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## LENIN AND HIS WORK WILL LIVE FOREVER

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 80 pp 1-11

[Editorial]

[Text] On 22 April of this year the people of Vietnam, along with the people of the Soviet Union and progressive people everywhere, will solemnly commemorate the 110th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin, the great teacher of the world's working class and laboring people.

With his profound theoretical thought, political perspicacity, and talented leadership, Lenin devoted his entire life to liberating mankind from oppression and exploitation.

Lenin comprehensively developed the revolutionary doctrines of Marx and Engels and advanced Marxism a step further, to Marxism-Leninism.

Under the new historical conditions, and on the basis of the accomplishments of modern science, Lenin defended and developed all of the main principles of Marxist philosophy. Lenin's great contributions to developing dialectical materialism and its categories, and in studying such problems of the dialectical method as the theory of cognition, logic, the great strength of the capabilities of world conception, the materialist theory of reflection, etc., opened up great capabilities for the creativity of mankind. Lenin generalized in a philosophical manner the fundamental discoveries of natural science. His thought regarding the limitless nature of materialism became a general principle for a scientific world view. Lenin resolutely opposed all schemes to separate historical materialism from dialectical materialism. He believed that only historical materialism can create a basis for the scientific study of the society of mankind. On the basis of the materialist analysis of history, Marxism-Leninism proves the inevitable demise of capitalism and the inevitable victory of socialism and communism. That was the basis on which were set forth the Marxist dicta regarding the decisive role of the popular masses in history, classes and the class struggle, the historical mission of the proletarian dictatorship, the communist party's leadership of the revolutionary struggle, and the principal characteristics of the socialist social form.

Lenin's great merit was to set forth the principle of the party nature in philosophy, a principle of decisive importance with regard to all the other social sciences. While firmly maintaining the principle of the party nature, Lenin waged an unrelenting struggle against those who pedestrianized Marxist philosophy, and those who were adherents of immaterialism, idealism, and revisionism.

Lenin's contributions to the economic doctrines of Marx and Engels were also extremely great. Applying the economic doctrines of Marx in studying Russia's economic situation, Lenin proved that although Russia was still backward economically, it had all the characteristics of classical capitalism, with its antagonistic economic-social contradictions in both the cities and the rural areas and with new manifestations which demonstrated that it was gradually entering the monopoly stage of capitalism.

Lenin's was the first Marxist to comprehensively analyze imperialism, the final phase of capitalism. He profoundly demonstrated that imperialism is a decadent, parasitic capitalism that is in its death throes, the night before the socialist revolution. Lenin's doctrine regarding imperialism became the theoretical basis for all political programs strategies, and policies of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

In his many works, Lenin provided scientific solutions to the economic problems of socialist construction. He believed that the main principles of the new economic policy which was oriented toward the economic alliance of the working class with the laboring peasants and the urban petty bourgeois strata were common principles of broad significance. Lenin clearly pointed out the extremely important significance of the commodity-monetary relationships during the period of socialist construction, and therefore set forth the principles of material incentives and economic accounting, the financial and taxation policies, and the credit system. He also established the basis for planning the national economy and for the scientific management of the socialist economy.

The thoughts of Lenin regarding the economic policies of the socialist state are valuable weapons with which the socialist countries can victoriously carry out their economic development.

Lenin's contributions to the theories of scientific socialism were also great.

Lenin's armed communists with a complete doctrine regarding the socialist revolution. On the basis of the law of uneven development of capitalism during the period of imperialism, Lenin set forth his famous dictum regarding the possibility of the proletarian revolution winning victory necessarily the most developed economically. That dictum was later verified by the victory of the socialist October Revolution in Russia.

Under extremely difficult condition -- the construction of socialism in a country that was relatively backward economically and was surrounded by



capitalism on all sides -- Lenin affirmed that with the leadership of the party of the working class, with a solid worker-peasant alliance, with rich natural resources, and with the support of the international proletarian class, the socialist revolution in Russia was certain to be victorious. He set forth a great program for socialist construction, the principal tasks of which were socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, and the cultural revolution.

In order to refute the mistaken opinion that the experiences of the Russian Revolution had only a limited significance, Lenin affirmed that the socialist revolution in Russia had a great international significance because it gave rise to universal laws which were compulsory for all countries that wanted to advance on the socialist path. Lenin's affirmation was verified by the actualities of socialist construction in the fraternal countries. All rejections of those universal laws, purportedly because of differing national characteristics, could only seriously harm the socialist movement. Of course, if one only obeys the universal laws and does not realize the special national characteristics or know how to apply those laws to the specific conditions of one's country, one cannot avoid making mistakes in leading the revolution.

When developing the theory of scientific socialism, Lenin set forth dicta regarding the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, further enriched Marx's thought on the two developmental phases of communist society, concretized the main principles of the socialist phase, and pointed out the difference between it and a higher phase.

Lenin's doctrine regarding the proletarian dictatorship was a creative development of the thought of Marx and Engels on the proletarian dictatorship. He taught that the proletarian dictatorship was an historical inevitability, a sharp instrument of the proletarian class in its struggle against the overthrown bourgeois class and in guiding the working masses to the winning of complete victory for socialism. He pointed out that although the nature of the proletarian dictatorship was unchanging, it could not but take different forms, depending on the special characteristics of each country. That has an extremely great significance in opposing all distortions of Marxism-Leninism or its dogmatic, mechanical application.

Lenin set forth a complete doctrine regarding the creation of a new-style party of the working class, and set forth principles for building a strong, combative party with sufficient strength to lead the working class and all laboring masses in struggling to overthrow the regime of the exploiting class and build a new society.

Lenin's thoughts regarding the leadership right of the working class in the bourgeois democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, and regarding the achievement of an alliance between the workers and peasants, the decisive force of the revolution, the supreme principle of the proletarian revolution, and also a valuable contribution to the revolutionary doctrines of Marx and Engels.

Leninism, which appeared during the period of the collapse of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution, profoundly manifested the basic aspirations of the working masses and the developmental tendency of the society of mankind. It taught correct solutions for the problems that were ripe for solution and brought about for the warriors of the proletarian revolution a scientific methodology for solving the basic problems of the era. The rich thoughts and effective revolutionary activities of Lenin were an inexhaustible source of revolutionary thought and creative revolutionary activity in our era. The scientific and revolutionary nature of Leninism is completely opposite to opportunism of all kinds, to revisionism and dogmatism, and to the reactionary and anti-scientific nature of Maoism, the principal contents of which are greater-Han chauvinism and Chinese expansionism and great-nation hegemonism. Therefore, faced with the peerless strength of Leninism, the disastrous defeat of the various kinds of opportunism and Maoism is inevitable and unavoidable.

In his activities, Lenin always combined theoretical activities with revolutionary activities. He regarded theoretical struggle as a component part of the revolutionary struggle of the proletarian class, just as Engels had indicated. Lenin struggled against all tendencies to weaken the role of theory. Furthermore, he protested the attitude of regarding theory as a sort of rigid doctrine. He stressed that Marxism was a compass for revolutionary activity, and was a complete theory which continually changes with life. Therefore, he demanded that all true Marxists know how to apply that theory creatively and develop it in a manner appropriate to the new historical conditions. Especially, Lenin struggled resolutely and unyieldingly against all distortions and betrayals of Marxism. His struggle against the leaders of the second International and the opportunists in Russia, who threw away the revolutionary soul of Marxism, played a decisive role in defending and developing Marxism.

Lenin, a great revolutionary and a gifted leader of the working class and laboring people of the world, struggled tirelessly for the victory of the enterprise of liberating the proletarian class and the oppressed peoples.

Lenin's great merit was that he established a new-style proletarian party that closely combined scientific theory with revolutionary reality. And with that party (the Russian Bolshevik Party, now the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) Lenin prepared and organized the victory of the great socialist October Revolution, established mankind's first proletarian state, and began a new era in the history of nations: the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale.

The activities of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party during the process of preparing for and carrying out the October Revolution provided the world proletarian class with a superb model of the art of revolutionary leadership and of the delineation of correct strategies and policies for the socialist revolution.

After the victory of the revolution, Lenin invested much effort in building a socialist state, a state which was in essence a million times more democratic than bourgeois democracy.

While laying the foundation for a new-style state, Lenin made a comprehensive study of the organization of national defense and the principles of building the Red Army. He also set forth the principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet state, and established the theoretical basis for the formulation of a Marxist policy regarding the nationalities question.

Under the light of Leninism and the October Revolution, the people of the Soviet Union have won one brilliant victory after another in building and defending their country. After defeating the armed intervention of 14 imperialist countries, the people of the Soviet Union victoriously carried out socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, and a cultural revolution, and successfully constructed a socialist state of many nationalities, thus setting a superb example of the correct solution of the problems of equality and solidarity among the various nationalities. With the victory of their great fight to defend their country, the people of the Soviet Union contributed decisively to saving mankind from the spectre of fascism and to the liberation of many countries in Europe and Asia, and led to the formation of the world socialist system. Then the people of the Soviet Union successfully built a developed socialist society and are building the material-technical bases of communism, thus enabling the Soviet Union to become the most powerful socialist country, the pillar of peace and a strong source of support for the people of countries which are struggling against imperialism and the international reactionaries, and for the noble objectives of the era.

By means of the strength of its exemplary construction of a new society, of its actual assistance in all respects for the revolutionary forces, of its method of struggle to defend world peace, and of its policy of friendship and cooperation with the various nationalities, Lenin's powerful homeland contributed very importantly to the victory of world situation -- in which the three revolutionary currents of the era are developing their offensive posture vis-a-vis the imperialists and international reactionaries, and the capability for protecting world peace has become more real than ever -- could not have come about without the responsible and effective activities of the people of the Soviet Union, people who for more than 60 years have gloriously fulfilled the historic mission of vanguard warriors of progressive mankind and have set an extremely bright example of the spirit of noble proletarian internationalism, in correct accordance with the teaching of the immortal Lenin.

The great victories of the forces of revolution and peace in the world have eloquently proved the peerless strength of Marxism-Leninism, a complete revolutionary doctrine which continually develops with life. In view of those realities, arguments that Marxism-Leninism is outmoded are proved to be isolated and pathetic!

Lenin not only left behind for posterity the heritage of his valuable thought and immortal career, which the socialist countries and the international communist movement have inherited and developed by means of new historical experiences. Lenin also set a noble, pure example of limitless loyalty to the liberation of mankind from all oppression and exploitation; of extraordinary energy, limitless courage, and a resolute will in unyieldingly struggle against all class enemies in order to defend and develop the great thoughts of Marx and Engels, defend the proletarian party, defend the socialist homeland, and defend the revolutionary accomplishments of the people; of the harmonious combining of theory with revolutionary activity; of the principles regarding work and the organization and discipline which proletarian warriors must have; of the work style of adhering closely to reality; of confidence in, love and respect for, and closeness to the masses; of ardent love of one's comrades; and of hatred for artificiality, bragging, haughtiness, pretention, special privilege, bureaucratism, thievery, and bullying the masses, which he regarded as enemies of the revolution, bad habits which absolutely cannot be tolerated. In Lenin, the wisdom and farsightedness of the leader was combined with a spirit of unconditionally serving the people. That explains why all workers of the world feel that Lenin is very close to them. The image of Lenin is always radiant in the minds of workers.

For more than half a century now the Vietnamese people, following the path delineated by Lenin and under the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party founded and forged by President Ho Chi Minh, won one victory after another, and advanced Vietnam to the ranks of the world's vanguard nations and to the heights of the era. The historical victories of the Vietnamese people for more than a half century have been brilliant victories for Marxism-Leninism in our country.

Indeed, the deepest roots of all victories of the Vietnamese revolution lie in the fact that our party is absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism and knows how to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to our country's specific conditions.

In 1925 President Ho Chi Minh wrote, "In the history of the miserable, disenfranchised lives of the colonial peoples, Lenin was a person who created a new life, and was a lighthouse illuminating the path to liberation for all oppressed people." (1)

Under the light of Leninism, President Ho found the true path of national salvation. He believed that in order to save the nation and liberate the people, there was no other path than that of the proletarian revolution. He affirmed that "Only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed peoples and the workers of the world from the yoke of slavery." (2) That is the basis for the line of holding high the banner of national independence and socialism.

Immediately after its foundation our party, armed with Marxism-Leninism, delineated a correct revolutionary line, the line of carrying out a national



democratic revolution and skipping the phase of capitalist development in order to advance directly to socialism. That line affirmed that the working class was the leadership class and that the workers and peasants were the basic force of the revolution and the basis of the United Front. It closely combined anti-imperialism with anti-feudalism, united our people with the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world, and advocated the use of revolutionary violence to win political power. That line closely combined national independence with socialism and the strength of the nation with the strength of the era. It manifested the creative application of Lenin's thoughts regarding the leadership right of the working class and worker-peasant alliance, regarding the transformation from a national democratic revolution led by the working class to a socialist revolution, and regarding the spirit of international solidarity between the proletarian class and the oppressed peoples of the world.

Later, in the process of leading the revolution, our party further concretized and developed that strategic line, especially during our party's second, third, and fourth congresses.

The successful August Revolution correctly manifested the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory regarding revolutionary violence and armed uprising. The August Revolution was a General Uprising which skilfully combined political struggle with armed struggle and simultaneous uprisings in both the cities and the rural areas, the most decisive blows of which were the uprisings in Hanoi, Hue, and Saigon. And in the process of leading two national liberation wars and wars to defend the homeland against the French and U.S. imperialists and the Beijing aggressors. Our party creatively applied the military science of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country and set forth and continually perfected a correct military line the core of which, as comrade Le Duan indicated, was "waging war for the people and of the people, all-around war by all the people - mobilizing and organizing all the people to fight the enemy and do national defense work; combining the mass political forces with the armed forces; combining the struggle fronts, the various kinds of troops, the strategic areas, and the combat forms, the operational formulas as scales; combining force, position, and opportunity; creating an extremely great combined combat strength; and using the small to defeat the large, using the few to defeat the many, and using high quality to defeat the enemy's large number."(3)

After the Dien Bien Phu victory the enemy had to withdraw from the north. We immediately shifted over to carrying out a socialist revolution in the north, while fulfilling the missions of the people's democratic national revolution throughout the nation. After liberating the south our party led the people of the entire nation to socialism. The Fourth Party Congress delineated the following line of socialist revolution in our country: "Firmly grasping the proletarian dictatorship; developing the collective mastership right of the working people; simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions: the revolution in production relationships, the scientific-technical revolution, and the ideological-cultural revolution, the

most important of which is the scientific-technical revolution; promoting socialist industrialization, the central mission of the period of transition to socialism; building a system of socialist collective mastership; building large-scale socialist production; building a new culture and the new socialist man; eliminating the system of man exploiting man; eliminating poverty and backwardness; continually maintaining vigilance, continually strengthening national defense, and maintaining political security and social order."

That was a correct line which manifested the creative application of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country, which has always had a backward agricultural economy with essentially small-scale production but was skipping the phase of capitalist development and advancing directly to socialism.

That line, as comrade Le Duan indicated, "was a unified whole in which two features of special importance were the building of a system of collective mastership by the working people and the carrying out of socialist industrialization."

The system of socialist collective mastership is both an all-encompassing objective of the socialist revolution and the basic motive force for socialist industrialization, which is the central mission of the entire period of transition to socialism and a decisive factor with regard to building the material-technical bases of socialism.

In all of its activities our party has closely combined patriotism with a spirit of proletarian internationalism. Thus because our party was absolutely loyal to the teaching of Lenin: "Proletarians of all countries and all oppressed peoples unite!" Our party placed the Vietnamese revolution within the over-all revolution of the people of the three Indochinese countries; it bound the revolution of the working class and the working people of Vietnam with the construction and defense of the socialist system of the Soviet Union and the fraternal nations, and with the vast revolutionary movement of the working class and people of the nations of the world. Our party regards the positive support of the Soviet Union and the world revolutionary movement as one of the factors of the victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

We have contributed positively to the world revolution, while we have received extremely valuable assistance from our international friends.

Because of its own experience, our party understands clearly that absolute loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and its creative application to the specific conditions of our country are extremely important. Therefore, as in the past, our party must continue to make all-out efforts along those lines in order to victoriously fulfill its historic mission: guiding our people to victory in building socialism and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland .



The resolution of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee on the 110th anniversary of the birth of Lenin stated that:

"Commemorating the 110th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, our entire party and entire people, reviewing his life and career, have an occasion to understand more profoundly his great contributions to the Russian Revolution, the Vietnamese Revolution, and the world revolution, and to become more deeply imbued with the great thoughts and noble qualities of Lenin, who struggled resolutely to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism, oppose the bourgeois ideology, oppose opportunism of all varieties, and oppose the reactionary clique within the Beijing ruling circles, which are pretending to be Marxist-Leninists in order to sabotage Marxism-Leninism.

"Commemorating the 110th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, the Communist Party and people of Vietnam express solidarity and unity with the Communist Party and people of the Soviet Union, and are determined to struggle to continually consolidate and develop friendship, militant solidarity, and all-round cooperation between the parties and people of Vietnam and the Soviet Union, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

"Commemorating the 110th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, our entire population and army are competing in production labor and are prepared to fight to victoriously implement the resolution of the Fourth Party Congress and the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, manifest determination to successfully build socialism, victoriously defend the socialist homeland, fulfill their international obligations, and contribute worthily to the struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism."

In order to do a good job of implementing that Political Bureau resolution, our entire party and population must strengthen their solidarity with the party of the great Lenin and the fraternal people of Soviet Union, endeavor to victoriously implement the resolutions of the Fourth Party Congress and the Party Central Committee, promote socialist construction and the defense of the socialist homeland, and contribute to enabling the thoughts of Lenin to win even more glorious victories in our beloved homeland.

By doing so we can worthily carry on the undertaking of the immortal Lenin.

May peerless Marxism-Leninism live forever!

#### FOOTNOTES

- (1) Ho Chi Minh, "For Independence, Freedom, and Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p. 37.

(2) Loc. cit.

(3) Le Duan, "Under the Party Banner, Raise Our Country to the Level of the Era," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 2, 1980, p. 20.

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## SPECIAL COMMUNIQUE ON DEATH OF PRESIDENT TON DUC THANG

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1101 GMT 30 Mar 80

[30 March special communique of the VCP Central Committee, the SRV National Assembly Standing Committee, the SRV Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the VFF Central Committee--published in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 80 pp 12-13. Previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 063, 31 Mar 80 pp K6-K7]

[Text] The VCP Central Committee, the National Assembly Standing Committee, the SRV Council of Ministers and the VFF Central Committee Presidium, with great sorrow, announce to all the party, people, and overseas compatriots that Comrade President Ton Duc Thang, member of the VCP Central Committee, deputy to the Sixth National Assembly and president of the SRV, passed away at 0635 on 30 March 1980 in Hanoi of critical heart failure and respiratory failure at the age of 92.

During the illness of Comrade President Ton Duc Thang, our party and state appointed a collective of professors, doctors and other health workers to care for and treat him with all their capabilities and means. However, due to his advanced age and the severity of his illness, Comrade President Ton Duc Thang could not survive and he has left us forever.

Comrade President Ton Duc Thang was a great patriot, an exemplary stalwart communist, a respected and beloved leader of the working class and the people of all nationalities of our country, a close comrade in arms of President Ho Chi Minh and a very loyal combatant of the communist and workers movements in our country. The comrade devoted all his life to the cause of national liberation, national reunification, socialist construction and national defense. At the same time, he struggled all his life for the development of the militant solidarity and fraternal friendship between our people and the peoples of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, and for the development of friendship with other nations in the world in the interest of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The passing away of Comrade President Ton Duc Thang is a grave loss to our party, state and people.

To express our grief and gratitude for Comrade President Ton Duc Thang, a joint conference held by the VCP Central Committee, the National Assembly Standing Committee, the Council of Ministers and the VFF Central Committee Presidium has decided the following:

1. To hold a state funeral with grand ceremonial formalities of our country.
2. All our party, people and army will mourn for Comrade President Ton Duc Thang for 5 days, from 1 to 5 April 1980.
3. The party Central Committee, the National Assembly Standing Committee, the Council of Ministers and the VFF Central Committee Presidium will hold a grand memorial service for Comrade President Ton Duc Thang.
4. To organize a state funeral committee comprised of a number of high-ranking comrades of the party, state and VFF.

In these sorrowful days, the VCP Central Committee, the National Assembly Standing Committee, the Council of Ministers and the VFF Central Committee Presidium call on all our party, people and army to translate sorrow into revolutionary actions and to follow the lofty example of Comrade President Ton Duc Thang to make efforts to fulfill all tasks in order to successfully build socialism and defend our socialist fatherland.

Hanoi, 30 March 1980

[Signed] The VCP Central Committee, the SRV National Assembly Standing Committee, the SRV Council of Ministers and the VFF Central Committee Presidium.

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FUNERAL ORATION READ BY SRV NATIONAL ASSEMBLY STANDING COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN  
TRUONG CHINH AT THE BURIAL SERVICE FOR PRESIDENT TON DUC THANG

OW031705 Hanoi VNA in English 1612 GMT 3 Apr 80

[Article in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 80 pp 14-15--VNA version previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 067, 4 Apr 80, pp K1-K2]

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, 3 Apr--This is the oration read at the funeral service for President Ton Duc Thang this afternoon, by Truong Chinh:

"Comrades and compatriots,

"Comrade Ton Duc Thang, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, president of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, passed away on 30 March 1980 at the age of 92. It is with boundless grief that our entire party, people and army part forever with him.

"With Comrade President Ton Duc Thang's passing away, the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam state, the Vietnam Fatherland Front and the Vietnamese people have lost a staunch, exemplary revolutionary fighter, a respected and dear leader. Comrade President Ton Duc Thang was one of the first-generation fighters of the workers' movement and the national liberation movement in our country, one of the close and long-standing comrades-in-arms of the great President Ho Chi Minh. As early as the beginning of this century, he took a leading part in the patriotic movement of the Vietnamese working class and people, and joined the ranks of vanguard fighters. He was one of the first Vietnamese workers to be active in the French workers' movement. He participated in a mutiny of the French fleet in the Black Sea, hoisted the red flag on a French warship in support of the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, in opposition to the imperialists' armed intervention against the young Soviet state.

"His long revolutionary career was full of hardships and trials. He was arrested by the imperialists while active in the ranks of the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association in Nam Bo (South Vietnam). During nearly 17 years of detention in Con Dao (Poulo Condor), he constantly displayed a staunch revolutionary spirit, and a firm confidence in the triumph of national liberation and socialism.

"Back from Con Dao after the victory of the August revolution (1945) he immediately and zealously resumed his work and together with the party's Central Committee, the National Assembly, the government and the front, he led the entire party, people and army in the building of the people's democratic state, the resistance wars against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists, and the struggle against the Chinese expansionists and their lackeys, for the independence and unity of the fatherland and for socialism. He was the most outstanding symbol of the great unity policy of our party and of President Ho Chi Minh. In whatever position he held and despite his old age, he always endeavoured, with a spirit of self-denial, to fulfill the tasks entrusted to him by the party and the state.

"His revolutionary career was a shining example of loyalty, abnegation, heroism, dauntlessness, modesty and simplicity. All comrades and compatriots of ours are very proud of his revolutionary work and virtues. We are resolved to follow forever his lofty example to overcome all difficulties, and fulfill all revolutionary tasks.

"Comrades and compatriots,

"In parting forever with our respected Uncle Ton, we pledge ourselves to strive with determination to carry on the sacred testament of President Ho Chi Minh, and achieve what Uncle Ton earnestly desired: to strengthen our unity, to make every effort to successfully build socialism and firmly defend Socialist Vietnam against all aggressive plans and activities of the imperialists and the international reactionaries; to strengthen the fraternal friendship, militant solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; to make a worthy contribution to the struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

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HIS NAME IS THE SYMBOL OF THE NEW WORLD

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 80 pp 16-29 and 40

[Article by R. Kosolapov, editor-in-chief of KOMMUNIST, political and theoretical organ of the CPSU, written for TAP CHI CONG SAN]

[Summary] The author discusses Lenin's political thinking and his work for the Soviet Revolution and the proletariat.

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FULFILMENT OF POLITICAL TASKS AND PARTY BUILDING ARE THE OPERATIONAL OBJECTIVES OF THE INSPECTION WORK

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 80 pp 30-40

[Article by Song Hao]

[Text] The party's revolutionary leadership task is to determine the correct revolutionary line, activate the masses, and organize the victorious implementation of the revolutionary line that has been set forth. The correct lines and policies of the party are factors which determine all victories of the revolution, but they are only the first important link in the party's leadership work. In order to transform its lines and policies into reality, and assure victory for the revolution, the party must also do a good job of guiding and organizing their implementation and carry out truly good inspection work. Only by carrying out inspection work can it understand the strengths and weaknesses of the guidance and implementation apparatus, and clearly understand the good points and deficiencies of the cadres and party members in the course of their work, in order to have timely plans and measures to develop the good points, overcome the deficiencies, and assure the strict and absolute implementation of all stands and policies of the party.

Therefore, inspection is an important part of the party's leadership, an indispensable activity of the party organizations which is intended to assure that the party victoriously leads the revolution. Lenin stressed that "The inspection of the people doing the work and the inspection of the actual performance of the work are the keys to the over-all work and to all policies at present." (1)

Furthermore, the actual situation is very varied and lively, so even though the stands and policies of the party have been meticulously researched before they were approved, and although they have many positive effects, inspections still must be made in order to further develop those positive effects. At the same time, we must promptly supplement the necessary contents, so that they may be appropriate to the continually changing and developing actualities. In order to supplement and complete the stands and policies of the party so that they may be truly suitable for the actual

situation, it is essential that we do a good job of organizing the inspection work in order to, on the basis of the actual situation, examine and determine the correctness and accuracy of our stands, policies, and activities. Stalin often affirmed that "leadership does not mean writing resolutions and issuing directives. Leadership means inspecting the implementation of directives and inspecting the directives themselves." (2)

Our party's strength is combined political, ideological, and organizational strength; it is the strength of unified revolutionary will and action. One of the factors that creates and increases the strength of the party is the voluntary and strict implementation of the party's organizational principles and the observance of party discipline. Doing a good job of the inspection work will contribute to encouraging and stimulating the party organizations and party members to correctly observe the party's operational principles and systems and guide the party organizations and party members in fully and strictly observing the Party Statutes, and to stopping and overcoming instances of negativism, disorganization, and indiscipline among the cadres. Party members, and party organizations. Furthermore, only by doing a good job of the inspection work can we promptly uncover and expel from the party opportunist and hostile elements which have found ways to sneak into the party, and people who have become decadent and are no longer qualified to be party members. At the same time, we must contribute to encouraging the positive aspects, developing good people and good deeds, and bringing into the party people who are outstanding and fully qualified, thus enabling the party to become increasingly pure and strong. Uncle Ho taught us that "Inspection serves to encourage and teach the party members and cadres to fulfill their obligations toward the party and state, and set a good example for the people. They will thereby contribute to consolidating the party ideologically and organizationally." (3)

Therefore, the inspection work is an important content, an inevitable objective requirement, of party building and of the party's leadership in general. It serves to protect the lines, policies, and organizational principles of the party, maintain party discipline, improve the revolutionary qualities of the cadres and party members, strengthen the combativeness of the party organizations, and contribute positively to the fulfillment of the party's political missions. Comrade Le Duan has also often reminded us that "We must perform the inspection work well, promptly uncover and correct the mistakes and distortions, and recapitulate and multiply the progressive models and positive factors" (4); and that "Inspection is an extremely important part of the over-all task of party building, especially under the conditions of the party leading the government.... Party committees which do not concern themselves with inspection lose an effective arm that could help them in their leadership." (5)

Our people's enterprise of building socialism, defending their socialist homeland, and fulfilling their noble international obligations is very difficult, great, and urgent, and demands that we further strengthen the party's leadership, increase the militancy of the party organizations, and thereby further strengthen the party's inspection work.

Under the conditions of the party leading the governmental administration, all party members are responsible for fulfilling the obligations of citizens of the new regime, and some comrades are assigned duties in the state apparatus, including some who are assigned important jobs and occupy key positions at all levels. Under such conditions, if the party organizations do not perform their management, education, and inspection tasks well, and if the cadres and party members do not positively and continually improve and forge themselves, there can easily arise attitudes of special privileges and advantages, bureaucratism, arbitrariness, and bullying the masses. That would adversely influence the fulfillment of the party's missions and the relationship between the masses on the one hand and the party and state on the other hand. In fact, many cadres and party members have failed to recognize their responsibility of acting to strengthen the party's leadership and the effectiveness of the state apparatus, and to develop the collective mastership right, in order to accomplish all revolutionary tasks. The result has been a lack of a sense of responsibility, a weakening of revolutionary will, bureaucratism and aloofness from the masses, decadence, and the abuse of position and authority to serve individual aspirations, which have harmed the prestige and effectiveness of party discipline and state laws.

In view of the present requirements of the mission of developing and defending the nation, we must pay even more attention to, and strive to do a better job of, increasing the leadership capability and capability to implement lines and policies of the party and state as regards the party organization, and improve the revolutionary qualities and knowledge of party members.

Therefore, with regard to leadership attention must be paid to all three important aspects: determining policies, guiding their implementation, and inspecting their implementation; and with regard to party building we must strive to do a good job of the organization, education, and inspection task. Although those tasks are closely interrelated, each has its own requirements and tasks. For example, only by performing the inspection task well can we further the positive, absolute implementation of the stands and policies of the party and state, and prevent mistakes in determining policies and plans and organizing their implementation, while also encouraging party members and cadres to do a good job of fulfilling their duties toward the party and state, set a good example for the people, and stop and overcome all negative manifestations within the party, in order to have sufficient strength to fulfill the tasks and build an increasingly pure and strong party.

Since our party was founded it has continually consolidated and strengthened its inspection work. In view of the requirements of the revolutionary missions in the new phase, the party has instructed the party committee echelons to "Organize meticulously and continually, and have a system for the inspection of the implementation of lines and policies, in order to prevent mistakes and violations of principles." (6) It concluded that



"Without inspection there can be no leadership." That conclusion was based on the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism regarding party building and on the actual activities of our party. That conclusion also clearly indicated that all party members must strengthen their sense of responsibility toward the inspection work, and must positively carry out that work well in their missions and spheres of activity.

Therefore, the inspection task is a task for the entire party, of the party committee echelons, of the auxiliary party organs, and of all party members. But because the functions, missions, and authority of the party organizations differ, their spheres of responsibility and methods of carrying out the party's research work also differ. The inspection committees at the various echelons are responsible for performing inspection tasks stipulated by the Party Statutes, along with the party departments serving in a staff capacity for the party committee echelons regarding party building, and for performing duties assigned by the party committee echelons. In order to perform those duties, the inspection organs must firmly grasp, and do a good job of carrying out, the following principal tasks:

1. The party's inspection work must be appropriate to the actual situation and the common situation and missions, and effectively serve the political missions and the party building task.

The inspection task, a part of the party building task, has no other goal than to effectively serve the party's political missions and assure the good fulfillment of all revolutionary missions. To say that the inspection work must serve the political missions means that it must contribute as much as possible to building the party organizations and the corps of cadres and party members, and to the victorious fulfillment of the missions of defending the homeland, economic construction, cultural development, and the organization of living conditions, and thereby do a good job of constructing the new regime, the new economy, the new culture, and the new socialist man. The results and quality of the inspection work can be evaluated only by the results and quality of the fulfillment of the political missions and the party building task.

Specifically, the inspection task must have directions, mottoes, and operational plans that are appropriate to the common requirements and missions, are in accord with the actual situation and bring about positive results, and contribute to furthering the development of the various revolutionary tasks. The inspection work must concentrate the intelligence and capability of the inspection sector and guide the party members and party organizations in developing the positive aspects, and in stopping and overcoming negative phenomena which impede the fulfillment of the party's political missions. Especially, there must be many good measures for taking the initiative in preventing and limiting deficiencies on the part of cadres and party members, and to strictly deal with instances of irresponsibility; lack of consciousness of organization and discipline; the incorrect implementation of, or failure to implement, the stands and policies of the party; violations of

the collective mastership right of the masses; corruption, waste, thievery, bribery, etc., which harm state and collective property, harm the prestige and strength of the party, and lessen the confidence of the masses. We must overcome the phenomena of only paying attention to dealing with violations regarding attitudes and activities (although this aspect is also very necessary and should not be regarded lightly), and regarding lightly inspection and the disposition of errors which create obstacles for the fulfillment of political missions and the party building task, and the fulfillment of the tasks of party members. The important thing is that we must examine, evaluate, and reach truly accurate conclusions regarding the negative phenomena, in order to have truly positive and practical measures for resolving them, and avoid vague, abstract conclusions, and solutions that are not clear and definitive.

If that is to be accomplished, the party's inspection organs and the inspection cadres must fully understand their functions and duties, the organizational principles and activity and leadership systems of the party, and the lines and policies of the state; continually observe and clearly understand the operational situation of the party organizations and party members, of the masses, and of society; and keep abreast of the fulfillment of the missions of the party organizations and party members, in order to draft specific plans for carrying out inspection. At the same time, by means of inspection we must uncover the good points that must be developed and the deficiencies that must be overcome, in order to contribute opinions to and coordinate closely with the sections doing party building work, in order to promote the various tasks of the party and do a good job of fulfilling the missions, along with the sections serving as staffs for the party committee echelons regarding party building.

2. Fully understand, and do a good job of implementing, the guidance thoughts regarding the party's inspection work.

The guidance thoughts regarding the inspection work are "Initiative, militancy, and education."

Those thoughts were crystallized from the actualities of our party's inspection work and have been stated in many directives and resolutions of the party. The contents of initiative, militancy, and education in the inspection work are very rich; they are intimately related to one another and are manifested in a lively manner in each specific aspect of the inspection activities.

The initiative content of the inspection work is manifested primarily in the use of education to prevent cadres, party members, and party organizations from violating party discipline and state laws as the main objective. The inspection activities absolutely are not merely a matter of applying discipline, acting on denunciation forms and complaints, expelling people from the party, etc., although those are necessary measures for strengthening party discipline; they are not a matter of sitting and waiting for party



members to violate discipline, or for denunciations and complaints to be made before acting; and they are not a matter of believing that trying many party members for violating discipline, and increasing that number year after year, is an accomplishment. The party's inspection activities have much more positive, active, and broad. They are oriented toward praise, encouragement, guidance, cultivation, and education to raise the level of political enlightenment and consciousness of organization and discipline, and the leadership and management levels of the party organizations and party members, and to assure the strengthening of solidarity and unity in thought and action within the party, contribute importantly to building and protecting the corps of party members and the party organizations, maintain the close ties between the party and the masses, and strengthen the sense of responsibility toward the state's management work and the fulfillment of the duties of citizens. The inspection organs at the various levels do not merely resolve problems in a passive, bureaucratic manner or have an antagonistic attitude, but more essentially contribute positively to the task of cultivating, educating, and managing party members; implement the party's principles and practices regarding leadership and political activity; and by means of the inspection work make prompt reports and recommendations to the party committees regarding the positive elements that must be developed and the negative manifestations that must be overcome in order to build the party organizations and the corps of party members so that they are always pure and strong; and fulfill their function of being staff organs of the party committee echelons. The report recapitulating the party building and Party Statutes amendment tasks presented at the Fourth Party Congress stated that "With strong militancy and the most positive spirit, the inspection task must be carried out continually, in order to develop the good points and overcome the deficiencies, and the most fundamental matter is to take the initiative in preventing deficiencies or keeping them to a minimum." (7)

The militancy content of the inspection work is manifested principally in, when it appears that party organizations or party members may commit mistakes or deficiencies, or have committed mistakes or deficiencies, seeking all ways to promptly educate them and correct their ways, to prevent such mistakes and deficiencies from happening or from becoming more serious. The mistakes that must be dealt with must be examined and dealt with strictly. Especially, it is necessary to pay attention to creating a spirit of voluntariness and a sense of responsibility on the part of all cadres and party members, heighten their consciousness of self-criticism and criticism, distinguish between right and wrong, overcome mistakes, defend the lines and policies of the party, maintain the qualities and qualifications of party members, maintain the strength and purity of the party, protect the rights of the revolution and the interests of the people, and not, because of private sentiments or individual motives, fail to protect someone who is right or struggle against someone who is wrong, which would lead to a relaxation of party discipline.

We must resolutely struggle against right-wing thoughts, fear of hardship, fear of appearing to be unsuccessful, fear of losing cadres, fear of mutual responsibility, fear of being the victim of reprisals, covering-up, and

being tolerant in examining violations and enforcing party discipline. The cadres doing inspection work must have a sense of responsibility and strong revolutionary sentiment. They must be concerned with the progress and mission fulfillment of the cadres and party members, and at the same time resolutely prevent and struggle against all mistakes and violations of party discipline. But they must also grasp the principles of activity within the party -- the leadership activities of the party organizations, and criticism and self-criticism in correct accordance with principles, objectives, and methods, in order to clearly distinguish between right and wrong, protect the right, and eliminate the wrong. But when people commit mistakes or deficiencies they must be strictly disciplined. On the other hand, they must handle matters with reason and feeling, and apply guidelines and policies that are appropriate to the specific circumstances. That is a principle and responsibility, and manifests our love and generosity in carrying out inspections to maintain our discipline.

The education content of the inspection work is manifested principally in continual emphasis on the educational objectives. Inspection is principally a matter of education. Even in instances in which discipline must be applied, there must be education. We must educate those who make mistakes, as well as other people and organizations. The educational content of the inspection work is guiding and encouraging party members and organizations to voluntarily observe party discipline and state laws; know how to distinguish between right and wrong in order to take the initiative in, and be able to, avoid mistakes and deficiencies; and struggling against the mistakes and deficiencies of others. Even the process of struggling to distinguish between right and wrong, in profoundly analyzing the reasons for, seriousness of, or harm caused by mistakes, or in disposing of and reporting on violations of discipline, has an educational effect. The educational content of the inspection work is also manifested in its close combination with the other tasks of the party and state and the mass associations; in continually educating the cadres and party members to voluntarily observe discipline; in organizing and guiding public opinion to praise and encourage the positive aspects and strongly criticize the negative aspects; and in helping the cadres and party members to progress and mature, and to avoid becoming decadent and spoiled. Furthermore, in each period of time, by means of the actual matters and tasks that have been inspected and dealt with, we must learn the necessary lessons in order to educate cadres and party members (especially lessons regarding political vagueness, lack of revolutionary vigilance, lack of militancy, failure to maintain revolutionary qualities and qualifications of party members, and allowing enemies and bad elements to bribe, inveigle, and take advantage of cadres and party members, who become degenerate and commit crimes).

Only by being fully aware of and thoroughly understanding the initiative, militancy, and education contents can we do a good job of carrying out the party's inspection work, assure that the inspection work attains good results, meet the requirements of the party organizations and the aspirations of the party members, and effectively serve the political missions and the

party building task. At the same time, we must avoid the deficiency of limiting ourselves to the inspection work, to trying discipline cases and handling denunciations and complaints in a passive manner.

### 3. Following the directions and guidelines in enforcing party discipline.

Party discipline is maintaining unity in thought and action, strengthening the party's militancy, and assuring that the party "although made up of many people, is like one person when it attacks." (8) It is iron discipline, which means that it is strict and self-imposed. The basic contents of the strengthening of party discipline in the present phase is to assure that the lines, policies, and resolutions of the party its operational and leadership principles, the stands, policies, and plans of the state, and the socialist legal code are enforced fully and totally. Strengthening party discipline does not mean enforcing discipline on a broad scale and meting out heavy punishment, but essentially raising the level of political consciousness and strengthening the spirit of the self-imposed and strict observance of discipline on the part of all party members and party organizations. We must, in the course of fulfilling the tasks of the party organizations and party members, of the revolutionary mass movements, of the political campaigns within the party, and the activities of the party and state, forge cadres and party members and assure that they understand the party's operational principles, are conscious of organization and discipline, have a sense of responsibility regarding the fulfillment of obligations toward party members, continually struggle against errors, conduct sincere self-criticism and criticism, give praise, sincerely accept criticism from the masses, and resolutely correct mistakes and deficiencies in order to progress. Furthermore, if party members or party organizations violate party discipline they must be dealt with strictly, in correct accordance with the Party Statutes: "Discipline is enforced to assure that party discipline is strict and just, and also to educate the party members and party members committing mistakes, educating other party members and cadres, and educating the masses. (Article 48).

At present, the enforcement of party discipline must be oriented toward overcoming negative manifestations in implementing the lines and policies of the party's organizational principles, especially the negative manifestations recently pointed out in party directives and resolutions. In that spirit, we must resolutely examine and strictly punish the party members and party organizations acting contrary to the party's internal and external lines and policies, failing to carrying out the lines and policies of the party, abusing their authority to violate party discipline and state laws, stealing public property, accepting bribes, bullying the masses, allowing serious losses of state and collective property and of the lives and property of the people, causing internal dissention, shirking duties, becoming decadent, etc. We must enable everyone to realize that their mistakes and negative attitude in implementing the lines, policies, and leadership and political activity principles of the party are the most serious mistakes. They often lead to harmful after-effects and failure to fulfill the Party's



political missions, weaken solidarity and unanimity within the party, and harm the party's relations with the masses. Therefore, the direction for enforcing party discipline is aimed principally toward overcoming them. As for the deficiencies in work styles and daily life, we must go all-out to help the cadres and party members amend their ways, and when necessary we must impose appropriate discipline, for if such deficiencies are not corrected they often result in mistakes which lead to degeneracy and a change of quality.

In addition to firmly grasping the principles and direction of discipline enforcement, it is also necessary to firmly grasp and understand the party's motto for discipline enforcement: justice, carefulness, accuracy, and promptness.

"Justice" means that all party members must strictly observe party discipline: whoever violates party discipline must be reviewed and educated, and if it is necessary to impose punishment they must be dealt with accordingly and for no reason overlooked. In the party, all party members are politically equal. In imposing discipline we must not distinguish between those who hold high-ranking positions and those who hold low-ranking positions, between those who have much seniority in the party and those who have little seniority, etc., and no party member must be regarded as being beyond the law.

"Carefulness" means that when judging disciplinary cases it is necessary to carefully examine, investigate, and study them. We must receive direct testimony from the party members committing the mistakes, make specific analyses on the basis of verified proof; weigh many factors with an objective attitude in order to reach conclusions which are in accord with the nature and degree of, the harm caused by, and the reasons for the mistakes; and avoid over-simplification and hastiness in reaching conclusions and imposing discipline.

"Accuracy" means that discipline must be imposed on the right person; must be in correct accordance with the nature and degree of, the harm caused by, and the reasons for the offence; and must be in correct accordance with the directions, principles, and procedures regarding the enforcement of party discipline. On the other hand, when it is discovered that the imposition of discipline is not appropriate and that there are shortcomings, corrections must be made, and for no reason should cadres and party members be subjected to injustices.

"Promptness" means that investigations and the imposition of discipline must be carried out urgently, without impeding the work and activities of the party and state. We must not slow up or prolong those tasks, which would affect their prompt service to the fulfillment of political missions and the party building tasks, and lessen their effect of preventing mistakes from developing.

Promptness also means that after the relevant party committee has decided on the form of discipline, the decision must be announced immediately, and must not be delayed for any reason. Reviews to determine whether party members subjected to discipline have "corrected their deficiencies" and to consider the restoration of the right to participate in decision-making, vote in elections, and stand for election to party members under "party suspension" must be carried out within the time stipulated by the Party Statutes.

Justice, carefulness, accuracy, and promptness are the contents of the party's motto regarding the imposition of party discipline; they are closely interrelated, affect one another, and constitute a complete guidance thought. Therefore, only if we firmly grasp and do a good job of implementing the contents of that motto can we assure the attainment of the goals of party discipline: Maintaining unity in thought and action within the party and strengthening the party's militancy.

4. We must rely on the party organizations, on developing the party members' spirit of self-enlightenment and the masses' sense of responsibility toward party building, and on the actual situation in order to do a good job of carrying out the party's inspection task.

The party's inspection task is a party task, a task of contributing to building and protecting strong and pure party organizations, and to training and managing party members. It is a form of activity within the party. Therefore, in carrying out the inspection work we must maintain the party's leadership and activity principles and adhere to the nature of party work. We must rely on the party organizations, on developing a spirit of self-enlightenment on the part of party members and a sense of responsibility toward party building on the part of the masses, and on the actual situation.

The party organizations lead all aspects of the work of the party chapters and units; they organize, educate, train, assign work to, and manage party members, clearly understand the party members, and are responsible for all aspects of their lives. Only by relying on the party organizations and organs can the inspection cadres have a solid basis on which to clearly understand the saturation process; the good points, deficiencies, and weaknesses in work and activity; and the job performance, sentiments aspirations, etc., of cadres and party members. Therefore, generally speaking in all activities of the inspection work, such as seeking to understand events, reaching conclusions, resolving problems, etc., we must rely on the party organizations.

Relying on the party organizations is important and very necessary, but that is not sufficient. We must also develop the party member's spirit of voluntariness. Although the level of party members differ, and they are assigned to operate in different spheres, they are all members of party organizations, are educated, trained, and help to mature and progress by the party, and are vanguard warriors who voluntarily stand in the ranks of the

party to fight for the interests of the class and the nation. That is a basic factor in the party members' voluntary and strict observance of the lines, stands, policies, Statutes, and discipline of the party and the laws of the state. It is also a basic factor in their spirit of voluntariness, self-enlightenment, and self-criticism within the party organizations, and of contributing opinions to other party members, in order to enable the party organizations to always be pure and strong and the party members to continually progress and mature and have sufficient ability and quality to fulfill their missions.

However, the spirit of self-enlightenment is also related to the level of consciousness and sense of responsibility of the cadres and party members. Not all party members who commit errors have a spirit of self-criticism, admit their errors, and are equally determined to correct them. Therefore, that voluntariness is also a process of closely combining the efforts of the party members who commit the errors and the education and assistance of the organization. Therefore, when carrying out the party's inspection work the inspection organs and cadres must be concerned with cultivating, strengthening, and developing the party member's spirit of voluntariness. They must cause all party members to positively, actively, and continually inspect themselves and, when they commit mistakes, voluntarily and boldly criticize themselves truthfully and sincerely, with correct objectives, motives, and attitudes. Regarding lightly the education of party members who commit mistakes, and the development of their spirit of voluntariness, is an entirely incorrect attitude. When helping party members who have committed errors, as well as when performing the inspection tasks.

Our party's objective is to achieve socialism and communism. It is the mission of leading all activities of society and the state, in order to concentrate the efforts of the entire population in successfully constructing socialism throughout the nation and in defending the independence and unity of the homeland. That is also the aspiration, right, and responsibility of all revolutionary masses and of the working people throughout the nation, so the masses are very concerned with and contribute very ardently to building a strong party.

Therefore, the party building work and the party's inspection work are the responsibility not only of the party organizations and party members but also of the masses. Therefore, the mass organizations must be utilized to provide the masses conditions for participating in and contributing to party building, especially for contributing opinions and criticizing cadres and party members. But in order to attain good results, the masses' contribution of opinions and criticism of cadres and party members must be organized and led, and must have specific objectives. Depending on the requirements, contents, and actual conditions of each place, we must determine the scope of opinion-gathering of practical use in educating party members. If the masses' opinions are correct they must be sincerely accepted in order to rectify mistakes, and they must be stimulated and encouraged. If the masses' opinions are not correct, they must be cultivated and educated, and we must explain things to the masses so that they can have correct



understanding and have conditions for contributing opinions regarding cadres and party members in the future.

If the party's inspection work is to achieve good results it must also be based on the actual situation. Since all events always take place in specific conditions, circumstances, space, and time. In examining, evaluating, and reaching conclusions about an event, person, or organization we must act on an actual basis that is in correct accordance with the specific conditions and circumstances, if we are to have a correct basis for making evaluations and reaching conclusions. Therefore, in the inspection work relying on the actual situation in order to reach conclusions regarding the good points and deficiencies of party members and party organizations is very important and is a revolutionary and scientific method of examining things which is indispensable in the inspection work.

During half a century of struggle our party has been continually forged and has matured in all respects. It has led our people in overcoming all dangers and challenges, in winning brilliant victories over all enemies, and in leading our country into a new era of independence, freedom, and socialism. In the course of that long, difficult struggle and those continual victories, our party selected and cultivated a large corps of party members in the mass revolutionary movements. A very large number of party members are absolutely loyal to the party's revolutionary undertaking, always maintain their revolutionary qualities, play a vanguard role, and guide the masses in overcoming all difficulties and challenges and in winning victories in all spheres: production, combat, and building and defending the homeland.

But the revolution is a struggle which continually advances and demands that party members also continually strive to advance. In the course of the struggle and challenges of the actualities of the revolution, especially during the turning points and difficult times, inevitably some party members commit mistakes and even become degenerate and are no longer qualified to be party members, and thus must be expelled from the party. We must resolutely dismiss opportunists, degenerates, and people who are no longer qualified to be party members from the party, just as bringing outstanding, fully qualified people into the party is something that is done continually and is an operational law of party life which is intended to build a strong, pure party. Therefore, the inspection task has an extremely important responsibility in bringing truly outstanding, fully qualified people into the party, and in preventing distortions in knowledge and thought and and weaknesses in organization, especially "individualism", from leading to the mistake of bringing bad people into the party and expelling good people from the party, to further aims that are not in the interest of the revolution.

Under the leadership of the party, the inspection committees at the various echelons and the cadres in the inspection sector have made great efforts to fulfill their missions, with a positive, active spirit and in correct accordance with their functions, directions, missions, and actual situations, so the inspection work has made new progress.

It is noteworthy that during the recent period the inspection sector has made explicit the resolutions, directives, stands, and policies of the party, and has closely observed the party and state organizations and the mass revolutionary movement in order to fulfill the missions stipulated by the Party Statutes and the missions assigned by the party committee echelons. Therefore, in each period of time it isolates the strengths and weaknesses regarding the political level, the sense of responsibility, and consciousness of organization and discipline, with regard to the fulfillment of missions and the implementation of stands, policies, and leadership and activity principles of the party in the party organizations and corps of party members, in the order to work with the other departments in helping the party committee echelons perfect and consolidate the party organizations, cultivate the corps of cadres and party members, develop new party members, expell people unqualified to be party members from the party, etc. Therefor, it has developed the effectiveness of the inspection work in serving the p political missions and the party building task.

However, there are still many deficiencies in the enforcement of discipline. In some instances there is failure to point out mistakes and shortcomings positively and resolutely, in order to punish or expel from the party people have degenerated and are no longer qualified to be party members. In some cases the people committing mistakes and deficiencies do not boldly and willingly admit their deficiencies, but are evasive and deceitful, to the extent of resisting both the party organization and organs responsible for reviewing them. Some cadres have abused their authority and taken advantage of the party organization and the authority of the state to suppress criticism, retaliate against party members, bully the masses, retaliate against people who oppose or are not sympathetic toward their errors. And some organizations are afraid of reflecting adversely on their accomplishments, fear losing cadres, and fear criticism, and have therefore tolerate, cover up, or fail to deal with violations, or else they do not impose sufficient punishment on cadres and party members in their organizations who commit errors but the inspection organs and cadres do not take corrective action. Therefore, there are still instances of the imposition of discipline that is not in accordance with the spirit of justice, accuracy, and promptness.

In order to meet the requirements of the revolutionary missions in the present phase, the party's inspection work must undergo a stronger transformation, in order to contribute positively to protecting the lines, policies, and organizational principles of the party, strengthening the revolutionary quality of the cadres and party members, increase the militancy of the party organizations, and effectively serve the fulfillment of the party's political missions.

With the concern and stepped-up leadership of the Central Committee and the party committee echelons, with the increasingly closer solidarity and coordination between the inspection organs and the mass associations, and with the positive participation of the party organizations and party members throughout the party, it is certain that the inspection work will strongly

develop its effectiveness in order to serve the political missions and the party building task.

#### FOOTNOTES

- (1) Lenin, "Complete Works," Vietnamese-language edition, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978. Vol. 45, p 19.
- (2) Stalin, "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965, pp 68, 69.
- (3) Ho Chi Minh, "On Party Building," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 133.
- (4) Le Duan, "Under the Party Banner, Raise Our Country to the Level of the Era," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 2, 1980, p 20.
- (5) Le Duan, "Some Problems in the Party's Inspection Work," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1979, pp 25, 26.
- (6) "Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the Fourth Party Congress," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, pp 192, 193.
- (7) "Summary Report on Party Building and the Amending of Party Statutes," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, pp 101, 102.
- (8) Ho Chi Minh, "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 302.

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**HUNGARY ON THE PATH TO BUILDING A DEVELOPED SOCIALISM**

**Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 80 pp 41-48**

**[Excerpts of speeches and articles by Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee First Secretary Janos Kadar]**

**[Summary] The author reviews the results of the Hungarian people's economic and cultural tasks over the past 35 years and their advance toward building advanced socialism.**

**CSO: 4209**

## INTENSIVE CULTIVATION, MULTICROPPING AND EXTENSION OF CULTIVABLE ACREAGE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 80 pp 49-58

[Article by Minister of Agriculture Nguyen Ngoc Triu; passages within slant-lines denote italics as published]

[Text] Concentrating on boosting agricultural production, especially the production of grain and food, raw materials for industry and farm produce for export, is one of the most important tasks of our entire party, army and people at present in their national construction and defense. In order to successfully carry out this major task, we must strive to step up /intensive cultivation multicropping and to extend cultivable acreage./

Intensive cultivation, multicropping and extension of cultivable acreage are an essential goal of strategic importance to the long process of development and production of socialist agriculture in our country.

### 1. Intensive Cultivation for Increased Productivity on all the Acreage

Carrying out intensive cultivation for increased productivity is aimed at highly developing the potential of the land, the favorability of climatic and weather conditions, the positive effect brought about by men and other material and technical factors in order to obtain a still higher volume of production per unit area. This is an essential production goal of socialist industry. In providing leadership and guidance for increased agricultural production, our party and state have always emphasized the need to carry out intensive cultivation for increased productivity over the entire cultivated acreage, considering this one of the issues of decisive significance in the struggle to implement the various objects of agricultural production.

In the past we have scored initial achievements of highly important significance on the front of intensive cultivation for increased productivity, especially for increased rice productivity. However, the productivity of many kinds of crops, especially rice, is still low and unsteady. The gap in productivity between a highly productive unit and a less productive unit is very great. The level of intensive cultivation in many areas is still low.



The building of high production models by many localities has yet to become universal. Technical measures for intensive cultivation have yet to be built into closely organized production programs, and guidance for implementation of these measures is still slack and leaves much to be desired.

The lessons learned from advanced cooperatives have demonstrated that despite complicated developments in the weather, if we make positive preparations and know how to correctly implement the technical regulations on production and to accelerate the implementation of technical measures for intensive cultivation, we can limit our difficulties, firmly maintain production and achieve ever higher production results. Owing to its abilities to firmly grasp the guidelines for intensive agricultural cultivation and to regularly review and develop its experiences in intensive cultivation, Vu Thang cooperative, a good model of intensive cultivation. (In Kien Xuong district, Thai Binh Province) has succeeded in continually increasing its rice yield for 13 successive years. A similar situation can be seen in many cooperatives in Hai Hung, Ha Nam Ninh, Ha Son Binh and Thanh Hoa provinces and many other localities. With respect to agricultural production in the north, if we can spread the production results of these advanced models to all localities, the increase in average annual rice yield in the northern provinces to 5 tons per hectare is feasible. In the south, the conditions of land, climate and weather are in general more favorable than in the north. Although peasants have just taken up collective work and individual production still prevails, high rice yield has already been achieved in some localities. In the years ahead, if we combine socialist transformation of agriculture with wide application of scientific and technical innovations to agriculture, rice yield in the south may be increased much higher than it is now.

The question which we must solve at present is how to effectively step up intensive cultivation for increased productivity. The experience acquired by various advanced production units shows that if we want to insure a high level of intensive cultivation in agriculture, we must satisfactorily carry out two tasks. The /first one is/ to actively create favorable conditions in terms of materials and techniques for meeting the requirements of intensive cultivation, and the /second one is/ to intensify organizational work and guidance of intensive cultivation. Because of the close link between these two tasks, we cannot create material conditions for constantly increasing the level of intensive cultivation in agriculture unless these tasks are performed in a satisfactory manner.

Satisfactorily solving the /water/ problem is /most necessary/ for intensive cultivation. Thanks to our efforts in irrigation work over the past several decades, to date we have had a widespread and relatively perfect water conservancy system in the northern provinces. By satisfactorily managing, using and developing the effectiveness of this system and building additional projects, we will be able to insure an efficient irrigation and drainage service to meet the water demands of various kinds of crops. In the immediate future, it is necessary to quickly solve the waterlogging problem on approximately 300,000 hectares of land planted to rice in the Red River delta region. The farmland water conservancy network in this region must be improved in the direction of large-scale production and mechanization to support the cultivation of both rice and subsidiary and industrial crops. This is to create

favorable conditions for actively turning the winter crop into a major crop. We must combine non-motorized irrigation and drainage methods with motorized, striving to expand the fully irrigated crop area. With regard to the major areas for intensive cultivation of "high-yield" rice in the Red River delta region and other northern provinces in particular, efforts must be made to insure /enough water/ for sowing and transplanting rice on the entire acreage on schedule, irrigating the rice plants during their growing stage, and protecting the 5th month-spring rice against drought toward the end of the crop season. Efforts must also be made to protect the 10th-month rice against waterlogging as a result of heavy rainfall.

The water conservancy problem in the southern provinces is still enormous. Naturally, to comprehensively solve this problem, efforts must be made to build a system of large, medium and small irrigation projects suited to the specific characteristics of each locality. One of the urgent tasks facing up at present is to concentrate on quickly expanding the medium and small water conservancy networks. We must take advantage of the positive aspects and limit (not to mention overcome) the negative aspects concerning water in the region in order to appropriately arrange crop cultivation schedules and patterns while expanding the cultivated area, carrying out multicropping and crop substitution, and stepping up intensive cultivation to increase the crop yield.

As for /fertilizer/, the supply of chemical fertilizer (nitrogenous, phosphorous and potassium) is very limited at present and will remain so in the coming years. Although the supply of fertilizer has increased, it is still insufficient. Meanwhile, the cultivated area has been constantly expanded and the demand for intensive cultivation to increase the crop yield has become ever greater. In view of this, one of the guidelines for solving the fertilizer problem in our country is to accelerate the movement to produce, process and use organic fertilizer (including animal and green manures, mud, alluvium and other kinds of fertilizer) in proper combination with the use of chemical fertilizer. We must launch a vigorous movement among the masses to grow duckweed, sesbania and other green manure plants; make the fullest use of all available sources of tree leaves, garbage, mud and alluvium; and remove the remaining roots of rice plants to process as organic fertilizer. We must also introduce the major green manure plants into the crop allocation pattern for crop rotation and intercropping on the ricefields to increase the sources of fertilizer and improve the soil.

Acquiring sufficient good /seed/ for production is an indispensable condition for intensive cultivation. Through the results of scientific research and experiments coupled with experience drawn from actual production work, we have now developed many high-yield varieties of rice, subsidiary food and industrial crops suitable for cultivation each region and each crop season. The localities noted for their good practice of intensive cultivation and for achieving ever higher crop yields are those which have paid attention to the seed issue, actively created conditions for using new, high-yield seed and paid attention to selecting, improving and multiplying seed in order to have good seed in sufficient amounts for production. However, many localities in our country-side have not yet paid proper attention to this important intensive cultivation technique. The use of mixed and spoiled seed or seed of poor quality, and the

shortage of seed, cause difficulties right from the start of the production season; and this creates a chain of problems in the application of other technical measures, leading to low yields, high production costs and serious waste. This is a shortcoming that must be promptly overcome. To meet the requirements for intensive cultivation and increased productivity, based on the local characteristics, we must in the next few years actively create conditions for broadly using new high-yield varieties of seed that have been tested; establish at an early date a national system of seed for the main crops; and formulate plans for investigating, researching, studying, selecting and improving good seed, for adapting imported seed to domestic conditions and for promptly establishing a seed allocation pattern for each region and each crop season which will be used as a basis for organizing production and supplying enough good seed to the various cooperatives and other establishments for use in production.

In support of intensive cultivation, especially with regard to plowing that must be done in time to insure observance of the crop cultivation schedule, particularly in major areas of specialized cultivation (such as the key rice, food and industrial crop areas), it is necessary to supply these areas with sufficient ordinary and renovated tools, machines and other equipment in a standardized manner. Priority must be given first of all to supplying equipment to localities that have already planned their production areas, especially large areas of specialized cultivation. At the same time, it is necessary to improve and strengthen management, and attention must be given to training workers, making full use of the capacity of machines and equipment to increase their economic efficiency, and avoiding leaving a large amount of machinery and equipment in disrepair. Along with reserving machines and tools for production work, attention must also be given to insuring adequate equipment for the maintenance and processing of products so as to achieve good results in agriculture....

The emergence of material conditions and techniques for intensive cultivation as mentioned above requires that the task of organizing and guiding intensive cultivation work be carried out in a strict and effective manner. At present, progressive models in intensive cultivation can be found in any area. Experience in intensive cultivation and new achievements in agricultural science and technology have been reviewed and conclusions drawn. But they have not yet been realistically applied in all areas. Everyone knows that in production, if sowing, transplanting and fertilization fall behind schedule, high crop yield is impossible. Nevertheless, many localities still carry out these activities belatedly and thus are unable to meet the crop cultivation schedule. Everyone knows that a lot of fertilizer must be used to achieve high productivity; but many localities are lax in organizing and guiding the production and processing of fertilizer, even though they have plenty of labor and adequate conditions for the production of fertilizer... In order to overcome these deficiencies, localities--especially cooperatives, production collectives, hamlets, villages and districts--must reorganize their labor forces, arrange and use to the fullest their existing manpower potential, and make sure that they can do their work in accordance with their sowing schedule and technical standards./ It is necessary to organize and arrange manpower within



districts to vigorously build necessary material and technical bases and to help weak areas surge forward. We must provide specific instructions for each piece of work, and through this method create a lively emulation movement for productive labor among the masses and foment behavior of working in accordance with technical standards and programs and with high output. We must inspect closely to detect and tackle in time all important problems of poor work performance right in the process of production, at the grassroots level. We must review and widely disseminate good experiences and initiate an emulation movement to study and work as progressive models do... Grassroots-level units must prepare specific production programs and schedules for doing farmwork and for mustering manpower in order to help handle their work concretely. By so doing, we will be able to gradually raise the level of intensive cultivation, take intensive cultivation into fuller play, and increase crop productivity quickly and steadily.

It is necessary to emphatically guide /the intensive cultivation/ of rice, subsidiary food and industrial crops in all areas, even on the multicropping areas and newly reclaimed virgin land. When a crop is planted, it must be intensively cultivated. Rice is the most important crop that can be intensively cultivated to quickly increase its productivity and volume of production. We must develop to the highest degree the people's experiences and creative work capacity and the role of the material and technical bases both existing and nearing completion; quickly apply scientific and technical innovations to production; particularly, develop the potential in terms of productivity of new rice strains; and concentrate on the struggle to accelerate the intensive cultivation of rice in all areas in order to promptly attain the goal of an average yield of 5 to 6 tons of paddy per hectare. Attention must be paid to stepping up intensive cultivation in those areas where rice yield is still too low and to overcoming the uneven increase in rice yield among various zones with the same economic, social and natural conditions. Efforts must be concentrated on consolidating the intensive cultivation of rice in the two major rice areas of the Red and Mekong River deltas in order to greatly increase and stabilize their rice yield.

Our country still has great potential for intensively cultivating crops, especially rice, for high productivity. This potential exists in all localities and can be quickly exploited. At present, our main strength lies in the labor forces which have been liberated and reorganized. With the resolve of all localities and cooperatives and the know how to reorganize their work force and learn from the advanced models' experiences in intensive cultivation and satisfactory organization and with guidance in the implementation of technical measures for intensive cultivation, we will certainly be able to increase the productivity and yield of crops, especially rice, by one and a half times or two fold, thereby creating an important change in our agricultural production.

## II. Expand Multicropping and Increase the Rate of Land Use

Our country has a very great capacity for multicropping in close connection with intensive cultivation. The conditions of climate, weather, temperature and sunlight in our country are very favorable to the growth of many types

of crops all year round. With scientific and technical achievements in agriculture, especially the achievements in the revolution in crop cultivation patterns, we can grow two or three crops yearly on nearly all the cultivated areas in various zones, while being always able to insure high productivity. Many cooperatives such as Binh Minh (Ha Son Binh), Thang Long (Hai Hung) and Quynh Bao (Thai Binh) have achieved good results in multicropping, almost tripling the rate of land use. However, on the national average, the crop cultivation has been rotated slowly, at only a rate of nearly 1.3 cycle a year--nearly 1.6 cycles in the north and nearly 1.1 cycles in the south. Noteworthy is that our country still has 2.3 million hectares of monocrop ricefields of which 2 million or so are in the south. In many localities, especially the northern provinces, one additional winter crop can still be grown in those ricefields already planted yearly to two rice crops. However, this great potential has not been exploited. This is really a huge waste!

The cultivated area in our country is still small with a per capita average of nearly 1,000 square meters. Meanwhile, our labor forces in the countryside, especially in the densely populated delta provinces, are very abundant. The demands for grain, food, raw materials for industry and agricultural products for export have become ever higher and more pressing. Therefore, along with accelerating the intensive cultivation of crops for higher productivity, /the expansion of multicropping and the extensive use of all the cultivated area/ has become a strategic guideline and an urgent and long-range mission in the struggle to accomplish the objectives of agricultural production.

Increased multicropping means increased work objectives and the necessity to create more conditions for rational usage of abundant manpower available in the rural area. Increased multicropping will contribute to quickly increasing grain yields in order to serve the people's livelihood, vigorously develop animal husbandry, and quickly increase the volumes of farm produce for export and raw materials for industry. Extending cultivable acreage by multicropping is a way to exploit the unique advantages of the tropical weather conditions in our country and it is at the same time also a measure to economize on the use of investment capital in each cultivated area unit. In our country, investment in multicropping and the extension of cultivable acreage will have many profitable aspects such as quickly developing cultivable acreage, reducing requirements for building materials and technical bases and for providing machinery and tools for each cultivable area unit; quickly recovering the capital invested; rendering capital investment highly effective; and more especially, making it possible for us to use locally available labor, increase labor and land productivity and easily gain the support of the people. Increased multicropping is also a positive step to treat and improve the soil, and to improve the level of intensive cultivation. Reversely, the results of the process of stepping up intensive cultivation will also create favorable conditions for increasing multicropping in the existing cultivable acreage.

Therefore, we must actively create conditions for increasing the area of multicropping and must strive to move forward to turn almost all of the existing cultivable acreage into areas where crops will be planted at least twice per year or even three or four times per year in certain areas.



It is necessary to actively create conditions for multicropping, and to select crop seeds and carry out crop allocation in such a way as to suit each area, each kind of soil and each sowing season. Crop seeds selected must have a short-term growing period and high yield. This will enable us to grow two or three crops per year. Especially, we must have programs and plans to satisfactorily solve those problems regarding the treatment and use of land, the carrying out of irrigation, the production of fertilizer, the supply of more machinery and tools, and the organization of harvesting, processing and consuming farm produce. It is necessary to organize, distribute and rationally use the entire existing work force in order to meet requirements for multicropping and intensive cultivation, especially when planting and harvesting activities are busy.

In the years forthcoming, it is necessary for us to determine a way to increase multicropping in accordance with the specific circumstances in each area. In the north, particularly those provinces in the Bac Bo delta, the midlands and the former 4th region, the main point will be an expansion of the sowing of winter crops in two-crop ricefields. / At present, there are 1.1 million hectares of rice planted in these areas. In the 1975 winter season, they sowed rice on only 122,000 hectares. But in the 1979 winter season, they were able to increase the rice area to 300,000 hectares. This is important progress. Under conditions in which the climate is cold and dry during the winter sowing season, and with the allocation of short-term rice crops suitable to the 10th-month and spring sowing season, we now have the potential to increase the winter crop area to between 50 to 60 percent of the total cultivable acreage or approximately 500,000 to 600,000 hectares. This will contribute to solving the problems of grain and food, of feed for animal husbandry, and of farm produce for export. Main crops sown by the northern provinces during the winter production season consist of potato, corn, sweet potato, soybean and export-oriented crops such as garlic, cucumber, water melon, tomato and other legumes... In the two-crop ricefields, it is necessary to expand the potato area. Localities where conditions for sowing potatoes have not yet been created must expand the area of winter sweet potato with the use of short-term, high-yield varieties such as the chum rau and the hoang long and so forth. Those riverside areas which formerly grew only one long-term corn crop must revise their plans to grow two short-term corn crops during the winter and spring seasons and to sow soybean between the above two corn crops. In the northern mountainous provinces, particularly those with ricefields sown with only one 10th-month rice crop, we must actively create conditions for further sowing winter crop or spring crop, using such suitable crops as kaoliang, soybean, buckwheat and white manioc, etc.

Expansion of the area for sowing winter crops, particularly potatoes, has been carried out by many localities in northern provinces and has brought about significant advantages such as helping increase the volume of grain production, feed for animal husbandry and farm produce for export; raising the income of cooperatives and cooperative members; and creating new prospects for vigorously pushing ahead the agricultural revolution in crop allocation. Winter cropping in the Bac Bo delta now tends to be one of the main crops each year. The plain facts about winter crop production are changing our way of thinking, pattern of activity, and our leadership behavior, and are

vigorously pushing ahead the revolution in crop allocation, in agricultural mechanization, and in the redistribution of agricultural manpower, and therefore creating an atmosphere of intensive and effective work in the northern rural area.

In the southern provinces, multicropping, though still fraught with difficulties, is highly feasible. The goal of multicropping in these provinces is to create conditions for turning almost all of one-crop-per-year ricefields into two-crops-per-year ricefields, using a suitable method of crop allocation. The chief difficulty confronting these provinces is water supply. That is why, on the one hand, we must actively develop irrigation to create conditions for expanding the areas of multicropping and intensive cultivation; and on the other hand, must skillfully exploit the positive factors and minimize the negative factors of natural conditions in order to formulate sowing plans, allocate suitable crop patterns and expand the area of multicropping without overlooking the possibility of expanding production in these provinces.

In the forthcoming years, in the Mekong River delta, localities where conditions permit must solve the water problem and expand the two-crops-per-year rice area in accordance with this formula: one winter-spring crop plus one summer-fall crop. They may also take advantage of 6 to 7 months in the rainy season to sow two rice crops in accordance with this formula: one summer-fall crop plus one 10th-month crop. Localities with two rice crops per year must strive to sow an additional green manure crop and proceed toward creating plans to sow an additional subsidiary food crop in two-crops-per-year ricefields. Localities with difficulties in irrigation sowing only one 10th-month rice crop must strive to sow an additional subsidiary food crop as soon as the 10th-month rice harvest is completed. The provinces in the Mekong delta still have a very great potential to do this. We can sow between 200,000 and 300,000 hectares of subsidiary food crops and tens of thousands of hectares of soybean and green bean in ricefields where only one 10th-month rice crop and tens of thousands of hectares of soybean and green bean in ricefields where only one 10th-month rice crop is planted.

On the basis of allocating a suitable crop pattern, as mentioned above, and with multicropping as the main method, the southern provinces must strive to increase their cultivated acreage to 6 million hectares.

Apart from concentrating on solving multicropping-related problems in large areas, we must make full use of all potentials in land--namely land used as seedbed and land reserved for long-term industrial crops, etc--to carry out multicropping in order to quickly expand the cultivated acreage.

### III. Urgently Open New Lands to Enlarge the Cultivated Area and Build New Economic Zones

At present, the area for agricultural cultivation in the whole country is just over 5 million hectares and averages 1 hectare per more than 10 persons. This is a great impediment to our effort to rapidly, vigorously and steadily advance our country's agriculture toward large-scale socialist production.

In view of this, opening new lands and reclaiming fallow lands (that have long been left unused by the various cooperatives, hamlets, villages and districts in the lowland and midland provinces) to enlarge the cultivated area now constitutes one of the strategic objectives of agriculture in our country. The resolution of the Party Central Committee's sixth plenum sets forth the task of "urgently /opening new lands to enlarge the cultivated area/, especially in the Mekong delta and Tay Nguyen, with attention given to making careful preparations in advance so that all work activities will be firmly carried out with practical results."

We must step up the opening of virgin lands in an effort to bring the country's total cultivated area to about 11 million hectares within a few 5-year plans. Only by opening new lands to enlarge the cultivated area will we have the conditions for systematically setting up concentrated areas for specialized and intensive cultivation along the line of large-scale socialist production.

Under the guidelines of "performing work first where it is easy, the state and the people working together, putting new lands under cultivation as soon as they have been opened, combining immediate with long-term requirements and combining economy with national defense," the opening of new lands to enlarge the cultivated area will be carried out chiefly in the Mekong delta, Tay Nguyen and eastern Nam Bo. At the same time, positive efforts must be made to open new lands for cultivation in the coastal provinces of former zone 4, the midlands, mountainous regions and the coastal areas of Bac Bo.

Through the experience obtained in past years, it is essential that careful preparations be made for the opening of new lands this year and other years to follow. All work activities must be carried out in accordance with the plans and techniques for opening new lands as well as with production plans and procedures to insure that good results will be achieved right from the start. On the basis of the general production and zoning plans for the whole country and for each region, the provinces and districts must formulate land reclamation plans for opening new areas for cultivation in order to develop production in accordance with the actual requirements in their territories. In organizing production in the newly opened areas, both the two forms of production work--state-controlled and collective--may be used. In those localities with large cultivated areas where concentrated and specialized production involves a high level of technology and complex management, state farms should be set up. In localities with small areas opened by both the state and the local people, agricultural cooperatives should be established. And in those localities where the conditions do not permit the establishment of cooperatives, it is necessary to organize work under appropriate forms such as production solidarity teams, production collectives and so forth. In the newly opened lands where state farms and agricultural or forestry production cooperatives are set up, it is necessary to correctly establish production orientations right from the start and on this basis, to map out concrete plans for transforming and building ricefields, building the material and technical bases in support of production, irrigation and communications, building population centers and public welfare projects, and so forth. In production work, it is necessary to combine from the outset state-controlled economy with collective economy and family supplementary income economy in to a single economic structure at the district level.



Land reclamation must be linked with the building of new economic zones, the promotion of settled farming and settled life, the building of districts and the consolidation of national defense in the newly opened areas. Production must be organized and intensive cultivation practiced as soon as new lands have been opened in order that the economic results of land reclamation can be promptly developed; and it is absolutely necessary to avoid leaving reclaimed lands fallow. The orientations and preparations for production in the newly opened areas must be designed to develop at all costs the strong position of each area with attention given to both immediate and long-term interests. It is necessary to oppose the practice of burning and destroying forests which will cause serious consequences in the future. The key task of agricultural production throughout our country at present is to produce grain and food. Therefore, the opening of new lands must first of all be aimed at enlarging the cultivated area for grain crops such as rice, corn, manioc, soybean, kaoliang and so forth. In 1980 and other years that follow, efforts must be concentrated on opening new lands and setting up areas specializing in rice cultivation in Long Xuyen, Dong Thap Muoi, Mu Minh, Nam Can, Ngoc and Vinh Loi; corn and soybean areas in eastern Nam Bo; corn and manioc areas in Tay Nguyen.... At the same time, conditions must be actively prepared for gradually enlarging the area specializing in large-scale cultivation of industrial crops, fruit trees, crops for use as raw material in industry and agricultural crops for export. In the lands grown to perennial industrial crops, appropriate subsidiary food and grain crops may also be planted in the first few years; and if industrial crops are yet to be cultivated, we should grow grain crops of various types in a few seasons in order to help quickly accelerate the production of grain for human consumption as well as for developing livestock breeding in the newly opened lands.

In arranging production activities in the newly opened lands, we can combine short-term work with long-term work; but it is necessary to insure that a firm foundation is laid for long-term production in the future. Utmost attention must be given to protecting the environment, preserving and improving the soil, closely linking production with processing, combining agriculture with industry and forestry, organizing production and business in a profitable manner, turning out products in great quantities for commercial purposes, rapidly stabilizing the people's life and production to bring about realistic results and forming production areas developing along the line of large-scale socialist production, thus creating conditions for improving the people's welfare and making the new economic zones become really attractive to the people.

The sending of the workforce to reclaim wasteland and build new economic zones must first of all be directed at those provinces with a high population density and a small number of areas under cultivation, especially those provinces in the Red River delta. We will organize and muster an important number of the people in this region to build new economic zones in the northern midland and mountainous provinces and the southern provinces. In the provinces in the former 4th and 5th regions, we can organize and redistribute the local workforce and exploit to the fullest the available land in order to develop agricultural and forestry production. In addition, it is necessary for us to send part of the population to build and develop new economic zones in the central highlands. In various cities and provincial capitals, especially those in the



south where there is an over-concentration of people, we must redistribute the local workforce for industrial and handicraft production and for doing other businesses. At the same time we must motivate part of the population to return to the countryside or their former villages to participate in agricultural production or to go to build new economic zones. On the basis of reorganizing production and redistributing the workforce at the grassroots and district levels, those localities (already assigned by the state to dispatch or accept laborers) must cooperate closely with one another and help one another implement their plans to reclaim wasteland and to dispatch the people to build new economic zones in accordance with the country's overall requirements for economic development.

Thousands of years ago, our forefathers exploited and handed down to us more than 5 million hectares of agricultural land. Today, in the new national situation, our party has set forth a task to be implemented by our entire party, army and people. This is to strive to open up an additional 5 million hectares of cultivable land under some 5-year plans. This is a very great project. We all know that organizing the reclamation of millions of hectares of wasteland and the sending of millions of persons to build new economic zones will make it possible for us to redistribute and rationally use the labor force and the people on a national scale. It will also help us to gradually build and set up new economic zones with large-scale production activities where concentrated, specialized and intensive cultivation will be carried out. These areas will combine agriculture with industry and forestry. This combination will be achieved in order to create a great and concentrated source of products and goods to meet domestic consumption requirements, and requirements for industrial production and exports. These products, at the same time, will improve the people's material and cultural life and set up modern population centers. However, reaching the great objective of revolutionary significance will be an extremely difficult and complex problem. While our country is still poor and overcoming severe consequences of war, we expect to be confronted with very great difficulties. But is there any revolutionary task free of difficulty? Failing to determinedly overcome difficulties and successfully fulfill this important task, we will be unable to open up new cultivable acreage for the present and future generations and will be unable to effectively exploit the sources of manpower and land in order to advance our country's agriculture to large-scale socialist production.

CSG: 4209

LENIN AND THE SOVIET UNION IN PRE-1945 REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 80  
pp 59-65 and 80

[Article by Phong Chau]

[Summary] The author reviews some poems written by the late President Ho Chi Minh and other famous Vietnamese poets hailing Lenin and his dedicated work for the Soviet revolution.

CSO: 4209

## SCIENTIFIC SCHOOLS IN GENERAL AND THE TECTONIC SCHOOLS IN PARTICULAR

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 80 pp 66-72

[Article by Nguyen Dinh Cat]

[Text] At present, everyone in the world is paying attention to and enthusiastically discussing the basic scientific schools, such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, geology in general, and tectonics in particular.

Many questions have been posed regarding that matter: What is a scientific school? When did scientific schools begin? What is the relationship between masters and pupils in scientific schools? Are the working methods of scientists identical and how many "kinds" of scientists are there? What role does tectonic science play in the earth sciences? How many schools of tectonic science are there in the world in general and in the Soviet Union in particular? To which school do Vietnamese tectonic scientists belong? Those questions are very difficult to answer. Therefore, when we were writing this article we relied on the opinions of such world scientists as N.I. Rotny, V. Otvan, M. Bunge, and E.V. Pavlovski, while also boldly setting forth some of our own thoughts.

### I. What is a Scientific School?

A scientific school is a scientific collective headed by a famous scientist who is the principal figure in an important research project. That research project encompasses the problems that the collective must resolve. There are common principles for resolving the problems dealt with in the project. Those principles are set forth because the person heading the school must have independent viewpoints and theories. Of course, scientific theories may be gradually perfected in the course of the school's activities. Many scientists in the school participate in the formation of those common theories, but the principal role is played by the head of that school.

Scientific schools differ from scientific collectives in that their theoretical and practical problems are widely recognized and in that they train scientists with distinctive skills. If a scientific school does not pay attention to training cadres it will gradually fade away. If that is to be

accomplished the school's leader must be receptive and always attentively listen to his pupils, and always support the new. As for the pupils and collaborators in the school, they do not necessarily have to repeat the work of their master or develop all thoughts of the school's leader, but must selectively supplement those thoughts and change them when they are seen to be incorrect.

An especially important matter in a scientific school is that it must have its own work style. A working atmosphere that is comfortable, with discussions, the exchanging of ideas, and the careful consideration of those ideas will cause the members of the school, especially the young scholars, to be very enthusiastic, and therefore will lead to important discoveries. If we have the opportunity to meet with the major scientists of our country or of other countries we will note something that is very appealing and indeed strange: their willingness to acknowledge their ignorance. In the course of only a few minutes of conversation they make us more intelligent; we can express all our thoughts about a scientific matter and may even argue with them. What is that so? Because true scholars have the very noble quality of, while defending their opinions, attentively listening to the opinions of others. And if they see that those opinions are correct they are prepared to support them. That support causes no harm and indeed brings about good results: the scholar himself gains one or more intelligent pupils, and society gains important new discoveries. The scientific prestige of the scholars, and especially that of the academicians, is very high, so they have no need for artificial prestige. When they admit in the presence of their pupils that they don't know something, that merely increases their prestige and intensifies the thinking of the young scientists. In many cases that causes the young scientists to discover laws no one knew existed.

Here we may pose the question why there are some things learned scholars do not know. It is true that scientists know a great deal about the subjects they are researching, but as for other subjects they know no more than we do, and sometimes know less. For modern science is divided into many specialized branches, and in a lifetime a person can become expert in only a certain number of subjects. One of the great things about people in scientific work is that they never hide their ignorance. On one occasion reporters asked the famous Soviet scientist Landau, who had been awarded a Nobel Prize for physics, why the young physicists around the world liked to meet and talk with him. His reply was brief and to the point: "Because I never hide my ignorance from them."

Furthermore, the scientific schools must be absolutely democratic and not discriminate according to rank and position. It must be acknowledged that the abilities of a scientist do not lie in his rank or position, but in his thoughts, scientific work, and contributions. As we all know, a person engaged in scientific work does not have prestige because he has advanced degrees, but because he has contributed to the construction of socialism in his country and to world science. Furthermore, when evaluating the ability



of someone in scientific work, first of all one considers the scientific projects he has completed, not the position he is holding.

## II. When Did Scientific Schools Begin?

As we all know, Germany was not only the birthplace of Marx, Engels, and Einstein, but was also the country in which the world's first scientific schools appeared. The first scientific school took form 150 years ago and was headed by the famous scientist Liebig.

The German scholar Kolbe wrote of his teacher as follows: "Liebig was not a teacher in the ordinary sense. He had especially rich knowledge of chemistry and often transmitted that knowledge to his best students by motivating them to test his thoughts by experimentation, while at the same time guiding them in the methods of scientific research."

The Liebig school was made up not only of German scholars but also of many chemists from a number of other countries. That scientific school trained many famous scholars.

There were certain historical precedents for the appearance of the scientific school of Liebig. Those precedents were: 1. Scientific research had begun to be regarded as a profession; 2. The internationalization of science by means of international conferences had begun (making maps of the heavenly bodies, studying the earth's magnetism); 3. The influence of science on production was steadily increasing thanks to the growth of technology.

As if conforming to a law, all of the scientific laws have been crystallized from the discoveries of laborers, especially the working class. Those laws have later been applied to advance production to serve social needs. On that subject, comrade Le Duan wrote the following about the working methods of scientific cadres: "Theory always related to practice, practice always illuminated by theory, brains always working, and thoughts closely bound to action -- that is the style of study." (1)

A scientific school becomes part of history in that it not only has resolved many urgent scientific problems but has also trained many skilled theoretical and applied scientists, and given rise to many new scientific directions and even new scientific schools.

Of course, not all spheres of science, or all theoretical and practical problems, have been mastered by the scientific schools. Many individual scientists have played extremely important roles in the history of science. In the 20th Century there have been Einstein in physics and the German Hans Stille in tectonics. But perhaps since the 1950's the role of the individual has given way to the role of the scientific schools. Naturally, to speak of scientific schools is to speak of the scholars heading them and the scientists they lead.

### III. The Various "Kinds" of Scholars

Why do some famous scholars not belong to scientific schools, while some ordinary scholars have their own scientific schools?

A scholar heading a scientific school must, in addition to having scientific ability, have a number of other qualities. Only people who have strong scientific "intuition," are productive thinkers, have organizational ability, know how to transmit their enthusiasm for research and thought to their students, and at the same time have strong scientific capabilities and can do a good job of developing scientific schools. The people who head the schools are usually "romantics" in science, people who like new things. They must be skilled in disseminating the new thoughts and must establish broad contacts, while at the same time allowing their students to come into contact with the scholars of many other schools without fearing that they will lose their students.

Scholars may be divided into four "types" depending on their inherent abilities:

1. Critical scholars who are able to uncover deficiencies in the work of others but are incapable of thinking of ways to overcome those deficiencies.
2. Practical scholars who are capable of using the existing theories and methods to resolve specific problems.
3. Supplementing scholars who are capable of perfecting the thoughts, doctrines, and methods that others have set forth.
4. Creative scholars who are capable of creating new things, new concepts, new doctrines, new methods, and even new ways of thinking.

Furthermore, scholars are divided into four types depending on their method of thinking:

1. Universal scholars who read a great deal and know a great deal, whose intellect is broad and who may be regarded as living scientific dictionaries of the specialized branch in which they are doing research.
2. The categorizing scholars to categorize the natural phenomena into many types and kinds, and know how to distinguish between the general and the specific. The categorizing scholars often make new scientific discoveries. The great Russian scientist Mendeleev was an eloquent example of this type.
3. The analytical scholars are capable of analyzing and uncovering the things that are wrong and the things that are right, but are not capable of synthesis.
4. The synthesizing scholars are the highest type because extensive reading categorizing, and analysis are merely "tools" used in synthesizing.

That categorization of scholars is only relative, and is often inaccurate, for in actuality a scholar or a person engaged in scientific work often has many of those characteristics.

all those types of scholars are needed for science. But the people heading school must normally be creative scholars who have strong synthesizing abilities.

The scholars heading schools must also be willing to make way for pupils who are talented and have undertaken many well-known projects. That succession must be very subtle, and sometimes the leaders of schools must not only give up their leadership position but also support new thoughts and new theories, even if they are in opposition to their own theories. Furthermore, the leaders of schools must not impede the development of their pupils. An outstanding example of that was the famous Soviet tectonic scientist, Academician N.X. Satski who, when he was head of the Geology Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, continually praised his pupil, Dr. A.V. Peyve, although Peyve had set forth the doctrine of "horizontal movement," which was in opposition to Satski's theory of "vertical movement." Therefore, when Satski died the Soviet scholars elected Peyve to the Academy of Sciences and to replace his master as head of the Institute. Peyve is now chairman of the International Tectonic Committee, but he always recalls his teacher with profound respect.

The scientific schools must always pay attention to and cultivate the younger generation, for the ages between 20 and 35 are the ages of discovery. Those are the ages of advance into science. Scientists who make new discoveries at those ages later will continue to make discoveries, for their minds are accustomed to scientific activity. At present our party and state are paying much attention to the scientific research of college students.

Attention must be paid to the fact that among the schools there is always a struggle for scientific truth, and that struggle has stimulated the advance of science. In that struggle some schools may disappear, and new schools may arise. That process of struggle will take place without interruption. But in addition it must be emphasized that even the scientists within schools which differ from, and are even opposed to, one another, still respect one another and attentively listen to one another's opinions, for they are struggling for science, not for individual benefit.

Comrade Le Duan wrote of the necessity of organizing the scientists into collectives (the seeds of scientific schools): "We must correctly combine the centralized management of science and technology, and the organization of socialist collective and cooperative forms, which allow the concentration of the efforts of scientists and technicians on the resolution of certain problems, with concern for the uncovering, encouragement, assistance, and maximum development of all creative capabilities of the scientific-technical collectives and of each scientific-technical cadre. That has an important significance with regard to the continuous raising of the levels of scientific-technical cadres and their ability to make contributions." (2)

We are confident that under the leadership of the party Vietnamese scientists will have their own schools. These schools will assemble the Vietnamese scientists and will also, on the basis of our country's actual conditions and on the world's treasury of theory and experience, resolve the urgent problems of the national economy.

#### IV. The Principal Tectonic Schools of the World

Tectonics is an important combined scientific branch of geology. The study of tectonics deals with research into the structure, development, and movement of the earth's mantle, and of the earth itself.

During the past several years such problems of tectonic science as the nature and causes of movements of the earth's mantle, the formation and distribution of the tectonic structures in space and time, the phases of the formation of the earth's mantle and of the earth itself, the formation and development of the continents and oceans, etc., have received everyone's attention.

At present, in the world in general and in the Soviet Union in particular there are three main schools of tectonic science: the horizontal movement (kinetic) school, the vertical movement (passive) school, and the combined school.

As everyone knows, tectonic science has developed most strongly in the Soviet Union. The International Tectonic Committee's chairman and general secretary are both Soviet tectonic scientists.

The horizontal movement school in the Soviet Union is headed by Academician A.V. Peyve. (3) He is now Chairman of the International Tectonic Committee. In 1945 Peyve, who was then only 36 years old, set forth the famous theory of deep fractures, and in 1960 he became the leader of the horizontal movement school in the Soviet Union. According to Peyve, the earth's mantle moves in essentially horizontal directions. Peyve believes that the reason for the horizontal movements along deep fractures in the earth's mantle is the rotation of the earth, combined with its internal stresses.

The vertical movement school in the Soviet Union is headed by Corresponding Academician V.V. Belousov. Since 1956 he has been the chairman of the International Geophysical Committee. Belousov believes that the principal movement of the earth's mantle is vertical, and that the oceans were formed by the oceanification of the continental crusts. According to him, the continents and oceans have not moved horizontally but have maintained the same position since they were formed. Those two schools are still engaged in vigorous debate, but Peyve school is clearly dominant.

The third school is headed by Corresponding Academician Dr. M.V. Muratov. He is now Chairman of the Tectonic Committee of the Soviet Union and Chief Editor of the TECTONICS journal of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet



Union. That journal appears six times a year and in addition to Russian it is translated into English and is published in England, the U.S., and Canada. For his contributions to tectonic science in the Soviet Union and in the world, Muratov has twice been granted national prizes by the Government of the Soviet Union.

The combined school also includes Academician A.L. Jansin, editor of a famous Asia-Europe tectonic map; Corresponding Academician V.E. Khain, general secretary of the International Tectonic Committee; and Corresponding Academician I.M. Puzarovski, editor of a tectonic map of the Pacific. (4) The combined school studies the structure of the entire world and tends to reconstruct the history of the various phases of the formation of the earth's mantle and the laws of distribution of the structures in space and time.

In the German Democratic Republic there is the famous tectonic school of Hans Stille. In 1924, 56 years ago, Hans Stille wrote the immortal 443-page book "Basic Problems of Comparative Tectonics." In it he set forth the tectonic cycles of a global nature and compared them with one another vis-a-vis the earth's mantle as a whole. Stille was the first East European geologist to pay attention to the tectonic structure of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. In 1945 Academician Stille wrote a research paper on the tectonic structure of the Indochinese Peninsula that is regarded by Vietnamese geologists as a seminal work.

In France there is the combined tectonic school of Jean Goguel, a specialist on the structure, the mechanical nature of the movement, and the transformation of the land structure and the dome-like tectonic structure of the Alps. In his book "Raite de tectonique" (Paris, 1965), he wrote a famous sentence: "When faced with a phenomenon, it is better to admit that one cannot explain it than to offer a haphazard explanation, for doing so will lead one into a dead-end street. The problem is to know when to admit that one doesn't know."

In England, the U.S., Canada, and recently even in the Soviet Union and France and in other countries there has appeared the tectonic plate school. According to that school from time to time the continents and oceans change their spatial positions. (5) That school is exciting world opinion because of its bold predictions, but in addition it has the shortcoming of not being able to explain the reasons for the movement of the planetary tectonic plate plates.

In Hungary there was the ever-expanding-earth school actively propagandized by the geophysicist L. Egyed. The theory that the earth is expanding was attacked by many scientists because according to petrological data the earth has not noticeably expanded during the past 300 million years. At the same time, that school insisted that during the 300 million years or so the earth's surface has expanded by 69 percent. The expanding-earth school had all but been forgotten when E.E. Milanovski, a Corresponding Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, recently announced that the earth shrinks and expands from time to time.

We may pose the question, which school should Vietnamese geologists follow? As we all know, Vietnam and the Indochinese Peninsula have a unique tectonic structure. Vietnam lies astride the junction the oceanic axis and the continental axis of the world; lies astride the junction of the ancient Golvana and Laurasian continents; and also lies astride the junction of the two planetary Pacific and Tethys tectonic belts. Vietnam has all types of mineral deposits and has a vast continental shelf which is very promising with regard to oil. It has nearly all of the principal structural elements of a continent and has passed through the main tectonic cycles of the earth. Therefore, we believe that Vietnamese geologists in general and Vietnamese tectonic specialists specifically must associate themselves with the combined school. For in nature there exist many forms of movement of matter, and the movement of matter takes place in accordance with the nature of the matter.

Furthermore, each school has its strengths and weaknesses. We must synthesize those strengths and combine them with the special characteristics of our country in order to form our own school. With regard to theory and practice, that school will be based on the characteristics of Vietnamese tectonics, but it will also be combined with the newest accomplishments of the world's schools of geological science, especially the new tectonic theories in the Soviet Union. Our party referred to that matter long ago. Some 20 years ago, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the party, Comrade Le Duan, in his work "Advance Our Forces Into Science in Order to Promote the Socialist Revolution in the North," wrote that: "In order to enable our country's science to advance rapidly we must study the scientific accomplishments of the fraternal socialist nations, especially of the Soviet Union, scientifically the most highly developed country in the world." (7)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan, "Some Problems Regarding Cadres and Organization in the Socialist Revolution," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, p.65.
2. Op. cit., p. 62
3. Academician A.V. Payve was born in 1909 and is now 71 years old, and is a Socialist Labor Hero of the Soviet Union. He visited Vietnam in December 1979 and met Uncle Ho.
4. Corresponding Academician M. Pusarovski came to study the geological structure of Vietnam in 1964 and was greeted by Premier Pham Van Dong.
5. Nguyen Dinh Cat, "The Movement of the Continents and Oceans," NHAN DAN, 15, 16, 17 August 1977.
6. Nguyen Dinh Cat, "The special Position of Vietnam and Indochina on the World Tectonic Map," HOC TAP, No 5, 1976.
7. HOC TAP, No. 1, 1960  
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CSO: 4209

## THE LENINIST FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 80 pp 73-80

[Article by Trinh Ngoc Thai]

[Text] Immediately after the success of the Russian October Revolution, at the 2d Congress of Soviets, Lenin presented two important decrees: the "Decree on Peace" and the "Decree on Land."

The "Decree on Peace" clearly delineated the basic principles of the new socialist foreign policy of the Soviet Union: complete opposition to all forms of aggression, the attainment of the right of self-determination for nationalities, condemnation of colonialism, and the equality of nations, large and small. The decree also reflected the spirit of peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems. It announced to the whole world that the Soviet Union was very peace-loving, and at the same time resolutely protested all wars of aggression and the oppression of other nations.

Sixty years later that constant foreign policy was illuminated in the new Constitution approved by the seventh session of the Ninth Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union (7 October 1977): "The Soviet Union has always implemented a Leninist foreign policy, which advocates the strengthening of the security of nations and broad international cooperation. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union has the objectives of assuring international conditions favorable for the construction of communism in the Soviet Union, protecting the national interests of the Soviet Union, strengthening the position of socialism throughout the world, and supporting the struggles of the various nationalities for national liberation and social progress, in order to prevent wars of aggression, achieve complete and total disarmament, and always maintain the principle of peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems."

The historical realities of the Soviet Union and the world during the past two-thirds of a century have proved that that policy is correct and has entirely new contents that have never existed in history. It is a sharp tool of the working class that is intended to eliminate all forms of class

oppression, eradicate in justice in international relations, establish peace among nations, eliminate wars of aggression, and affirm truly just and democratic relations among nations.

That Leninist foreign policy manifests the interests of the workers, not only in the Soviet Union but also in the other nations of the world. It is expressed in documents which constitute a program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the resolution of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the new Constitution of the Soviet Union, and in the daily activities of the Central Committee, the Politburo, and comrade L.I. Brezhnev, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union. That policy is intended to assure international conditions favorable for the creative labor of the people of the Soviet Union, for strengthening the peace and security of nations, and for the revolutionary struggle of the world's people. When, in the fierce struggle between the two social systems which is taking place on a worldwide scale, we examine the developments on the world political scene, we see even more clearly the importance of that policy.

The foreign policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Soviet state has contributed very importantly to the establishment of the new society. Actual events have demonstrated that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union has stood the test of time. That policy was set forth on the basis of an all-round analysis of the developmental laws of the international situation and is entirely appropriate to the main tendency of the era: the strength of the forces of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism has become much greater than that of imperialism and the other reactionary powers in the world.

Cooperation in the great task of building a new society; the strengthening of solidarity among the communist parties in the socialist community on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism; the coordination of measures in the sphere of foreign relations, etc., have become day-to-day activities of the countries in the socialist community. In view of that actual situation, in its foreign policy the Soviet Union has concentrated principally on the socialist countries.

The appearance of the world socialist system began a new phase in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Strengthening solidarity and unanimity among the socialist countries and strengthening to the maximum the position of socialism in the world are the central focus of the activities of the Communist Party and state of the Soviet Union in the sphere of foreign affairs. In his report marking the 60th anniversary of the socialist Russian October Revolution, comrade L.I. Brezhnev said, "The Soviet Union is a member of the great family of socialist nations, so what in this world could be closer to us -- the communists and all other people of the Soviet Union -- than that great family of socialist countries? We will do everything we can for the prosperity of that great family, and for the common benefit."



The Soviet Union observes the principles of socialist internationalism in its relationships with the socialist countries. Those principles are based on the close and voluntary solidarity of the people of the fraternal countries, for the ideals of communism and peace, equality, and mutual respect for one another's sovereignty, and on mutual aid and broad cooperation in all spheres, for the interests of each nation and of the community as a whole. The Warsaw Pact organization, COMECON, and coordination in the foreign affairs and ideological spheres have contributed greatly to effective cooperation in many respects among the fraternal nations.

The Soviet Union has contributed positively to the coordination of activities within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, and has taken many initiatives in coordinating in the sphere of foreign affairs and in improving the activities of the Pact's organizational apparatus. The continual development of the Pact organization has contributed importantly to assuring the peaceful labor programs of the member nations and to increasing the defensive strength and security of each country. The member nations of the Warsaw Pact have many times contributed importantly to lessening world tension and have positively supported the peoples of countries which are victims of aggression. In the regular meetings of the consultative Political Commission, the leaders of the Pact's member nations have examined and made decisions concerning the main policy problems of the community. Many important international problems were also been dealt with during the conference of the consultative Political Commission, which met in November 1978 in Moscow, and recently during the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the member nations of the Warsaw Pact organization in November 1979. Those countries affirmed their determination to continually struggle for peace, freedom, and national independence, for ending the arms race and carrying out military disarmament, for the furthering of international detente, and to strengthen confidence and friendship among nations.

In 1979 the people of the fraternal socialist countries commemorated the 30th anniversary of the founding of COMECON, one of the greatest international economic cooperation organizations in the world. That organization has become an important factor in rapidly developing the economies and improving the living conditions of the people of the member nations. Within a short period of time the COMECON nations have become a highly developed industrial zone which accounts for nearly one-third of the world's industrial output. They are a wonderful example of the superiority of socialism and of new-style international economic relationships which had never before existed.

The Soviet Union has participated positively in economic cooperation, especially in the socialist economic union program of COMECON, and has participated in an international socialist division of labor and strengthened specialization and cooperativization among the member nations. It has contributed to the implementation of a program with long-range goals extending to 1990, and regards it as means of attaining a high level of internationalization of the economies of the member nations. At present the Soviet Union supplies most of the fuel and electricity to the COMECON countries. During the 1976-1980 five-year plan period the Soviet Union

supplied to those countries more than 370 million tons of oil, 88 billion cubic meters of natural gas, and 64 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity.

The socialist countries work together in solving problems encountered the process of building a developed socialist society and in the transition to communism, which has created objective conditions for cooperation with one another in all spheres. That cooperation has created a solid basis on which to consolidate unified stands with regard to international political matters and to coordination in foreign policy.

Clearly, during the recent period great, all-round accomplishments have been attained in the construction of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries. Much evidence reflects the great, positive influence and effect of the socialist countries with regard to world revolution and peace. A great leap forward on the path of development of socialist system was that, after the defeat of the U.S. imperialists in Indochina, after Vietnam and Laos, many other countries in the various areas of the world followed the path of socialism.

The socialist system has developed strongly and comprehensively, and has clearly developed its role as the factor which determines the developmental tendency of the society of mankind, and is worthy of being the bastion of world peace and revolution. The steady expansion of the socialist system to nearly all continents is eloquent proof that socialism has become a reality in a large number of countries and is the direct objective of the peoples of the world. For that reason, the imperialists, the Beijing reactionaries, and the other reactionary powers are endeavoring to attack socialism, create division between the socialist countries and the Soviet Union, and create division among the socialist countries.

One of the basic directions of the foreign policy of the party and state of the Soviet Union is resolute support for the national liberation struggle, which is developing seethingly and strongly, and support for the people of the newly liberated countries, in order to consolidate their political and economic independence, defend their national sovereignty, and oppose the plots and acts of imperialism and colonialism. Loyal to peace and freedom, the Soviet Union is very close to the great majority of the developing countries. There is no true national liberation movement in any part of the world that does not have the support and assistance of the Soviet Union.

The basis of the policy of the Soviet Union toward the national liberation movement is the great thought of internationalism and the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism regarding the role of the national liberation movement, an important part of the three world revolutionary currents. The strong development and victories of the national liberation movement after the Second World War has changed the comparison of forces in the world and has contributed greatly to the liquidation of the colonial system.

After the Second World War, and after the defeat of fascism, more than 2 billion people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America overthrew the yoke of

oppression of the colonialists and won national independence, and are now playing a positive role on the world political scene. During the past 4 years, nearly 20 large and small nations have won varying degrees of independence, thus collapsing important bases of imperialism. From an over-all point of view, the colonial system of imperialism, in its classical form, may be regarded to have been liquidated. That is an event of global historical importance. However, the victory of political independence cannot resolve all of the important problems facing the people of the developing countries. The struggle against colonialism can only defend and consolidate independence; the eradication of backwardness demands very great efforts. After escaping from the colonial yoke, some countries have followed a non-capitalist path of development and have tended to advance to socialism and bring socialism to new territories. In the early 1970's the fact that the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, etc., announced that they were advancing to socialism made the significance and stature of those victories even greater: in the present era, national independence and socialism are becoming increasingly bound together.

The assistance of the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community for the developing countries is no-strings-attached assistance for the struggle against the common enemies: imperialism, old-style and new-style colonialism racial discrimination, Zionism, and apartheid. Thanks to that assistance, the developing countries are capable of opposing the imposition of imperialism in many spheres, and of opposing discriminatory treatment in economic relations with the industrialized capitalist countries. During years the Soviet Union has helped the developing countries construct more than 600 projects in the key industrial sectors. Strengthening cooperation with the nonaligned countries, especially with those countries which tend to advance to socialism. The Soviet Union has contributed to strengthening the natural alliance between the nonaligned movement and the socialist countries, and to stopping the plots of the imperialists, the Beijing reactionaries, and the other reactionary powers, which are plotting to sabotage and divide the nonaligned movement and deflect that movement from its objective of opposing imperialism and colonialism. The victory of the conference of Nonaligned Countries, which met in Havana in September 1979, was eloquent proof of that.

The Soviet Union has a policy of solidarity with the struggle of the working class and laboring people in the capitalist world to defend their democratic rights, improve their economic and social life, restrict and eliminate the economic and political power of the monopoly capitalists, defeat the efforts of the international monopolists, and oppose the arms race and the spectre of war.

The Soviet Union regime was established under the light of Lenin's Decree of Peace and for that reason the Soviet Union's entire foreign policy is imbued with a peace-loving spirit. The basic and constant policy of the Soviet Union is to maintain world peace, end the arms race, and ensure cooperation on an equal basis and the development of the independence of nations. An outstanding feature of that policy is the untiring, resolute efforts of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Politburo,



headed by comrade L.I. Brezhnev, to maintain peace and lessen world tension by opposing the arms race and opposing the aggression and armed intervention of the imperialists and the international reactionaries.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state have worked actively and effectively to implement a peace program approved by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the program for unceasing struggle for peace, international cooperation, and the freedom and independence of nations that was approved by the 25th Party Congress. Actual events have demonstrated the correctness of the basis on which those tasks were set forth: relying on the combined strength of the three revolutionary currents, above all the real strength and solidarity of socialism, alliance with the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world, the achievement of a turning away from the cold war and tension to detente, and the attainment of peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems and mutually beneficial cooperation. One should not underestimate the efforts the Soviet Union has made along those lines.

Recently there have been peace initiatives on the part of the Soviet Union and the member nations of the Warsaw Pact organization. In June 1979 the Soviet Union and the U.S. signed the second strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT II). On 6 October 1979 comrade L.I. Brezhnev announced that the Soviet Union had decided to unilaterally reduce its troops and weapons in Central Europe. On 6 December 1979 the conference of Foreign Ministers of the member nations of the Warsaw Pact organization issued an appeal calling for continuing negotiations on a SALT III treaty after SALT II took effect, and discussions with the NATO countries on ways to build trust among the European countries; ways to reduce the concentration and numbers of military manpower and weapons on that continent, and on strengthening two-party and multi-party contacts in order to prepare for the meeting in Madrid of the nations participating in the conference on European security and cooperation.

Although the efforts of the Soviet Union, the other countries in the socialist community, and all peace-loving forces have made much progress, the reactionary, war-loving forces are still promoting the arms race and provoking fear and hatred, and the Soviet Union is still threatened along its eastern and western borders. The reactionaries and war-lovers have returned to the tattered myth of "the military threat of the Soviet Union" to mislead public opinion. On the basis of that falsehood the monopoly capitalists have sought ways to create a psychological warfare atmosphere, increase military expenditures, step up the production of military equipment, and earn billions of dollars in profits. Nearly 100 of the largest capitalist corporations in the U.S. have accepted the largest orders ever for the production of weapons and modern technical military equipment. The reactionary clique in Beijing also needs that lie in order to be permitted to visit the arms manufacturing factories of the NATO bloc and conceal their expansionist and hegemonistic aims and their alliance with the imperialists and reactionaries.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown's visit to China in January of this year laid the foundation for increasing Chinese-U.S. cooperation in the



future with regard to strategic military matters, and was a serious new step in the U.S. imperialists and the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, in order to promote the arms race, and insanely oppose the revolutionary forces and world peace. They have centered their attack on the Soviet Union and Vietnam, and have openly discussed plans to coordinate opposition to the people of the three Indochinese countries and to the people of Afghanistan and Iran. Now more than ever the Beijing reactionaries are revealing themselves as the dangerous assault forces of imperialism and as people who are insanely implementing expansionism and hegemonism.

The imperialist and war-loving powers in the NATO bloc are making the excuse of "backwardness" with regard to many types of weapons in comparison to the Warsaw Pact, a "dangerous imbalance with regard to intermediate-range weapons," and "the increasing military threat of the Soviet Union" to create an atmosphere of fear, are promoting the arms race, and are openly strengthening their military forces. In 1978, before they discovered the excuse of slandering the Soviet Union in order to deploy nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the U.S. ruling circles and a number of NATO countries began a new phase of the arms race when they decided to significantly increase military budgets until the end of the century. The U.S. Defense Minister Harold Brown publicly announced that the U.S. would make all-out efforts to ensure that, in the 1980's, NATO would be militarily stronger than the Warsaw Pact countries. In 1979 alone the NATO countries' military expenditures amounted to 200 billion dollars, of which the U.S. accounted for 130 billion. In 1980 the U.S. will spend 141.2 billion dollars and in 1984, 220 billion.

They are carrying out a program to construct the MX mobile missile system. In October 1979 the U.S. equipped its navy with two Trident I strategic submarines which were armed with a new type of missile. The U.S. is also completing the testing of a cruise missile with a range of 2,600 kilometers which will be supplied to its armed forces, and a new, more powerful nuclear warhead for its Minuteman intercontinental missiles, and will deploy about 600 Pershing II missiles in Western Europe which will be aimed at targets deep within the Soviet Union.

At present the U.S. imperialists, the Beijing reactionaries, and the other reactionary powers are plotting to speculate in the events in Afghanistan. The truth is that after the April 1978 revolution the imperialists and their lackeys began an undeclared war against revolutionary Afghanistan and created the real danger that Afghanistan would lose its independence and would be turned into a military staging area for imperialism on the southern border of the Soviet Union. The resolute, prompt, and effective action of the Soviet Union, at that request of Afghanistan, was intended to help the people of Afghanistan defend their independence and freedom and oppose the acts of armed aggression from abroad, while also eliminating the threat to the security of the Soviet state on its southern border. The imperialist forces and the Beijing reactionaries reacted with hostility toward the events in Afghanistan because they had completely lost an area of operations in which they had placed much hope; they took those events as an excuse to create a tense international situation and express their anger toward the further consolidation of the socialist position, the high tide of national

liberation, and the strengthening of the forces approving of detente and peace. They want to push the world back onto the path of the arms race and the "cold war," and then to a hot war. On 31 January 1980 comrade L.I. Brezhnev in an interview recommended that the people of the world recognize the truth: "The international situation has clearly become complicated, and everyone must know who in fact is responsible for that situation."

However, it may be affirmed that no matter how insanely the reactionary forces may react they cannot reverse the developmental tendency of the history of mankind. In the present era the noble objectives of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism are closely interrelated and are inseparable. There are never contradictions between the objectives of the struggle to maintain peace and the revolutionary struggle. At a time when the imperialists and the reactionary powers have enormous, dangerous war facilities, the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, and the peace-loving and justice-loving countries must continually strengthen and consolidate their national defense capabilities, and take appropriate steps to cope with the belligerent plots and acts of the imperialists and reactionaries. Even when struggling to protect peace and lessen international tension, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have continued to positively assist the revolutionary movements of the world's people, and that assistance has been an effective means for protecting peace and reducing international tensions.

The Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union has a profound revolutionary and scientific nature. It is playing an increasingly important role in the historic struggle of the world's people to eliminate oppression and exploitation, and to achieve a just and lasting peace. That policy is a combination of unwavering love of peace with determination to retaliate against aggression and defend and assist the revolutionary movement. Therefore, along with the socialist community the Soviet Union is always a pillar of support for the socialist system, a bastion of world peace and revolution, and a source of confidence and inspiration for common struggle of the various nations against the common enemies for the sake of world peace.

The people of Vietnam completely support and applaud the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The all-round, basic relationships of peace and cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union are based on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation concluded by Vietnam and the Soviet Union in 1978 caused the relationships between the two countries to develop qualitatively. Loyal to their international obligations, the people of the Soviet Union have given the Vietnamese people very great, valuable, and effective assistance, not only in economic reconstruction and the building of socialism, but also in the sphere of defending their independence and the accomplishments of their revolution against the plots and acts of the imperialist powers and the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists. Along with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the people of Vietnam have resolutely retaliated against the aggressors and bankrupted their plots, while also going all-out to contribute to maintaining world peace and supporting the struggle for independence and freedom of the people of the world.

## THE BEIJING EXPANSIONISTS' POLICY OF MILITARIZING THE ECONOMY AND THE NATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 4, Apr 80 pp 81-88

[Article by Nguyen Anh Bac]

[Text] Since the end of the 1950's an outstanding feature of Chinese society has been the restoration and development of militarism.

One of the most important manifestations of Chinese militarism has been the militarization of economic and social life. The objectives of that policy of the Beijing reactionary clique are still to transform the Chinese people into automatons who blindly follow orders, and to transform China into an enormous military camp capable of, even while the economy is still in a backward state, creating "all conquering" military strength. Therefore, it is both a disaster for the Chinese people and a threat to independence and peace in the world, especially with regard to the countries of the Indo-chinese Peninsula and the Southeast Asian region.

### I. The Line of Greater-Han Expansionism and Hegemonism and the Policy of Militarizing the Economy and the Nation

After the victory of their national democratic revolution the Chinese people, with all kinds of assistance from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, achieved notable accomplishments during the first years of the socialist revolution, under very favorable international circumstances.

However, Mao and his clique, who had long harbored the dream of becoming "hegemons," regarded those victories as rare opportunities for them to urgently carry out their plots of greater-Han expansionism and hegemonism. At the meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in January 1956 Mao Zedong spoke of his aspirations: "Within a few decades we must become the leading power in the world." In September we said, "We must conquer the world -- that is our goal." (1)

The aspiration of Mao and his clique was clearly too great. At that time, China still had a backward agricultural economy. Therefore, in order to transform China into a "military and technical center" capable of imposing



their rule on the world, the Maoists adopted an internal policy of establishing an authoritarian regime to exploit the country's superiorities of a large population and great natural resources, and an external policy of reaching accord with, and allying with, the imperialists against the Soviet Union and the revolutionary movements, of inciting the U.S. imperialists to start a war with the Soviet Union, and of encouraging wars of aggression in order to gradually weaken their adversaries. Mao said, "our trump cards are dictatorship and war," that is to say, they were his two "miracle cures." The slogan he set forth in May 1958 -- "Return to Yanan" -- was an appeal for the country to follow the path of militarization in developing the economy and building the nation, and to use military and wartime economic management measures in managing the economy and society.

The militarization of the nation and the economy began with the formation of people's communes, the social cells of the militarist regime during the years of the "great leap forward." According to Maoism, the commune was a form of ownership by "all the people." The workers worked only for the cooperative, which paid them salaries. They were the individual owners of nothing. In a commune, there was utilized an organizational system for production and organization that was based on the military principle of regimented concentration, in order to mobilize the labor forces and the surplus labor of the masses to the maximum extent in fulfilling obligations to the state and preparing sources of manpower for war. The scheme for using that manpower was manifested very clearly in the "all the people produce iron and steel" movement, which had the goal of, within a short period of the time, achieving a great developmental step with regard to iron and steel in order to meet the requirements of the development of military industry. It was also manifested quite clearly in the mobilization of on-the-spot forces in order to prepare for wars of aggression against neighboring countries and mobilize a large militia force to do rear service work for the army, and as an army of pillagers during the war of aggression against Vietnam in February 1979.

Another important measure of Mao Zedong's militarization was assigning military personnel to the communes, production units, localities, and sectors to impose military control on all economic and social activities. (2) Furthermore, a rather large military force was mobilized in such tasks as constructing roads to the border areas, developing military industry, and creating state farms in the strategic areas which would later be staging areas for wars of aggression against India, Burma, Vietnam, etc.

The policy of militarizing the country and the economy continued to be promoted during the "Great Cultural Revolution" began it was in fact a political coup d'etat that was intended to eliminate the infrastructure, which included socialist elements, in order to create a bureaucratic, militaristic state apparatus.

In that "great revolution," the state apparatus was shattered and paralyzed, as was the entire party organization and the mass organizations. The force



assigned the demolition task was the Red Guards, who had the authority to maintain the militarist devtatorship made up of the army, the military cadres, and the Maoist elements. The American journalist Anna Louise Strong, who was a China specialist, reported that during the years of the cultural revolution 300,000 military personnel were assigned to the headquarters organs of the Red Guards. On the average, there was one military cadre for every 20 to 30 Red Guards (DER SPIEGEL, No 21, 1967). More than 80 percent of the chairmen and vice-chairmen of the cultural revolution committees at the provincial, autonomous zone, and municipal levels were military cadres.

Although during the "cultural revolution" years Chinese society was in a state of chaos and mayhem, the militarized social-economic structure set up during the "great leap forward" period continued to be consolidated. The military industry sector was protected and continued to develop. Many accomplishments in military science and technology, such as the manufacture of nuclear weapons (1964), the hydrogen bomb (1967), the launching of a satellite and the production of an intermediate-range missile (1970), the production of tanks and fighter-bombers and the creation and development of an electronic industry (1971), etc., were attained during that period. The power and authority of the national bourgeois class were protected and began to undergo new development. In addition to the fixed 5-percent profit they had received since 1952, the bourgeoisie received compensation three times greater than that paid ordinary workers and civil servants. The political organizations of the national bourgeois class were allowed to continue to operate. The alliance with the U.S. imperialists and the West, based on opposition to socialism and the Soviet Union, became more and more open.

To rationalize those activities, the reactionary Beijing clique advanced the theory of the "three worlds," which erased the boundary between socialism and capitalism in order to facilitate the expansion of the alliance with imperialism and expand into the third world. They continually propagandize the arguments that "war is unavoidable," "the Soviet Union is the No 1 enemy" and is "the furnace that will ignite a new war," "the spectre of war is approaching" etc., in order to feverishly prepare for a war of aggression and pour money and materiel into the development of nuclear weapons and missiles to create a force to "warn" the Soviet Union and intimidate the world. They made their strange "world in turmoil" pronouncement in order to encourage wars of aggression by the imperialists and the reactionary powers in order to carry out the strategy of "sitting on the mountain and watching the tigers fight." They endeavored to take advantage of the anti-U.S. resistance war of the people of the three Indochinese countries to team up with the U.S., take advantage of the U.S., and carry out their plot of invading and annexing Southeast Asia. They sought all ways to export their "cultural revolution" in hopes of realizing their hegemony aspiration by means of a fifth column.

In the 1970's, the militarization policy of the Maoist clique underwent new development.

The defeat of the U.S. in its war of aggression against Vietnam, the growing strength of the three revolutionary currents, the weakness of the U.S. imperialists after the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, and the changes in the political situation in Southeast Asia are elements which stimulated the expansionist, aggressive aspirations of the Beijing rulers, the most pressing, most important objective of which is to replace the U.S. and take Southeast Asia. As early as 1965 Mao Zedong unequivocally said that "We must win by all means Southeast Asia, including South Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, and Singapore.... Southeast Asia is very rich and has many mineral resources.... It is worth the cost of taking it.... After taking Southeast Asia we may increase our strength in that area, so that we will be able to cope with the Soviet Union-Eastern Europe bloc. The eastern wind will overcome the western wind." (3)

However, in view of the unignorable consequences of the "cultural revolution" and the cruel reality that following the path of self-reliance to militarize the economy and the nation could not create the modern military force needed to carry out their hegemonistic plot, Mao and his followers shifted over to a policy of allying more and more closely with imperialism, especially the U.S. imperialists, in order to rapidly modernize their military forces. Furthermore, relying on that alliance and demonstrating their loyalty to it, they hurriedly carried out a strategy of achieving expansion and hegemony with their existing forces. Beginning that strategic reorientation, they adopted a policy of systematic hostility toward Vietnam, used the Pol Pot-Jeng sary gang to gain control of Kampuchea, applied pressure on Laos, flirted with the ASEAN countries, announced a new policy toward the overseas Chinese, then they peaked by launching a war of aggression against Vietnam, with the insane aspiration of, by means of military force, opening a path from the Zhong Nan Hai palace to Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia, as Mao dreamed of doing.

The goal of attaining four modernization goals by the end of this century, which Zhou Enlai set forth at the beginning of 1975, when the revolutions of the three Indochinese countries were nearing final victory, were now repeated over and over again, in hopes of achieving a great leap forward in the militarization of the nation and the economy. In an article commemorating the 30th anniversary of the People's Republic of China published in the journal HONG QI (October 1979), Defense Minister Xu Xiangqian explained that the Four Modernizations were intended to open up "a new era of socialist construction and modernization." He offered a slogan for that new era: "We must be prepared to modernize national defense while fighting" for two reasons: first, "the spectre of war is close at hand"; and "the socialist imperialists (alluding to the Soviet Union) have increasingly greater aspirations." Second, "China's policy always has been and always will be" to "wage a real struggle against hegemonism; we must frustrate their plans everywhere their hegemony expands to." In fact, China's policy is that of being an international gendarme, and it thinks it has the right to intervene and start wars of aggression everywhere.

Also according to Xu Xiangqian, another new feature of "the modernization of national defense, the heart of which is the modernization of equipment and weapons" was the necessity of carrying it out on the basis of modernizing agriculture and industry, to serve as a "basis on which to modernize national defense." Only thereby would it be possible to simultaneously attain two objectives:

First, overcoming the after-effects of the blind, large-scale modernization of military industry without taking into consideration the country's economic capabilities during the preceding years, as Xu Xiangqian openly admitted.

Second, creating favorable conditions for investment by foreign capitalists, in order to use their technical, economic, and modern military resources to rapidly modernize the Chinese armed forces and build China's economy into an economic-military complex to serve their big-nation expansionist and hegemonist objectives.

To carry out the four modernizations policy the present rulers in Beijing, who are more realistic, are seeking all ways to construct and consolidate the state apparatus so that is truly a state apparatus of the militarist regime. On the basis of the authority of the bureaucratic, militaristic state apparatus, they have been applying more realistic measures that may temporarily prove to be more effective. For example, they have promulgated a number of new policies regarding agriculture and industrial management, stressed material benefit, adopted the system of paying salaries according to labor, etc., in order to stabilize the situation and encourage people to engage directly in production. Such measures are not in conflict with the policy of militarizing the economy and the nation on the basis of allying with imperialism to oppose socialism. Indeed, they create favorable conditions for the implementation of that reactionary line. It is very clear that in present-day China the reactionary Beijing clique is allying more and more closely with the imperialists, especially the U.S. and Japanese imperialists, are feverishly preparing for war, are increasing their military strength, and are positively preparing for very dangerous military adventures, on a larger scale and on the basis of their new, greater strength and their modern technical strength, in order to, first of all, enter the countries bordering China to the south and in the Southeast Asian region.

Therefore, if the line delineated by Mao in 1958 and now being openly carried on by the reactionary Beijing clique is in nature a policy of transforming China into a superpower with modern military forces with which to carry out greater-Han expansionism, and has been the thread running through all stands and policies of the Beijing rulers since 1958, the militarization policy is a primary strategic measure, the principal means of attaining the objectives of that line. The Maoists used that policy as a tool for eliminating the socialist elements that had just been created in China, in order to impose a military regime on the working people that was based on a system of bureaucratic, militarist rule that used the army as its principal pillar of support, and was intended to use the people's surplus labor to strengthen the military forces, on the basis of an increasingly close alliance with imperialism.



## II. The Economic-Social Consequences of the Policy of Militarizing the Country and the Economy

Under the guidance of the reactionary political line, the militarization policy of the reactionary Beijing clique affected the developmental tendency of the Chinese economy.

First of all, that policy brought about a fundamental change in the nature of ownership of the means of production.

The Form of state ownership gradually changed. Its principal features were as follows:

The most important part of the state economy was the military production sector, which was directly managed by the state. That sector not only did not benefit economic development and the improvement of the people's living conditions, or play a role in the struggle against the tendency to enter the capitalist economic orbit, but developed on the basis of limiting the scale and developmental rate of the civilian production sector and increasingly tended to rely on the imperialist technical economy.

The civilian production sector was placed in the framework of serving the establishment of the rule of the reactionary ruling clique over the working masses and of serving the implementation of the policy of militarizing the country.

The predominant form of collective ownership in agriculture was rapidly changed over to the form of commune ownership. The representatives of Mao's reactionary political line became the people who controlled all economic and social activities in the commune. The production objectives and directions did not benefit the commune members, but were intended, above all, to fulfill all obligations toward the state.

In addition to the state and collective economic components, there continued to exist the capitalist economic component: the ownership of means of production by the national bourgeois class, in the form of shares in joint public-private enterprises, private enterprises of the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie, and companies in which capital had been invested by foreign capitalists. That sector is intimately related to the objectives of big-nation expansionism and hegemonism, so it has been protected and has tended to develop.

The policy of militarizing the economy and the country has also directly and decisively influenced the developmental tendency of the Chinese economy. As a tool for carrying out the line of expansion and hegemony, the militarization policy had to be aimed simultaneously at two requirements, both of which were fundamental and urgent -- building up the armed forces and developing the military industry system -- which inevitably had the following results:



1. The organization of labor according to socialist principles, which had only just begun to be established, was replaced by the militarization of labor in order to create a military organizational structure and maintain military discipline on the working masses even in base-level units.

Social production, which was in the process of reorganization, with the goal of improving the people's living standards and achieving the socialist industrialization of the nation, was reoriented toward developing military industry, which produced to meet the requirements of strengthening the military, became the direct objective of social production.

3. The development of the division of social labor was also contrary to the line of advance of a socialist economy. Most of the technical labor was mobilized for the military production sector. The civilian production sector was restricted to manual labor, for it had to rely on the capabilities of on-the-spot equipment. An important part of the technical workers and residents of the cities were exiled to the rural areas so that they could be placed in organizations under tight military control.

In the sphere of economic management, the policy of militarizing the economy required the imposition of a military administrative-management system. That system destroyed the bases of the socialist planning network of the national economy. It was an economic dictatorship of a bureaucratic, militaristic state.

With regard to economic relations with foreign countries, the militarization policy was also one of the elements which exerted direct and decisive influence. Between the "great leap forward" and the "cultural revolution" militarization, since an alliance could not yet be formed with imperialism, was carried out in accordance with a slogan of self-reliance. As a result of that policy the national economy suffered serious imbalance. The military industry system had not developed to the degree that it could meet the many economic and technical needs.

After the death of Mao the "Gang of Four" was overthrown and the reactionary Beijing clique sought all ways to expand its economic-technical relations with the imperialists in all respects: importing weapons and modern technical facilities in order to rapidly modernize its armed forces; opening the door for investment by foreign capitalists; importing technical equipment for the key industrial sectors related to the objective of modernizing the military; appealing for Chinese bourgeoisie abroad to bring their capital and technology back to China, allowing them to expand commercial dealings; promoting the development of natural resources, especially oil, in exchange for modern weapons and technology; sending people to capitalist countries to study business management methods, etc. That foreign economic policy directly affected the policy toward the bourgeois class in China. Therefore, while the "four modernizations" program, which is in fact the modernization of military forces, is being promoted, the tendency to develop along the path of capitalism, a tendency which objectively has continued to exist in the Chinese economy has proved to suit the purposes of the reactionary Beijing clique, has in recent years tended to grow.

The above developments demonstrate that the line of transforming China into a military superpower by militarizing the economy and the country has been the main factor that has impeded, stopped, and grandually worn away the socialist factors. That line plays a decisive role in transforming that economy into the economic foundation of the militarist regime, into an economy which produces to meet military goals and develops along the lines of increasingly entering the orbit of the capitalist economic system.

For more than 20 years the Chinese economy, influenced by the militarization policy, has been the economic foundation of the militarist regime, which has been manifested not only in the nature of the economic system and in the developmental tendency, organizational structure, and economic management structure, but also in effectiveness, to varying degrees, in both aspects: imposing the rule of the militarist regime on the working people, and assuring the domestic economic-technical means for a large army equipped with ordinary modern weapons to serve as the pillar of support for the militarist regime and as the principal tool for carrying out the line of big-nation expansionism and hegemonism.

Therefore, as long as the rule of the militarists continues to exist in China, that country will continue to be a vast military camp and a dangerous potential source of war for mankind. Nations struggling for national independence, democracy, and social progress cannot but be on guard.

By militarizing the economy and the country, the Chinese militarist regime is creating an economic foundation suitable for that policy. However, the formation and development of that economic base were accomplished by violent means and by political control of the economy. Therefore, immediately after that economic base was established its negating factor began to exert their effect: the development of severe economic-social contradictions that had been created by the militarization policy of the reactionary Chinese rulers. At present, the most severe contradiction is that between the broad working masses, including some military personnel, most of whom were dismissed from the armed forces during purges, and the reactionary ruling clique and its militarist regime. That contradiction is developing strongly and has led to the destruction of the militarized social-economic organizational structure of the communes, and demonstrations demanding freedom, demanding food and clothing, demanding the elimination of injustices, protesting military control, demanding the return to an army representing all the people, etc., have taken place in Beijing and in many other cities.

At present, in order to carry out the "four modernizations program, the core of which is the modernization of the military forces, the reactionary Beijing clique is seeking all ways to consolidate and perfect its regime in all respects. The Chinese people are now facing new difficulties. The struggle of the Chinese people against the cruel rule of the militarist regime must overcome many hardships and sacrifice. But all of the insidious and wily schemes of the reactionary Beijing clique cannot obscure the very profound, very fine impressions of socialism in the hearts and minds of all the people, and cannot extinguish the revolutionary thoughts and sentiments of the Chinese workers.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh, "For Independence, Freedom, and Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p. 37.
2. Ho Chi Minh, "For Independence, Freedom, and Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p. 37.
3. Le Duan: "Under the Party Banner, Raise Our Country to the Level of the Era," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 2 1980, p. 20.

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