end the illusion that permanent peace and security can exist side by side with huge stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction, that the important questions regarding the survival of mankind can be resolved without disarmament... Therefore, Czechoslovakia is very concerned with ending the arms race and achieving disarmament..." The proposal made by Czechoslovakia, if accepted, will lay a favorable legal and political foundation for cooperation among countries and stimulate the negotiations on disarmament, which have long been stalemated.

The recent victory of the 6th High Level Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana has been praised by very many countries in and outside the movement. This important event left a deep impression when Fidel Castro, chairman of the State Council and premier of the Republic of Cuba and the present chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, presented to the General Assembly of the U.N. the resolutions of the 6th high level conference. Expressing a high degree of responsibility, concerning the common issues of the non-aligned movement and speaking with persuasive eloquence, Fidel Castro clearly and poignantly presented the political and economic resolutions of the Havana high level conference. He devoted the majority of his address to talking about the aspirations and the struggle of the peoples of the non-aligned countries and the other developing countries for a new international economic order. To abolish the injustice and inequality that exist now, it is necessary to intensify the struggle against the cruel exploitation by imperialism, colonialism, both old and new, and the multi-national corporations and establish a new international economic order, an order, as Fidel Castro said, that is "a real, objective order understood by everyone," not an "abstract" order, an order in "words only." The most exciting moment during the three weeks of general debate at the General Assembly occurred on the morning of 12 October when Fidel Castro took the rostrum at the U.N. The crowded auditorium erupted with resounding and prolonged applause expressing the warm feelings of the many friends and brothers for the great leader of the heroic Cuban people, for the present chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, thereby confirming the tremendous prestige of this movement and expressing the sympathy of those in the audience concerning the matters that were presented.

The speech by the Vietnamese delegation contributed to the effective and strong offensive by the socialist forces, the non-aligned countries and the peace and justice loving countries against imperialism and the international reactionaries in this important international forum. Our delegation strongly and directly denounced and condemned the policy of expansion and hegemony of the Beijing reactionary authorities, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists. Our delegation urgently appealed for the international community

to be vigilant in the face of this new and extremely large danger and take steps to promptly block their criminal hands.

Following the debate on the representation of Kampuchea and in coordination with the speech, which conformed to both reason and sentiment, by our country's delegation, the USSR, the other fraternal socialist countries and many non-aligned countries harshly condemned the Beijing reactionary clique for invading Vietnam, threatening Vietnam with a "second lesson," threatening to invade Laos and continuing to intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. Our brothers and friends throughout the world confirmed their strong support of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in the work of rebuilding their countries and protecting the independence and freedom of each country. The Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Puja, stated: "The principal cause of this situation (the tense situation in Southeast Asia) is the policy of hegemony and expansionism of the Chinese authorities, who have even resorted to armed aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam"; he declared: "The Hungarian People's Republic denounces the policy of aggression of the Chinese authorities and is determined to support the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea." He criticized the attitude of a number of statesmen from the developed capitalist countries as encouraging the aggressors, criticized as reprehensible the attitude of a number of countries which, because they are afraid of China's reaction, have taken a neutral stand and criticized the attitude of a number of countries which know that the Pol Pot regime was a genocidal regime and had violated the Vietnamese border but pretended not to know what was happening as tolerating the existence of a regime that had committed horrible crimes against the people of Kampuchea and defending the actions of the aggressors who attacked Vietnam from the north. D.O. Saavedra, member of the Nicaraguan Provisional Junta, praised and strongly supported Vietnam, saying: "Chinese forces committed aggression against Vietnam and continue to threaten Vietnam. However, the spiritual strength of the Vietnamese is stronger than the divisions of the Chinese. The country of Nicaragua, a small country, an independent country, a non-aligned country, considers the heroic Vietnamese as their flesh and blood." Concerning the Kampuchean issue, he said: "Everyone knows that the criminal regime headed by Pol Pot and his lackeys was the result of the attitude of expansion of the Chinese authorities... Those who voted in support of representation for this clique have encouraged the attitude of expansion on the part of Chinese authorities and support those in the various international organizations who have aligned themselves with the most murderous and reactionary circles in the world."

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Muhammad Salih Yafa'i, said: "We welcome the victory by the people of Kampuchea that overthrew the dictatorial Pol Pot regime, a regime that had committed many crimes against the people of Kampuchea; at the same time, we support the brave attitude based on principle taken by the peoples

of Vietnam and Laos and condemn each scheme of the imperialists and the deviates to oppose them."

The Imperialists and the Beijing reactionaries were confused and passive in the face of the offensive by the socialist and revolutionary forces. The speech by the U.S. Secretary of State touched upon many matters, but only in a very general and vague manner. The speech by the Beijing delegation only repeated old arguments against the USSR, Vietnam, socialism and the world revolution, praised imperialism and capitalism and, in this manner, revealed the reactionary nature of the Beijing ruling circles. They were passive in the face of the proposal of the USSR concerning "not tolerating hegemony in international relations"; however, through crude words, they tried to offer a very clumsy defense of themselves. Their speech left no impressions whatsoever.

Part III

As part of their counter-offensive, the expansionists and imperialists started a debate on the so called "Kampuchean issue" at the U.N. General Assembly. They pressured the ASEAN countries into demanding that this issue be included as part of the agenda of the 34th session and presented a draft resolution on the "Kampuchean situation," which contained arguments that distorted the situation and such illogical proposals as a "cease fire," "withdrawal of forces," and "political solution," which, in substance, were designed to implement the scheme of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists and the U.S. imperialists to intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and resurrect the political corpse of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary. As the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council stated: at present, there is no so called "Kampuchean situation"; the issue that must be raised now is that of annihilating once and for all the barbarous Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime and stopping the Beijing expansionists, who, in concert with the imperialists and other reactionary forces, are using Thai territory to support and resupply the remnants of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army and the remnants of other reactionary armies to restore this regime... The diplomatic note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of SRV exposed the nature of the issue as the policy of aggression and expansionism of the Chinese ruling circles who, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers, are seriously threatening the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, seriously threatening the independence, peace and stability of the countries in Southeast Asia and seriously threatening peace in the world. The permanent representative of Vietnam at the United Nations during this debate clearly presented our just cause, clearly explained the nature of the Kampuchean situation, denounced the policy of expansionism and hegemony of Beijing, resolutely rejected the draft resolution of the ASEAN countries and, along with the representatives of a number of fraternal and friendly countries, presented a draft resolution appealing for countries not to do anything that would interfere

with the implementation of the right to self-determination or violate the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea; stating that every issue related to Kampuchea as well as the other countries in Southeast Asia must be determined by these countries without intervention by foreign countries; hoping that the countries of Southeast Asia will continue to try to establish a region of peace, freedom, neutrality and stability in Southeast Asia; and appealing to the governments, international organizations and national organizations to increase their urgent humanitarian aid to the people of Kampuchea. On the other hand, the permanent representative of the Republic of India at the United Nations, Mitra, also presented a draft resolution appealing for the convening of a conference of Indochinese and ASEAN countries to discuss ways to resolve the problems within the region... The Beijing reactionaries, the U.S. imperialists and the ASEAN countries expressed confusion in the face of the constructive proposals by India designed to stop the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists and the U.S. imperialists from meddling in the affairs of the Southeast Asian countries.

Also during this debate, the representatives of many socialist and nationalist countries expressed their opinions. They denounced the policy of expansionism of the Chinese ruling circles, denounced the Pol Pot genocidal regime, emphasized the legitimate nature of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, emphasized the wholehearted assistance being given to the Kampuchean revolution by Vietnam, asserted the legitimate nature of the presence of the Vietnam army in Kampuchea and rejected the draft resolution of the ASEAN countries. The permanent representative of the USSR at the United Nations, O. Trojanowski, emphasized: "It is not at all the situation in Kampuchea but the acts of political and military provocation around this country that are truly causing a tense situation and directly threatening peace and security in Southeast Asia... The General Assembly of the United Nations will fulfill its responsibility if it accurately evaluates the causes of this tense situation and, above everything else, demands that China end its support of the remnants of the Pol Pot army and stops meddling in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and the other countries within the region." The permanent representative of Nicaragua at the U.N. compared the Somoza regime to the Pol Pot regime as two regimes opposing the peoples of their countries and stressed: as a result, the help provided by the countries of Latin America for the Nicaraguan revolution is as necessary and legitimate as the action taken by Vietnam to help Kampuchea is very legitimate; it is hoped that all delegations will be extremely unbiased in order to realize this fact.

It is necessary to emphasize that, in the debate on the representation of Kampuchea, the results of the 5 November session on contributing to and helping Kampuchea and the various debates on the "Kampuchean situation" at the United Nations, important achievements and positive results were achieved and initial victories were won, namely: at the U.N. forum, there are more and more strong voices resolutely denouncing the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists and their lackeys, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, and

denouncing the collaboration between them and the imperialist cliques. However, why were the Beijing expansionists, the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries within the ASEAN organization able to gain the support on 14 November 1979 of a rather large number of representatives for their draft resolution? This was because:

- a) They presented general principles on non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, on not using armed force in the relations among countries and so forth and applied them to the Kampuchean situation, which they distorted, in order to persuade a number of countries that are encountering certain difficulties and have reasons of their own that are hard to put into words to accept their draft.
- b) They used their bilateral relations with a number of countries to force them to change their attitude, even though they detest the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary butchers and are fully aware of the decadent tricks of the Beijing expansionists and the imperialists.
- c) A number of countries are still confused and are not fully aware of the crimes and the great peril posed by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists.
- d) The imperialists and the reactionaries once again cleverly used the procedures of the United Nations to reject the draft resolution of the SRV and a number of Asian and African countries.

In the final analysis, this struggle is part of the question of "who defeats whom"; it is a decisive struggle between the forces of revolution and progress on one side and the imperialists, expansionists and reactionaries on the other.

On 15 November 1979, our Minister of Foreign Affairs declared that the ASEAN draft resolution supported by a majority of votes was totally illegal and worthless, was contrary to the basic principles of the U.N. Charter and must be rejected.

In summary, through the several recent debates and votes on the Kampuchean issue at the U.N. General Assembly, everyone of conscience realizes that the people of the world must wage a determined, tireless and effective struggle to defeat the criminal acts and malicious schemes of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists. They are still very obstinate, still looking for every way to counter-attack the forces of national independence, peace, democracy and progress. The Kampuchean situation cannot be reversed; the situation in Kampuchea is becoming increasingly stable. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are closely united with the socialist and progressive forces of the world and will smash every sinister scheme of the imperialists and the reactionaries of all types.

Part IV

The 34th session of the U.N. General Assembly has yet to conclude; however, it can be seen that:

1. The trend against imperialism, colonialism, both old and new, expansionism and hegemony, apartheid, racism, zionism and every form of aggression, occupation, domination and intervention is constantly growing at the U.N. The Beijing expansionists and hegemonists are collaborating more opening with each passing day with the imperialists and reactionary powers, their counter-revolutionary nature is being exposed more with each passing day and they are being strongly denounced.
2. The socialist countries and the revolutionary and progressive forces are closely united and coordinating with one another, have adopted correct strategies, are on the offensive and are winning more and more victories.
3. The imperialist, reactionary, expansionist and hegemonist forces are a patchwork coalition sharing the same unjust cause and are still scheming to oppose the revolution; however, there are many antagonisms among them and they are becoming increasingly weak, thus, they are sure to suffer defeat.
4. The new alignment of forces has become increasingly clear: on one side, there are the forces of revolution and progress and, on the other side, there are the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, the imperialists and the reactionaries. The forces in the middle will experience a difficult struggle to determine whether their attitude is one of supporting the just cause or allowing the imperialists and reactionaries to win them over; a vague and evasive attitude will truly only benefit the expansionists and hegemonists collaborating with the imperialists.
5. The United Nations is an important international forum capable of helping to support peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, but it is still a complex forum in many ways; here, the imperialists and the reactionaries are constantly looking for every way to bring pressure to bear upon or to make use of the voting apparatus of this organization. We must do everything possible to make our contribution to the overall struggle at the United Nations for the interests of the people of Vietnam and the interests of the people of the world; however, we are determined not to harbor any illusions whatsoever.

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