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TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 6, 1980



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

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THE MAGNIFICENT MODEL OF THE NEW MAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 80
pp 1-3

[Opening address by Le Duan at 19 May meeting to commemorate Ho Chi Minh's 90th birth anniversary--VNA version of this address was previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 098, 19 May 80 pp K2-K4]

[Text] With immense feeling of gratitude, today our party and people celebrate the 90th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh, the great national hero, and outstanding disciple of Marx and Lenin, the leader of the genius and beloved teacher of the Vietnamese revolution, a preeminent fighter of the movement for the liberation of the working class and oppressed nations throughout the world.

President Ho Chi Minh is the greatest figure in Vietnam's modern history, the embodiment of the Vietnamese revolutionary path, the Vietnamese revolutionary struggle, the victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

As an ardent patriot, after so many years of travelling in foreign countries in search of a path to national salvation, living a worker's life mixing in the broad struggle of the working class, the young Nguyen Ai Quoc went from national liberation to proletarian revolution, from patriotism to Marxism-Leninism, assimilating the great truth of our times, namely independence and freedom must be closely linked with socialism. And throughout his ardent and rich revolutionary activities, President Ho Chi Minh carried aloft the banners of national independence and socialism, overcame untold hardships and trials and guided our people in extremely glorious revolutionary struggles to achieve splendid victories, radically changing the life in our country and exerting a far-reaching impact on the march of world history.

President Ho Chi Minh's secret to success was to have laboriously built our party into a new-type party of the working class, absolutely loyal to the ideal of national liberation and social emancipation, and to have constantly

linked the vanguard of the working class with the prodigious strength and inexhaustible capabilities of the masses, the actual makers of history. With a strong confidence in the masses, he devoted all his energy to educating, organizing and mobilizing people from all walks of life to stand up to the struggle to save and build the country, to establish and unceasingly consolidate the worker-peasant alliance as the basis for the building of the national united front, to organize the people's armed forces, establish the revolutionary power and build a new regime.

Through the Vietnamese people's entire revolutionary work which has been organized and led by him and our party, President Ho Chi Minh achieved a harmonious combination of the quintessence of our nation with the intelligence of our times; he brilliantly continued the four-thousand-year-old traditions of our people, demonstrated to the highest extent the revolutionary and scientific nature of the working class, and highlighted in the most brilliant way the remarkable features of our revolution. That is the close combination achieved right from the beginning between patriotism and proletarian internationalism, absolute loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, a staunch fighting spirit in face of all enemies and all difficulties, the creativeness in revolutionary theory and actions, the steadfastness before turning points of history, the ability to seize revolutionary opportunities and reverse the situation at critical moments, and the capacity to create and use the overall strength to secure victory.

President Ho Chi Minh was the finest Vietnamese, and one of the finest men of our times, a model communist with lucid ideas, a noble soul, an indomitable will, pure sentiments, modest manners and a simple life. He was an admirable example of the new man, the most eager patriot, the most earnest lover of socialism, master of society, nature and himself, the man of labor, affection and reason, who correctly combines his personal life with the life of the collective and of society as a whole.

Celebrating the birthday of President Ho Chi Minh, we pledge to continue studying his revolutionary thoughts, unceasingly foster our revolutionary virtues, so as to be worthy comrades and disciples of his, and at the same time, work hard to "train future revolutionary generations" to continue in a worthy manner the glorious work of Uncle Ho and the party. We pledge to strive hard to carry out his sacred teaching "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom!"; to overcome with determination all difficulties and obstacles, firmly defend our socialist fatherland and successfully build socialism, so as to build a plentiful, civilized and happy life, insure to every Vietnamese "adequate food, clothing and education," thus making a worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples and causing the Ho Chi Minh epoch to shine ever more brilliantly.

Continuing the international line of our party and our beloved President Ho Chi Minh, we will unceasingly consolidate and develop the special relationship between our people and the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, strengthen the solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community, strengthen solidarity and mutual support among the fraternal parties in the international communist movement in keeping with the requirements of "both reason and sentiment," persistently pursue a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with all independence and freedom-loving peoples in the world, stand ready to foil any design of imperialism and international reaction, successfully achieve the lofty goals of our times--peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

On behalf of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people, I sincerely thank the World Peace Council for the successful organization of the international conference "Vietnam and the World," a conference of important political significance, which amounts to a great support for us on the occasion of the 90th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh. I sincerely welcome Mr. Romesh Chandra, president of the World Peace Council, delegates attending the council's conference, and members of the diplomatic corps, who are attending these solemn celebrations.

I invite Truong Chinh, Political Bureau member of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee, to deliver his speech.

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PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH AND OUR TIME

OW191001 Hanoi VNA in English 0909 GMT 19 May 80

[Address by Truong Chinh at 19 May meeting marking Ho Chi Minh's 90th birth anniversary--published in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 80 pp 4-22. VNA version previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 100, 21 May 80 pp K1-K17.]

[Text] Hanoi VNA May 19--Following is the speech delivered by Truong Chinh, Political Bureau member of the Communist Party of Vietnam CC, at the grand meeting here this morning to celebrate the 90th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh:

Dear Comrade Le Duan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, distinguished members of the Presidium, distinguished foreign guests, dear comrades and friends in the diplomatic corps, dear comrades and friends,

With boundless pride and deep gratitude, our entire party, people and army celebrate the 90th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh, the leader of genius and great teacher of the Vietnamese working class and people, one of the outstanding leaders of the international communist and workers' movement, and one of the prominent activists of the national liberation movement in this 20th century.

President Ho Chi Minh rendered indeed immense services to our people. Celebrating his birthday, let us together recall the work he left us. That is the work of a genuine Marxist, a great thinker, a strategist of genius, an outstanding organizer, a communist with noble qualities and virtues. President Ho Chi Minh's services and teachings will enlighten our hearts and minds, increase our revolutionary ardour and capabilities, enabling us to go on fulfilling his testament and implementing the resolutions of our party and state, successfully building a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist Vietnam, fulfilling our obligations toward the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples.

President Ho Chi Minh and the Times

Dear comrades and friends, In mid-19th century, the French colonialists sent troops to invade our country. The Nguyen dynasty's kings and mandarins who represented a rotten feudal regime capitulated before the brutal force of French capitalism. But our people, who have a four-thousand-year history of glorious struggle, are determined not to lose their country and to be slaves. Generations after generations stood up in a continuing struggle against the foreign aggressors.

Patriots were out to seek ways to national salvation. Some looked for them in the Chinese revolution of 1911. Some sought them in Western bourgeois democracy. Others wanted to follow the example of Japan which had embarked on the road of reform. All these paths failed, however, to bring about the desired results. So many martyrs laid down their lives, but defeats followed defeats.

At a time when world capitalism had developed into imperialism, our revolution was in a deep crisis as to the line to be followed, and our country was "in a dark situation seemingly with no way out", the young Nguyen Tat Thanh (Ho Chi Minh's name at that time) left the country in search of a path to national salvation. He went to the West, where many revolutions had broken out at earlier stages. His purpose was to find out how the European and Western peoples had made revolutions, and then come back "to help his countrymen" drive the French colonialists out; he was also to find out what was hidden behind the words "liberty, equality, fraternity" so as to work out correct ways and methods for national salvation.

President Ho Chi Minh was born into the family of a poor, patriotic intellectual with peasant backgrounds. While abroad, he worked as an ordinary worker to earn a living and carry out revolutionary activities. He went to many countries in Asia, Africa, Europe and America, living among working people of various colour. Everywhere in colonial countries, he noted that the colonialized peoples were subjected to the same suffering and humiliation as his own countrymen. Everywhere, they were oppressed and exploited by the same enemy--imperialism--applying the same cruel colonialist policy. In developed capitalist countries, President Ho Chi Minh noted the existence of two categories of men at two opposing poles of society: on the one hand, the oppressed and exploited working class and labouring people living in dire poverty, and on the other, the moneyed, wealthy and powerful bourgeoisie and land-owners living in affluence and luxury. From this he reached important conclusions: All colonial peoples have a common enemy--imperialism; the enemy of the colonial peoples is also the enemy of the working class and labouring people in "mother countries"; to overthrow the common enemy, the oppressed nations and the working class and labouring people of all countries must unite; but to gain independence and freedom, each oppressed nation must rely in the first place on its own forces, it must liberate itself through its own efforts.

Having gone abroad with ardent patriotism and deep love for the people, having mixed with the French workers and made contacts with the peoples of a number of colonies, President Ho Chi Minh fostered a rich fund of knowledge and a broad and deep revolutionary sentiment; this allowed him to quickly assimilate Marxism-Leninism, the truth of our times.

His work in the French workers' movement had an important impact on his ideological evolution. The triumph of the Russian October Revolution was an extremely important event which exerted a decisive influence on his revolutionary activities. While he was studying Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the Russian October Revolution, Lenin's "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" came to him as magical light, qualitatively raising all his knowledge and revolutionary sentiments. President Ho Chi Minh accepted Marxism-Leninism in the same way as a man greets sunlight after a dark night. That is the invincible weapon that [he] himself and our party have used throughout the process of leading our people in the revolution, achieving victory after victory.

Having grown to maturity in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale, President Ho Chi Minh was deeply influenced by the Russian October Revolution, the socialist revolutionary movement of the working class, the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples, the peoples's democratic movement and the peace movement against imperialist war in the world. On the other hand, the successes of the revolutionary struggle led by him in all fields constitute positive contributions to the world people's revolutionary cause against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, etc. Ho Chi Minh and our times stand in a close relationship.

Carrying Afloat the Banners of National Independence and Socialism

Dear comrades and friends, in his effervescent revolutionary activities, President Ho Chi Minh strongly asserted a truth: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom". When the country was still deep in the dark night of slavery, he put forward this assessment: "Our people can no longer bear their present lot, they will awake, unite and realize that they had better die free than live in slavery".

During the period of active preparations for national liberation, he placed the "interest of national liberation above everything else" and issued this call: "We must unite in order to overthrow the imperialists and the Vietnamese traitors and save our race from the inferno".

At the accession to independence and the birth of the democratic republic he solemnly declared: "Vietnam has the right to be a free and independent country and in fact it is so already. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their independence and liberty".

When the French imperialists staged a comeback, he issued this call: "We would rather sacrifice all than lose our country. We are determined not to be enslaved". After the signing of the Geneva agreements and the temporary partition of the country, he affirmed: "Vietnam must be reunified. Our countrymen in the south and in the north will be reunited under the same roof".

When the U.S. imperialists started an air war of destruction, threatening to bomb North Vietnam "back to the Stone Age", he made on behalf of our people this statement of determination: "The war may last five, ten, twenty years, or longer. Hanoi, Haiphong, and a number of cities and enterprises may be destroyed, but the Vietnamese people will not be scared! Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. After victory, our people will rebuild our country and endow it with bigger and more beautiful constructions".

In face of the perfidious design of the U.S. imperialists to negotiate from a position of strength in order to force concessions on us, he expressed the determination to fight until complete independence: "As long as there remains a single aggressor on our soil, we will have to fight on, and drive him out".

Those sacred statements and appeals of President Ho Chi Minh have manifested the strong will and indomitable spirit of the Vietnamese nation in the struggle for independence and freedom.

President Ho Chi Minh is the highest symbol of the will for national independence. But his patriotism is quite different from bourgeois nationalism. Having gone from patriotism to Marxism-Leninism, he remained all his life a patriot, "Nguyen Ai Quoc" (Nguyen the Patriot). He thoroughly combined genuine patriotism with lofty internationalism. The truth of our nation, "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", was raised by him to the dimensions of our times and given a new content: National independence is closely linked with socialism.

Applying and developing Marxism in the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution, Lenin analysed in depth the characteristic features of imperialism, discovered the close relationship between proletarian revolution in "mother countries" and the national liberation revolution in colonies and advanced the famous slogan: "Workers of the world and oppressed peoples, unite!".

Having lived in a colony and witnessed the oppression many other nations are subjected to, President Ho Chi Minh developed the theory of Marx and Lenin on colonial revolution, profoundly studied colonialism and the organic relationship between the national liberation revolution in the colonies and the proletarian revolution in "mother countries". He made a detailed description, a penetrating analysis, and a strong case against colonialism in his famous work "French Colonization on Trial" and in many newspaper articles. He used the image of a leech with two suckers to describe imperialism and its cruel exploitation in "mother countries" and in colonies and the image of the two wings of a bird to point to the close relationship and the strengthening strength of the revolution in "mother countries" and colonies.

President Ho Chi Minh placed the relationship between the proletarian revolution in "mother countries" and the national liberation revolution in colonies as one of mutual support. He struggled in the international communist movement to secure the active support of the working class in capitalist countries for the revolutionary movement in the colonies, and considered such support to be a criterion for determining a genuine revolutionary party in "mother countries" and an important guarantee for the victory of the revolution in colonies. At the same time, he also placed the national liberation revolution in its relationship with the proletarian revolution in "mother countries" and pointed out the counter-impact of the national liberation revolution in the colonies on the proletarian revolution in "mother countries".

While placing the colonial revolution in its close relationship with the revolution in "mother countries," President Ho Chi Minh held that the national liberation revolution should not passively wait for the victory of the revolution in "mother countries". He stressed the dynamism of the national liberation revolution and asserted that in our times, given certain favourable conditions, the national liberation revolution could succeed first in the colonies and become a great support and encouragement for the proletarian revolution in "mother countries". He said: "The destiny of the world proletariat depends a great deal on the colonies which supply the major imperialist powers with food and soldiers. If we want to defeat these countries, we must first of all deprive them of their colonies." The victories of the revolution in Vietnam and many other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America over the past 30 years and more have clearly borne out the above-mentioned thesis of President Ho Chi Minh. Today, imperialism has been isolated of many colonies and finds itself in a serious, irretrievable crisis. Opportunities for the victory of the proletarian revolution in imperialist countries are getting all the nearer.

President Ho Chi Minh's great merit is to have found path to national salvation, a correct revolutionary path for the Vietnamese people.

President Ho Chi Minh affirmed the leading role of the working class with regard to the Vietnamese revolution and pointed out that the path of the Vietnamese revolution and the path to the liberation of all nations at the present time is the path of proletarian revolution advancing towards socialism and communism. He said: "Only by liberating the proletariat will it be possible to liberate the nation. There the liberations can only be the work of communism and the world revolution" he asserted in a forceful and clear-cut manner. "To save the country and liberate the nation, there is no other way than the proletarian revolution." This is because only by following the path of proletarian revolution can the national liberation revolution develop in line with the objective trend of history and firmly achieve victory. Only socialism and communism can bring genuine and complete independence to each nation and guarantee the oppressed nationals permanent liberation from all enslavement and enjoyment of a life in welfare and happiness. President Ho Chi Minh said: "In the present times, the national liberation revolution is an integral part of the proletarian revolution on a world-wide scale; national liberation revolution must develop into socialist revolution if total victory is to be achieved".

Dear comrades and friends, the objective of the Vietnamese revolution is national independence, socialism and ultimately communism, the best social system in the history of mankind, which firmly ensures freedom and happiness for the whole people. However, in the specific conditions of our country, in order to move from servitude to the building of an independent, free, comfortable and happy life, our people have to go through an uninterrupted revolutionary process including two stages--that of national people's democratic revolution and socialist revolution.

Corresponding to these two revolutionary stages are two different revolutionary strategies with different tasks, targets and methods, which cannot be confused. To confuse one with the other would lead either to a "leftist" or a "rightist" deviation, and inevitably to failure. The national-people's democratic and the socialist revolutions, however, are two intimately connected stages of a single process, the former being a preparation and creating premise for the latter and the latter being the necessary continuation and development of the former.

In accord with the Marxist-Leninist conception of uninterrupted revolution, President Ho Chi Minh and our party have held aloft the two banners of national independence and of socialism through each revolutionary stage and period.

In the national-people's democratic revolution stage, socialism and communism are a prospective objective, a watchword to mobilize and arouse the masses. As long as imperialism and the feudal class have not been overthrown, revolution has its focus all energy on the anti-imperialist and antifeudalist task so as to secure independence for the nation, land for the peasants, and democracy for the people. In the socialist revolution stage, socialism becomes the immediate objective but remains always linked with national independence. Socialist revolution and socialist construction are always bound with the defence of the fatherland.

In our country, after the great Dien Bien Phu victory, the North was totally liberated, but the South remained under the domination of imperialism and its lackeys. President Ho Chi Minh and our party advocated the combination of the two strategic tasks of national independence and socialism. President Ho Chi Minh said: "The Vietnamese revolution at present has to carry out two tasks simultaneously: To lead the North forward to socialism and to complete the national-people's democratic revolution in the South". The two tasks are interrelated and aimed at the same objective, namely, [to] achieve national independence and move toward the reunification of the country on the basis of socialism.

Even the moment the South was totally liberated, the country reunified and the whole of Vietnam took the path of socialism, national independence and socialism have become one.

National independence and socialism in the new revolutionary state has endowed our people with an unprecedented strength. This is the strength of more than 30 million Vietnamese animated with the common will to move forward to socialism and to defend the socialist fatherland. It is the strength of the socialist regime, the strength of the working people's collective mastery, a regime that has the ability to bring into play all the material and spiritual potentialities of the whole country to build up socialism and defend the fatherland. It is also the strength of the militant solidarity and all-round cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and the other brotherly socialist countries; the strength of the solidarity, friendship and mutual support between our country and the nonaligned states; the strength of the coordination between the Vietnamese revolution and the three revolutionary currents in the world; it enables us to defeat any enemy, overcome any difficulty, move steadily toward the successful construction of socialism and contribute effectively to the world revolutionary cause.

That is precisely with this marvelous strength that our people could win glorious victories in the two wars of defense of the fatherland against the aggression of the imperialist Sary clique, agent of Beijing along our south-western border and of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists along our northern border. It is with this wonderful strength that we have been able to score initial encouraging achievements in the socialist revolution of the whole country. And with the same strength, our people are sure to gallantly overcome all difficulties and trials of the socialist revolution process from small-scale production to socialism bypassing the capitalist stage of development.

Skillful Strategy and Tactics

Dear comrades and friends, finding the correct revolutionary path is extremely important but not enough; there must be suitable strategy and tactics in order to bring revolution to success. Strategy and tactics are the Marxist-Leninist science of revolutionary leadership, which President Ho Chi Minh and our party have grasped firmly, applied expertly and developed into a remarkable art adapted to the historical conditions of each of the stages and periods of revolution in our country.

President Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary strategy and tactics can be summed up in the following major questions determining the strategic objective and the enemy of the revolution in each stage; arranging and disposing revolutionary forces at each stage; correctly solving the problem of methods and forms of struggle, etc. All these questions are aimed at attacking and defeating the enemy, and achieving victory for the revolution.

While constantly bearing in mind that the ultimate goal of the Vietnamese revolution is socialism and communism in our country, President Ho Chi Minh and our party have always based themselves on the specific situation at each revolutionary stage in order to determine concrete strategic objectives with a view to defeating immediate specific enemies. In the national-people's democratic revolution stage, the strategic objective of the revolution is to secure independence for the nation, and land for the peasants, establish people's democracy. And therefrom proceed toward the socialist revolution. The target of the revolution then is imperialism and its henchmen, i.e. the feudal landlord class and the comprador bourgeoisie. In the socialist revolution stage, the strategic objective is socialist transformation and socialist construction, carrying out the three revolutions (revolution in production relations, scientific and technological revolution, ideological and cultural revolution), eradicating the exploitation of man by man, and building a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist Vietnam. The target of the revolution, then, is the bourgeoisie and the rich peasantry, counterrevolutionary henchmen of imperialism. In both these stages, one must link the regular strategic task with that of defending the fatherland against the imperialist aggressors and at present against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists as well.

In both the national-people's democratic and the socialist revolution, the leadership of the revolution befalls the working class while the people, mainly the workers and the peasants, constitute its driving force. In the national-people's democratic revolution, the national bourgeoisie is considered a revolutionary force; in the socialist revolution, however, this class in turn becomes the object of socialist transformation.

President Ho Chi Minh has shown a resolute confidence in the strength of the popular masses, the strength of the nation, and always stressed the strength of the nation with that of the time. At home he advocated the setting up of a broad national united front on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class. Abroad he advocated securing the sympathy, support and assistance of the forces struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, mainly increasing solidarity with the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and the other fraternal socialist countries, with the international communist and workers' movement, the workers' movement in the imperialist countries and the national liberation movement. President Ho Chi Minh's policy at home and abroad in both these revolutionary stages is to strive to have more friends and less enemies, to unite with all forces that one can unite with, win over all forces that can be won over, to neutralize any force that cannot be won over, the less foes one has, the better. The aim in so doing is to serve the revolutionary goal, isolate and bring about a high degree of differentiation within enemy ranks in order to defeat them, to the advantage of the Vietnamese revolution and the world revolution. President Ho Chi Minh's "more friends, less foes" policy is a principled revolutionary policy, quite alien to the pragmatic policy of the opportunists with only narrow, transient and nationally selfish aims. It is opposed-like fire is to water--to the traitorous policy of the reactionaries within the Huifeng ruling circles who are tailing after imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism in order to oppose the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the other socialist countries and undermine the national liberation movement and the peace and democratic movement in the world.

One characteristic feature of the Vietnamese revolution is that it has had to confront powerful enemies, occasionally several at a time. Therefore, to strive to thoroughly take advantage of contradictions within the ranks of the enemy, induce differentiation among them and isolate them so as to weaken them, and increase the revolutionary forces is one of the typical characteristic features of the revolutionary strategy and tactics of President Ho Chi Minh and our party. In the political report to the second national congress of the party, President Ho Chi Minh clearly pointed out that whenever necessary, for the sake of the revolution, one must be prepared to use "painful methods". He was referring to the March 4, 1946 preliminary accord reducing the number of enemies in our country and to the September 14, 1946 modus vivendi which played for time so as to prepare for the nationwide war of resistance.

Closely combining firmness of principle with flexibility in tactics, President Ho Chi Minh and our party have steered the Vietnamese revolution through countless tempests and gales toward today's great victory.

Once the strategic objective and the target of the revolution have been determined, and once the revolutionary forces have been arranged and deployed, solving correctly the problem of revolutionary methods and forms of struggle is of direct significance for the success of the revolution in each country. The history of the development of world revolution has shown that a given movement may find itself in a deadlock, an impasse, even in a state of failure, not because it has no clear objectives and orientations or because it is not able to organize the revolutionary forces, but essentially because it lacks the appropriate revolutionary methods and forms of struggle. President Ho Chi Minh's genius, our party's clear-sighted leadership and the revolutionary creativeness of our people have been outstandingly demonstrated in this field.

President Ho Chi Minh clearly pointed out: "In the arduous struggle against the enemy of the class and the nation, it is necessary to use revolutionary violence to oppose counterrevolutionary violence, seize power and safeguard it. To determine, depending on the concrete situation, the suitable forms of revolutionary struggle, to use correctly and combine skillfully armed struggle and political struggle so as to achieve victory for the revolution".

in the course of their struggle along the path of violent revolution charted by Marxism-Leninism, our people did not only use armed struggle, but highly varied forms of struggle, legal, illegal and semi-legal, open and underground, political, military, and diplomatic, in keeping with specific circumstances, and were able to skillfully combine these forms of struggle.

No other field requires the revolutionary to bring into play his creative ability more than that of the method to carry out the revolution. In this respect, courage is not enough. Knowledge, experience and wisdom are needed, too. The most dynamic and richest methods and forms of struggle can only stem from the realities of the masses' struggle, which--as Lenin clearly emphasized--"the most genuine parties, the most conscious vanguards of the most vanguard classes could not imagine". The history of our people's fifty years of revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the party and of President Ho Chi Minh is a whole treasure of rich experiences in tremendously varied methods and forms of struggle. This goes to show that it is wrong to consider any single method or form of struggle as absolute.

No matter how rich the method and forms of revolutionary struggle may be, in the final analysis violent revolution in various forms and on varying scales still remains the universal law governing the transition from an old social regime to a new. Violence is also necessary to retain power. However, is the mere use of violence enough to retain and consolidate power? It is not. After power has been seized, the specific objectives of the revolution are no longer the same, and therefore the form of the struggle also changes. One has to reorganize production, build up the new social regime, manage effectively all activities of the whole society, develop production, increase productivity, develop economy and culture, improve the material and cultural living conditions of the people, and strengthen the material basis of revolutionary violence. Thus once power has been seized, the revolutionary method cannot consist solely of violence and in the long run does not consist mainly of violence but in organizing and managing society, in "firmly grasping proletarian dictatorship, promoting the working people's right to collective mastery, carrying out simultaneously the three revolutions, etc." as laid down in the resolution of the fourth congress of our party.

President Ho Chi Minh also repeatedly issued instructions to this effect, particularly in the period after the victory of the war of resistance against the French colonialists, when the north of our country moved forward to socialist revolution while the national people's democratic revolution was carried on in the south.

At present, our crucially important task is to solve in a correct and creative way the problem of organizing and managing society in the spirit of President Ho Chi Minh's teachings, so as to develop production, stabilize the people's conditions of life, and increase and strengthen national defense in keeping with the characteristic features of a country with widespread small-scale production, moving straight to socialism, after going through several decades of continuous war and which is right now still facing a threat of disruptive activities and aggression on the part of Chinese hegemonism.

The revolutionary method of the Vietnamese revolution is permeated with the strategic spirit of offensive. This strategic spirit reflects the thoroughly revolutionary nature of the working class, the class that "dare even mount an assault on heaven" as Marx put it; it also reflects the valiant, indomitable fighting spirit of the Vietnamese nation which is endowed with a very glorious tradition of struggle against foreign aggression.

revolution is the work carried out by the masses who with no or very few weapons rise up to throw off the yoke of the aggressors and the exploiting classes who have at their disposal a huge apparatus of violence and large material and technical resources. That is why, in rising up by arms power, amidst the war of liberation, throw off the colonialist yoke and defeat imperialism's war of aggression, our people must go through a long struggle, gain victory step by step until total victory. Therefore, our people's strategy of armed uprising and liberation war must be a process of protracted struggle and gradual successes.

During the war of resistance against the French colonialists in the second national congress of the party, President Ho Chi Minh used an image to explain why the war of resistance had to be protracted. The French invaders are a "thick-peel tangerine", we must "sharpen our nails" before we can "tear them to pieces".

In the war of resistance against U.S. imperialism, in order to "drive the yanked out" and "topple the puppets" we had to develop the forces of the resistance throughout the country. From small to large numbers, from local to national scope in order to defeat the enemy; in the course of the war of resistance, we could and we must contain the enemy, force them to de-escalate and defeat them step by step.

Winning victory step by step does not mean "moving slowly degree by degree" referred to critically by Lenin. On the contrary we should make subjective efforts and strive to wrest victory as soon as possible. We should actively bend our efforts on bringing about a leap forward in the revolutionary process on the basis of an orderly growth. That is the moment when "a day equates 20 years". It is also the moment when revolution suddenly jumps on the enemy's neck and knocks him down. This was the case with the August revolution which defeated the Japanese fascists and overthrew the pro-Japanese administration. Likewise this was the case with the historic Dien Bien Phu victory in 1954 which crushed the French colonialists and the spring 1975 great victory which toppled the neo-colonialist regime of U.S. imperialism.

In the task of defending the fatherland, when we have liberated the whole country, and undertaken the socialist revolution on a nation-wide scale, and when we have the forces of the entire people having firmly become master of their state and a national defence strength greater than ever, and in view of the development of the three revolutionary currents, we are in a position to bring the war to defend the fatherland against a alien enemy to victory in a comparatively short period. However, we must always stand prepared to fight a protracted war, no matter how long it may last, resolutely defend our fatherland in any circumstance, and fulfil our international obligation toward the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea.

To create an opportunity, to take advantage of it, to quickly make use of it in order to win victory for the revolution is also a special feature of President Ho Chi Minh's science of leading the revolution.

What is a favourable opportunity? That is the moment when the enemy has been pushed into utter crisis and confusion, when the masses are already seething with revolution and determined to stand up to smash their shackles; when the vanguard of the revolution is ready to fight to the end and win victory. That is the moment when the party must resolutely take the decision to concentrate the revolutionary forces and strike decisive blows at the most sensitive points of the enemy in order to win victory; achieve a major breakthrough smashing the entire defence lines of the enemy, causing panic and chain disintegration in his ranks. That is the art of winning victory "in the last 15 minutes of the match", the art of bringing the war to a victorious close. In the August revolution, we did so.

In the winter-spring 1953-1954 military operations, we did so, too. In the lightning general offensive and uprising of spring 1975, we again did so. And in so doing we were sure of victory. President Ho Chi Minh's correct strategy and tactics had great effectiveness for the Vietnamese revolution.

To Organize Forces, To Win Victory

Dear comrades and friends, revolution is the work of the broad masses. It cannot be the result of heroic actions of individuals or a few people. That is why President Ho Chi Minh always paid great attention to building and organizing the revolutionary forces.

The victory of the revolution does not come by itself. It must be won. Throughout his revolutionary activities, President Ho Chi Minh carried out a patient, laborious and broad organizational work at home and even abroad, with varied and very flexible forms, to build the revolutionary forces, and promote the factors determining the victory of the revolution. Lenin said: "Give us an organization of revolutionaries, we will put Russia upside down!" In accordance with Lenin's teaching, President Ho Chi Minh paid primary attention to the formation of a working-class party in our country to lead the revolution. He founded our party, built and tempered it politically, ideologically and organizationally.

The Communist Party of Vietnam is the combination of the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement and the patriotic movement of the Vietnamese people. The success of President Ho Chi Minh is to have built a Marxist-Leninist party, which though the country was a colonial and semi-feudal one with a backward agricultural economy and widespread small-scale production, has always preserved the thoroughly revolutionary character of the working class, and which has brought into play the revolutionary and heroic traditions of the Vietnamese nation.

The party takes Marxism-Leninism as a guide for all its actions. President Ho Chi Minh and the party have creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Vietnam in working out correct lines and policies to lead the people in the revolution. The party is organized in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism; it takes self-criticism and criticism as a law of development, and maintains close relations with the masses. Its organization must be pure and strong. There must be absolutely no division, no faction in its ranks: "all comrades...must preserve the unity and oneness of mind in the party as the apple of their eye".

In Vietnam, a solid worker-peasant alliance, the national united front, the people's armed forces, the state of proletarian dictatorship have come into being only after the birth of the party. Likewise, international solidarity has been strengthened only after the birth of the party.

President Ho Chi Minh had a very high assessment of the role of the worker-peasant alliance, "the most wonderful thing in the world" as Lenin put it. He clearly saw the great strength of the Vietnamese peasants, their patriotism and democratic spirit. However, he stressed that only under the leadership of the working class can the peasantry bring into play its great revolutionary capabilities, only if the worker-peasant alliance is led by the working class can revolution succeed. Speaking at the international conference of peasants in 1923, he said: "In the present times, the working class is the only class endowed with the historic mission of leading the revolution to final victory by allying itself with the peasantry. The opportunist currents which adopt a demagogic attitude towards the peasants regarded as the main force, the only driving force of revolution, the most revolutionary elements, will only lead to adventurism, anarchoism and betrayal of Leninism".

In case of the betrayal of the worker-peasant alliance at the present time, we clearly see how President Ho Chi Minh's statement about the worker-peasant alliance at the 1950 International conference of peasants is a Lenin-like prediction. It is a clear warning for the tendencies to exaggerate the role of the peasantry, to deny or lower the leadership of the working class with regard to the peasantry in the revolutionary struggle.

Of course, the spirit of Lenin's views about the worker-peasant alliance should be correctly understood. In those countries where the peasantry accounts for only a very small percentage of the population, the working class must achieve a solid alliance not only with these few peasants, but also with all laboring people in order to fight against state monopoly capitalism. The working class must really lead this alliance, find forms of organization and methods of struggle for the socialist objectives, fitting with the specific historic conditions in its country.

President Ho Chi Minh was the founder of the national united front which included all revolutionary and patriotic forces of the people, of the nation, and is based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class. The slogan put forward by President Ho Chi Minh for the front is "Unity, unity, great unity; success, success, great success". While stressing that the front must be based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the working class, President Ho Chi Minh had a very high assessment of the patriotic traditions and national consciousness of the various nationalities living on Vietnamese soil, of the countrymen at home and abroad. He closely combined the working-class nature of the revolutionary movement with its national character. When the working class has become the representative of the nation, and the central percentage of the nation, one must know how to continue and bring into play the quintessence of one's nation in combination with that of the times.

President Ho Chi Minh's front policy is not a transient, but a lasting one. Unity is achieved on the basis of the front's program, of the general interests of the revolution. Unity goes along with struggle and criticism to help one's allies advance step by step in accordance with the stand of the working class, of the party, and mix up with the national-people's democratic revolution and the socialist revolution.

President Ho Chi Minh was the beloved father of the people's armed forces. He founded, educated and steered our army. For the first time in its history, the Vietnamese nation has an army which is really for the people and from the people. "Uncle Ho's soldiers" bear the working class character and have been all the time "loyal to the country, faithful to the party and the people, ready to fight with a self-sacrificing spirit for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism, to fulfill my duty, overcome any difficulty and defeat any enemy". The idea of arming the entire people, building both the main-force army and regional armed forces (including regional forces, guerrillas, militiamen and self-defence corps) was clearly expounded by President Ho Chi Minh in the directive to form the Vietnam propaganda group for the liberation army, one of the predecessors of the heroic Vietnam People's Army.

President Ho Chi Minh's special care for the soldiers shows that he deeply perceived the role of the armed struggle and the position of the people's armed forces in the revolutionary struggle. To celebrate the birthday of our great Uncle Ho in a practical way, let the cadres and soldiers of the Vietnam People's Army strive, together with the entire people, to build our army into a powerful people's revolutionary army, an increasingly modernized regular army which is determined to defend our socialist fatherland and engage in productive labour, making a contribution to the building of the economy and the country, thus fulfilling its national and international obligations.

President Ho Chi Minh was the founder of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker-peasant state in Southeast Asia, the first state of the working people in Vietnam's history, thus marking in an era of independence, freedom and socialism for our people. In the present stage that is a state of proletarian dictatorship which ensures the collective mastery of the working people while fighting external and internal enemies, suppressing the counterrevolutionary forces to build a new society. Only under the state of proletarian dictatorship can we carry out socialist transformation, mobilize and organize all the forces to build socialism, guarantee independence, freedom and happiness for the people.

Under the leadership of the party, the people's collective mastery is exercised mainly through the state. Therefore, to strive to consolidate the state in all fields, to ensure the effectiveness of the state's management combined with the working people's participation in management is precisely to strengthen the leadership of the party and ensure the exercise of the people collective master. All party organizations, mass organizations and the entire people, all citizens must respect the law, carry out all orders and directives of the state. Administrative cadres are not "revolutionary mandarins", therefore, they must not show arrogance, bully the people, but be worthy of their role as loyal servants of the people in accordance with President Ho Chi Minh's teaching.

President Ho Chi Minh believed that "proletarians throughout the world are brothers", and he paid constant attention to promoting and strengthening international solidarity, solidarity with the Soviet Union, the great achievement of the October Revolution, the first socialist state, the mainstay of peace and world revolution; solidarity with Laos and Kampuchea, with the socialist community; solidarity with the international communist and workers' movement, solidarity with the national liberation movement; solidarity with the non-aligned countries, solidarity with the peace- and justice-loving people in the world.

President Ho Chi Minh and our party advocated strengthening international solidarity to secure the sympathy, support and assistance of the revolutionary and progressive forces for the Vietnamese revolution, and also to enable the Vietnamese people to contribute actively to the world people's struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, expansionism and hegemonism, racism, apartheid, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

As I have said above, President Ho Chi Minh created and fostered the factors of victory for the Vietnamese revolution. Not only did he map out correct lines, guiding principles, strategies and tactics for the latter, he had also the primary merit in organizing forces and winning victory for our revolution.

An Ever-Shining Example

Dear comrades and friends, now, I would like to brush an outline of the virtues and style of work of President Ho Chi Minh. This is an integral part of his teachings, and inseparable part of the valuable ideological treasure he has bequeathed to our party and people.

President Ho Chi Minh was an exemplary communist militant. His noble virtues and qualities are the crystallization of the best traditions of the Vietnamese nation coupled with the communist virtues of the working class, the thoroughly revolutionary class of our times, which has the historic mission of transforming the world and establishing the communist society on our planet.

At least in his life and death, he unshakably served the revolution and the people, he devoted all his life in a self-sacrificing spirit for the independence and freedom of the nation, for socialism and communism. He said: "I have only one desire, a most earnest desire to achieve complete independence for our country, complete freedom for our people, and opportunities for every one of our countrymen to have adequate food and clothing and education". He wrote in his testament: "All my life I have served the fatherland, the revolution and the people with all my heart and strength. If I should now depart from this world, I would have nothing to regret, except not being able to serve longer and more".

The lofty qualities of President Ho Chi Minh were: thorough knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, constant care for correctly and creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of Vietnam to lead the revolution; firmness to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism against opportunism under any colour,

His noble virtues are: loyalty to the party, the country and the people; steadfastness in his revolutionary stand; lucidity in determining the line and policies; courage in actions and struggle; disinclination to get conceited over success or defeated in face of difficulties; exemplary behaviour in the everyday life; modesty, simplicity, industry, thrift, integrity, uprightness, total dedication to the public interest and complete selflessness.

In particular, President Ho Chi Minh did not like the cult of personality and did not allow anyone to make him the object of such a cult.

In President Ho Chi Minh, we can see clearly how words are matched by deeds. He urged cadres and party members to "sincerely practice self-criticism and criticism", and "to have the courage to correct their mistakes once they are aware of them".

He resolutely combatted individualism, regarding it as the enemy of socialism, and urged cadres and party members to make efforts in all fields, especially to overcome individualism, in order "to be worthy of their role as leaders and very loyal servants of the people".

President Ho Chi Minh's virtues are not dogmas for others to conform themselves with, in order to "overcome selfishness" and "reform oneself" in the feudalistic manner. They are forged in the process of revolutionary actions and struggle and are aimed at serving the revolutionary goals of the proletariat and the nation.

President Ho Chi Minh was constantly close to the people, he attentively listened to the opinions of the masses, he had confidence in their creative capabilities. He showed attention to all strata of people, especially the youth, children, old folk, minority people. In his testament, he "leaves his boundless love to the whole people, the whole party, the whole army, to his nephews and nieces, the youth and children".

President Ho Chi Minh attached great importance to forming the new, socialist-type man having both moral qualities and intellectual knowledge, considering this to be a condition for successfully building socialism. However this should not be taken up wrongly to mean that only after completing the training of the new socialist-type man can we begin to build socialism, because the new socialist-type man can come into existence and grow up only in the process of the socialist revolution and the building of the new society.

President Ho Chi Minh also attached great importance to the continuation of the revolutionary work of the party. In his testament, he reminded us of the necessity to "train and educate future revolutionary generations".

At this moment, our entire party, people and army must strive hard to overcome difficulties, combat the negative aspects in society, and fulfill the tasks entrusted by the party and state. To learn and put into practice President Ho Chi Minh's recommendations about virtues and style of work is a very necessary and very important question.

Let Us Steadily March Forward and Fulfill Our Tasks

Dear comrades and friends, following the path charted by President Ho Chi Minh and learning from his teachings, our entire party, people and army are striving to fulfill these strategic tasks in the new stage:

1. To successfully build socialism in the whole country taking socialist industrialization as the central task of the period of transition; to complete socialist transformation while building the material and technical bases of socialism;

2. To strengthen and consolidate national defence; resolutely defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the fatherland against all schemes and acts of aggression of the imperialists and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists toward our country;

3. To fulfill our international obligation toward the Lao and Kampuchean people, to strengthen solidarity, friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries; to actively contribute to the struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

At the same time, our people must concentrate their efforts on carrying out the urgent tasks laid down by the 5th plenum of the party Central Committee, namely:

- a) To boost production, stabilize and ensure the life of the people;
- b) To strengthen national defence and security, stand ready to fight against aggression in defence of the fatherland;
- c) To resolutely strive to overcome the negative aspects in economic and social life, especially theft, bribery and bullying the people.

Here I wish to lay emphasis on some aspects of the question of implementing the above tasks.

Socialism is designed to make the country prosperous and to ensure to the entire people a plenty and happy life. However, at present the life of our people still meets with many difficulties. These difficulties, of course, are only temporary, but neither can they be overcome overnight.

As far as the objective causes are concerned, these difficulties stem from the fact that the economy of our country is an economy of small-scale production advancing directly to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, and was moreover heavily devastated by more than thirty years of war. No sooner had we defeated the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration than the Beijing expansionists in collusion with U.S. imperialism applied a policy of containment, provocation, sabotage and aggression toward our country. Added to this were successive natural disasters.

As far as the subjective causes are concerned, we have shortcomings in economic management and in the organization for the implementation of the policies and plans. We have shown some relaxation in the ideological struggle and in the application of the party discipline as well as the laws of the state.

Under the leadership of the party, our people and army have defeated the international gendarme-U.S. imperialism. We have also defeated the Chinese expansionists and their lackeys. The warm praise of our glorious feats of arms by the world's peoples has given us added enthusiasm, confidence and pride. However, due to the difficulties in the daily life and to the failure to understand the causes of these difficulties, and especially to understand how to overcome them, a number of persons have developed a pessimistic, negative, wavering and skeptic attitude like a ship losing its compass in a storm.

In order to stabilize the life of the people and overcome the negative aspects in economic and social activities, we must do the following: Strictly observe the economic line of the 5th national congress of the party and the resolution of the 6th plenum of the party Central Committee; work out accurate state plans, work out a number of concrete economic policies and organize a good implementation thereof; to enhance socialist emulation and ensure every required condition for the emulation movement; effectively improve economic management, boost production, correctly solved the burning economic problems; enhance the political education and the ideological struggle, strictly observe the party discipline; resolutely suppress counter-revolutionary acts and punish law violations, firmly maintain public order and security; to push up the law-making process, and scrupulously implement the laws and welfare provisions; to strengthen the organizational and organizational reshaping work of the party and the state; increase all-round cooperation with the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

By carrying out the above points with determination and perseverance, we are sure to come out of the present difficult situation.

Dear comrades and friends, no matter how difficult the economic situation and our daily life may become, we must increase our defense capabilities to defend our fatherland and fulfill our international obligations, first of all toward Laos and Kampuchea. Salient features of the world situation now are: an unceasing and strong development of the three revolutionary currents; the continued broadening and consolidation of the world system of socialism; the resolute action of many newly-independent countries taking the path of non-capitalist development. The national liberation movement is surging powerfully and causing the continued disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism. The workers' movement and the struggle for democracy and social progress are developing in the imperialist and capitalist countries.

On the other hand, U.S. imperialism, the international gendarme, who has suffered a dismal defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese people, is playing the "China card" against the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the other socialist countries, the struggle of the various peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. U.S. imperialism and other imperialist countries are taking advantage of the "four modernization" policy of the Beijing authorities to manipulate the Chinese market and speed up the process of degeneration of the politico-social regime in China (along a capitalist direction).

The policy of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists against the Soviet Union, Vietnam, etc...has become part and parcel of the global counter-revolutionary strategy of U.S. imperialism. The enemies of the Vietnamese people are also the enemies of the socialist community and of the peoples in Southeast Asia and the world.

However, the revolutionary progressive and peace forces in the world are unceasingly growing. The world balance of forces continues to tip in favour of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, to the disadvantage of the imperialists and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists.

The non-aligned movement has affirmed in Havana its policy of "opposing imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism including Zionism, and all forms of aggression, occupation, domination, intervention or hegemony of foreign countries..."

Obviously, the imperialists and the Chinese expansionists are being isolated and will be even more isolated. Of late, Carter has truculently tried by every means to rekindle the cold war and brandished the threat of a hot war. U.S. imperialism is deliberately delaying the ratification of SALT II, pressing its Western European allies to unfold plans for deployment of missiles of various kinds directed at the Soviet Union. It has launched slander campaigns against Vietnam about the Kampuchean question and against the Soviet Union about the Afghan problem. Following repeated setbacks in Iran, it has sent many warships to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. At the same time, they have carried out a military exercise in the Caribbean Sea, thus directly threatening the independence- and freedom-loving countries in the Western Hemisphere.

The interventionist and war acts of the imperialists and the international reactionaries headed by U.S. imperialism are poisoning the world atmosphere, obstructing the process of detente, threatening peace and the independence of various nations, creating tension in the international situation.

We warmly welcome the May 12th statement of Comrade Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, in the traditional meeting in Moscow of veterans of the 12th Army. He said: "The Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union will continue doing their utmost to safeguard peace in the whole world, and dealing a telling riposte at all schemes of the reactionaries and imperialists."

We highly assess the initiatives of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, aimed at enhancing the process of detente, and safeguarding peace. We warmly welcome the action of the fraternal countries in the Warsaw Alliance (whose 25th anniversary has just been celebrated solemnly) to undertake the main mission of safeguarding peace in Europe and the world and preventing the catastrophe of a new war.

U.S. imperialism thought that by taking hold of the Chinese market it may avoid or belittle its serious crisis. The Beijing expansionists thought that by putting a country with a big population like China in the wake of the imperialists to oppose the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the other socialist countries, they may achieve the "four modernizations" and have enough strength to achieve their expansionist and hegemonistic aims in Southeast Asia and in the world. But they are mistaken.

In the struggle to defend their fatherland against all aggressive schemes and acts of the imperialists and the Chinese expansionists, the Vietnamese people have a great number of friends in all continents.

...is because while fighting against the above enemies, the Vietnamese people are defending their sacred fatherland and the fundamental rights of their nation while fulfilling their international obligation--to defend the outpost of the socialist system in Southeast Asia, to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Indonesian countries, to defend peace and stability in Southeast Asia, and to actively contribute to the world people's struggle for peace among nations, for national independence, democracy and socialism.

Recently, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists again declared that they would teach Vietnam another lesson. Let them draw a lesson from early 1979. Should they frenziedly embark on a new aggression against Vietnam, they will court an even more humiliating and heavier defeat:

Let the entire Vietnamese people and the fighters of the Vietnam People's Armed Forces constantly enhance their vigilance and stand ready to fight and defeat the aggressors. It is very necessary to strengthen and consolidate national defence in combination with the building and developing the economy.

Dear comrades and friends, celebrating the 90th birthday of great President Ho Chi Minh, let our entire party, army and people endeavor to learn from his thoughts, virtues and style of work in order to fully implement his sacred testament and all tasks of the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage.

As a result of a creative application of Marxism-Leninism, the thoughts of President Ho Chi Minh have played a decisive role in the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, and actively contributed to the world revolution. His revolutionary work will live forever with our country. His beloved image will always be engraved in the minds and hearts of each Vietnamese and our foreign brothers and friends.

We sincerely thank the Soviet Union, Laos, Cambodia and the other socialist countries for celebrating the 90th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh, expressing a high assessment of his merits, and voicing close fraternity and warm support towards the Vietnamese people in the building and defence of their fatherland.

We sincerely thank the World Peace Council and Chairman Romesh Chandra for having organised an international conference "Vietnam and the World" in celebration of President Ho Chi Minh's 90th birthday. The Vietnamese people warmly welcome the conference which has just concluded with its declaration highly evaluating the contributions of President Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese people to the world people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, and expressing its solidarity and valuable support for the just cause of the Vietnamese people. We sincerely thank all the 100 guests who have come to Vietnam to attend this conference and are here today to join in celebrating the 90th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh.

I sincerely thank you for your attention.

--Long live all-conquering Marxism-Leninism!

--Long live the Communist Party of Vietnam!

--Long live the peaceful, independent, unified and socialist Vietnam!

--Long live the success of the world people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism!

--President Ho Chi Minh will live forever in our revolutionary work!

THE LINE OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND

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[Article by Chu Huy Man--passages within single and double slantlines denote italicized and boldface type respectively in the original]

[Text] In order to defend the fatherland, bankrupt the Beijing reactionaries' plots to weaken and annex our country, and defeat their wars of aggression, we must /thoroughly understand the party's revolutionary lines and tasks in the new stage./ We must firmly grasp /all of the party's political, economic, military, domestic and foreign lines./ Only by so doing can we profoundly understand the military duties of our people and troops, the combat objectives of our people's armed forces and the guidelines for building an all-people national defense. Only in this way can we correctly apply the strategic guidelines to people's warfare to defend the socialist fatherland. And only in this way can we creatively resolve all the problems concerning military sciences, arts and technology.

This is /the unified and organic relationship between politics and economy and the military;/ between the revolution and people's warfare; and between the revolutionary strategy and the strategy of people's warfare. Everyone knows that war is the continuation of politics by other means (force) and that the military depends on politics and the economy. Therefore, in conducting the people's war in our country, we must thoroughly understand our party's revolutionary lines, tasks and methods. The revolutionary struggle with its objectives, forces and methods not only determines political goals, but also governs the laws of revolutionary warfare. Therefore, it governs the military arts and even military technology. War has its own rules. In war, the laws of revolutionary struggle continue to develop their role in the fluid course of the laws of revolutionary warfare. Therefore, we must firmly grasp the laws of revolutionary struggle in general--and the laws of the revolutionary warfare in particular--and must know how to apply the laws of revolutionary struggle in the course of war and to use the war rules in resolving problems of war leadership, methods of waging

war and military arts. Only by so doing can we win and keep the strategic initiative necessary to lead the war to victory and to continuously advance the revolution.

Real experiences in the past few decades indicate that our successes in resolving problems of the military sciences and arts to defeat the big imperialists' wars of aggression and totally liberate our beloved country were mainly due to our ability to constantly proceed from the party's revolutionary lines and to thoroughly understand the viewpoint of subordinating politics to the military. The Vietnamese people's great victory in their war against imperialist aggression and the rich creativeness of our troops and people in the past were closely linked to the independent, sovereign, correct and creative political and military lines of our party. From the revolutionary objectives to the political goals of the people's warfare and the combat objectives of our people's armed forces, from the revolutionary forces to the force of people's warfare, and from the revolutionary methods to the procedures for waging war and the military arts...all of these constitute a system of inseparable matters closely connected with one another.

The Vietnamese people's warfare and their wars for national liberation and defense during the two sacred resistance struggles against France and the United States were quite different from what was called "people's war" during the national democratic revolution in China carried out in accordance with Mao Zedong's political lines and military ideology, which have nothing to do with Marxism.

The people's war and liberation war of Vietnam relied on the forces of the entire people, with a main force army composed of workers and peasants--not with peasants serving as main force troops. We consider revolutionary violence to be mass violence, involving the use of both political and armed forces and both the armed and political forms of struggle--not merely as an armed struggle in accordance with the view that "everything grows out of the barrel of a gun" and that "only with guns can the whole world be transformed." That was why our liberation war combined these two forces and these two forms of struggle. On the battlefields it combined military offensives with mass uprisings, instead of using armed struggle as the mainstay. Therefore, the strength of the Vietnamese people's war is the aggregate strength of our people and our country, and not just military strength or the strength of armed forces. We advocated striking at the enemy in all three strategic areas--the jungle and mountain areas, the countryside and plains, and the urban areas--instead of relying on the countryside and using it to encircle the urban areas, and instead of using armed struggle in the countryside as the mainstay while permanently lying in wait in the urban areas. Our liberation war involved both seizing control over territory and destroying the enemy. Destruction of the enemy is meant to aid the masses in rising up to seize control over territory, and uprisings to seize control of territory are aimed at acquiring more land

and more forces in order to attack and destroy the enemy. We did not consider destroying the enemy as the main effort because this might lead to abandonment of territory and people and to "long marches" into other places when conditions for destruction of the enemy are lacking. We were fully imbued with the concept of an offensive strategy and consistently carried out strategic offensives against the enemy in a protracted war, gradually increasing the scale of our attacks from small to large and from local to nationwide, repelling the enemy forces step by step, destroying them one by one, first winning partial victory and eventually achieving complete victory. This is totally different from the protracted war strategy, which is shot through with the concept of defensive strategy, etc.

The war for national defense in our country is marked with characteristics which set it apart from other wars for national defense in the fraternal socialist countries, despite the fact that these countries also live under the socialist system and espouse the same Marxist-Leninist ideology. This is because the specific historical conditions of our country and our people differ from others. The revolutionary line and the domestic and foreign policies of a socialist country must always be the results of a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific historical conditions of that country.

Obviously, the military science and art of a country are determined by its political and military lines. It cannot be otherwise. We must definitely proceed from the political line of the party if we want to correctly resolve military problems. This was done in the past liberation wars and must be done again in the present war for national defense. We must be highly creative in the field of military affairs. Of course, in military affairs, independence is only relative, especially when military science and art are involved. Besides, military art often bears a fairly distinctive mark of national traditions and national character. For this reason, on the one hand, we highly value the wealth of the world's common military knowledge, make every effort to learn from the experiences of the Soviet Union, the fraternal countries and other nations in the world, and really respect and absorb the best of our era. On the other hand, we must be selective in our study, always use the party's revolutionary line as the point of departure, and proceed from the political, economic and social bases of our country and from the historical, territorial and human conditions of our Vietnamese nation.

The 4th Party Congress laid down the /general line of socialist revolution and the line of socialist economic building/ for the new stage in our country so as to turn Vietnam into "a socialist state with a modern agro-industrial economy, advanced culture and science, strong national defense, and a civilized and happy life for its people." The congress also raised very basic problems concerning the /military line/ of the party in the new stage. This is a long-term program for national construction and national defense in the new era of the nation, the era of independence, unification and socialism.

The resolution of the 4th Party Congress was a creative application and development of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism in accordance with the conditions of our country and the traditions of our nation for the purpose of building and defending the life of our people. Various conferences of the Party Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the Central Military Party Committee, prompted by the actual situation in our country in different periods, have concretized one by one the problems raised during the congress and have gradually perfected the party's revolutionary line and military line. Here, I only raise a number of basic problems which we should understand more clearly and more fully so as to correctly resolve the problems of military science and art in the defense of the fatherland.

//1. Combine and hold high the banners of national independence and socialism in the new stage. In our country, today, national independence and socialism are one.//

As the political report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Party Congress clearly pointed out, the line of combining and holding high the banners of national independence and socialism was "the Red thread running through the entire history of the Vietnamese revolution since the founding of the party, and the ever victorious banner of the Vietnamese revolution." Comrade Le Duan has also affirmed that combining national independence with socialism was "the most essential characteristic of the Vietnam Communist Party's strategic line." (1)

The party's line conforms with the law of objective evolution in the present era, a new era in the history of mankind ushered in by the great Russian October Revolution. The working class, due to its objective role in social production, has become the central factor promoting the advance of human society. Socialism and communism will assuredly replace capitalism the world over. The working class has assumed the historic role of the liberator of nations, the builder of genuine independence and the promoter of non-capitalist development, and has become the genuine representative of nations.

In his quest for the road to national salvation, great President Ho Chi Minh, with his intellectual genius, absorbed this objective truth and drew from it the conclusion that /"to save the country and to liberate the nation, there is none other than the road of proletarian revolution"/ (2) and that "only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed nations and working people in the world from the yoke of slavery." (3)

Throughout a half century of struggle, our party has always firmly maintained and held high this banner, correctly and creatively using it in various stages of the revolution. In the August Revolution and during the anti-French war of resistance, it implemented a single revolutionary strategy,

namely the national democratic revolution. During the Anti-U.S. war of resistance, it simultaneously carried out two strategic tasks, namely the socialist revolution and the national democratic revolution. Our party has steadily led the Vietnamese working class and nation on the assuredly triumphant road of revolution, winning one victory after another.

Now that our entire country has become independent and reunified after the great victory in the Anti-U.S. war of resistance and is advancing to socialism, /the Vietnamese fatherland and socialism have become one./ The working class of our country has become the leader of all activities of the entire nation; the working people of our country have become the collective masters of their homeland. Under the leadership of the party of the working class, our people are building socialism in their beloved Vietnamese fatherland. Only socialism can deliver our people from poverty and backwardness forever and give them a civilized and happy life, only socialism can make the Vietnamese fatherland independent, free, stable and ever richer and stronger. Therefore, to build and defend the Vietnamese fatherland is to build and defend socialism in our country, and vice versa. In carrying out the duties of the working class, we also carry out the duties of our nation. We work and fight for the independence and freedom of our fatherland as well as for socialism; for fulfillment of our duties toward our own nation as well as for fulfillment of our international duties toward other nations; and for the ideal of socialism and communism in our country as well as in the rest of the world. We do not commit aggression against any country and are resolutely opposed to all aggression. We want solidarity, peace and friendship with other nations, with the progressive people, and with genuine revolutionaries--even in the countries which commit aggression against us. This is the line of combining the banners of national independence and socialism and holding high the revolutionary banner of the party in the new era. This is the correct stand of the working class, of genuine patriotism and also of genuine proletarian internationalism at present. Our party is opposed to all tendencies of bourgeois nationalism including big-country chauvinistic nationalism and bigoted nationalism.

The party's revolutionary line reflects the basic and long-term interests of the working class, all other laborers and the people of all nationalities living in Vietnam, and conforms with the revolutionary objectives of our time. For this reason, this line is capable of mobilizing and rallying all the patriotic and socialism-loving forces in our country. For this reason, our Vietnamese nation will surely win the sympathy, support and assistance of forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism throughout the world. We are totally capable of combining the strength of our nation with that of the new time so as to successfully build and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland, to fulfill our international duties, and to defeat any enemy, including Chinese expansionism, imperialism and all other reactionary forces serving as their henchmen, contributing to the cause of revolution and peace of the peoples in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

The party's revolutionary line enlightened our people and armed forces, enabling them to clearly recognize the /new strategic objects of the Vietnamese revolution and the new objects of combat of our people and armed forces in the new stage. This line determined the guidelines for and aim of increasing our people's national defense strength in all respects/ as as to defeat any war of aggression waged by the Chinese expansionists in collusion with U.S.-led imperialists in an attempt to weaken and annex our country, to oppose and sabotage the independence and freedom and the socialist gains of our people, to oppose and sabotage the independence and socialism of the three Indochinese peoples, to oppose the Soviet Union and to oppose the three revolutionary currents throughout the world.

Holding fast to and always imbuing our entire people and armed forces with the party's line of combining and holding high the banners of national independence and socialism is vital for the Vietnamese revolution in the long run. This is also the most basic problem which determines the victory of our nation in the cause of national defense and which also determines the guidelines for building the people's armed forces, consolidating the all-people national defense and developing the aggregate strength of the people's war for national defense in case the enemies are rash enough to start a war of aggression against our country.

//2. Firmly grasp proletarian dictatorship, develop the laboring people's right to collective mastery.//

As the 4th Party Congress resolution has indicated, "it is a primary and decisive requirement to establish and constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to implement and constantly develop the laboring people's right to collective mastery" in order to bring the socialist revolution to total victory.

Collective mastery is a hallmark which permeates the party line of socialist revolution and reflects a new and very creative developmental step taken by our party in applying Marxist-Leninist dialectics in general and the dialectics of scientific socialism in particular. It is organically linked with our party's line of combining and upholding the banners of national independence and socialism in the new stage. Le Duan drew the analysis: "National independence is closely linked with the people's happiness and right to collective mastery. National independence as well as the people's happiness and right to collective mastery can exist only on the basis of socialism."(4)

Collective mastery is a goal and, at the same time, a motive force of proletarian dictatorship and of the whole socialist revolution of our people. Therefore, /it is also the source of invincible strength of the all-people national defense and the people's war to defend the socialist fatherland./ Lenin clearly said that under the old regime, the laboring people were

oppressed, exploited and drowned in darkness and ignorance, and that "a small group of aristocrats and some small groups of bourgeois intellectuals made history while the masses of workers and peasants were still bewilderingly living in a dream. Therefore, history could only progress terribly slowly." (5) However, the situation completely changed when the proletariat emerged from being a class "by itself" to become a class struggling "for itself," determining its role in history and declaring war against capitalism, and when the socialist revolution succeeded and the working class and the laboring masses have been liberated to become collective masters of society. The laboring masses, once liberated and aware of their role in history and their great strength, can make history with complete self-awareness and create extraordinary strength to advance human society by great strides. Therefore, collective mastery constitutes the greatest developmental step in our national history, the most profound change in our social regime and a surge forward to the peaks of freedom and happiness of the laboring people in our country. If we can implement and develop the laboring people's right to collective mastery, our nation will certainly advance with marvelous strides, creating a huge motive force for national construction and defense. We must collectively master the whole country, each locality and each installation politically, economically, culturally and socially. We must master society, nature and ourselves. We must organically link the rights to collective mastery with genuine freedom for each individual. Only in this way can true and correct mastery be secured to create the greatest strength for national defense. "The greatest strength lies in the right to collective mastery of the laboring people. This right, once developed, will play a very significant role in the development of our people's army and in the consolidation of our national defense." (6)

We must know how to apply the party's revolutionary concept of socialist collective mastery in the military field in order to build a steadfast all-people national defense and a powerful people's armed force and to prepare for a widespread people's war for national defense. We must exercise firm control over the entire country as well as in each locality and each establishment. We must creatively apply the strategic concept of exercising control in order to launch attacks and vice versa. We must also creatively apply the watchwords of exercising control over the country and over the battlefields in order to eliminate the enemy and vice versa. We must mobilize the entire people to fight the enemy, must develop our strength locally and must invent many resourceful and creative tactics to fight the enemy in an organized manner. We must fight violently and must fight continuously for a long period of time at the frontline as well as in any area under enemy attack. We must closely combine the local people's war with the war involving regular army corps. We must motivate and organize the entire people to fight while engaging in productive labor, closely combine combat with productive labor, stabilize daily activities when there is a war, and strive to insure that the more we fight, the stronger we will become and that we can defeat the enemy under all circumstances.

We must gradually establish an appropriate, closely organized, effective and increasingly perfect mechanism to insure the laboring people's collective mastery in each establishment, each locality, on a national scale and in every field of social life. We must oppose all manifestations of disrespect for and infringement of the laboring people's collective mastery. It should be emphasized that establishing a system of collective mastery constitutes a very long struggle. However, if we know how to fully respect and develop the laboring people's collective mastery, we can, right from the outset, create a substantial driving force. Only with this driving force can we mobilize a large section of the people to participate in national construction and defense, and can we prepare every person ready to fight courageously and intelligently and to sacrifice his life for the fatherland if necessary.

//3. Simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, step up the country's socialist industrialization, and build a new regime, a new economy, new culture and new socialist men.//

The above are the major contents of the general line of our country's socialist revolution in the new stage. These contents also embody the duties and objectives of our country's socialist construction and the methods to achieve the above duties and objectives.

Carrying out socialist revolution means transforming old-fashioned production relations, eradicating the system of exploitation of man by man, and building a political and spiritual singleness among the people, while building and gradually perfecting new production relations, eliminating backwardness and building modern material and technical bases of socialism. It is necessary to build a socialist society strong in all respects--political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical--and to build a new regime, new economy, new culture and new socialist men. To do so, we must simultaneously carry out the three revolutions--the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution--with the scientific and technical revolution at the core. These three revolutions must be carried out simultaneously and must be closely inter-related and closely inter-react. A new regime, new economy, new culture and new socialist men will be the combined products of the three revolutions.

This is a law of the socialist revolution in our country. It can be said that another law is to create a comprehensive and combined strength for the all-people national defense and the people's war for defense of the socialist fatherland. This is because only by stepping up the three revolutions can we create for ourselves a political and moral strength, develop our abilities to organize and strengthen our material and technical bases in national defense; and only through these revolutions can we turn out new socialist men with a high determination and competency to achieve mastery in national construction and defense.

/The new regime/ has liberated all laboring people from oppression and exploitation and made them the collective masters of society, thus creating

conditions for everyone to participate with a high sense of voluntariness in all activities of society, especially in fighting the enemy to defend the country, to protect their houses, villages, streets and native places, and to firmly safeguard our airspace and territorial waters. The new regime has also liberated our country's society from the spontaneous growth of small-scale production and has made it possible for the laboring people to voluntarily build their own lives. Thus, it has created a very great organizational potential to muster in a most satisfactory way and coordinate in a most rational manner all the potentials of the country and people in defeating the enemy.

/The new economy/ will have large-scale socialist production as the economic base of the new regime. By its nature, the new economy will have the potential to /"meet even more effectively the growing material and cultural needs of the entire society by constantly developing and perfecting production through the building of a system of collective mastery and a modern science and technology."(7) Therefore, it will be capable of producing more grain, food and other consumer goods in order to create a bountiful life for the people as well as surplus food for them to keep in reserve. It will also be able to meet the enormous manpower and material requirements of the people's war for defense of the fatherland. This economy, as already outlined in the party policy to build the socialist economy, will be a unified national agro-industrial economic structure, covering both the centrally run economy and the local economy. The centrally run economy, with its key economic sectors and establishments, will have a most decisive effect on the national economy. As for the local economy (the economy of provinces and cities)--a component of the national economy--we must build a rational economic structure which consists of an industrial-agricultural economic structure at provincial and city levels, and an agro-industrial economic structure at the district level. The industrial economy and the agricultural economy form the centrally run economic structure, which in turn closely combines with the local economy in achieving vigorous mutual growth. The economic sector must closely combine with national defense, increase cooperation with fraternal socialist countries and, at the same time, promote increased economic cooperation with other countries... Only by so doing can we build a prosperous and powerful country and create material strength for all-people national defense and the people's war for national defense on a national scale as well as in each locality. A developed economy with modern communications lines, seaports, airfields and national defense facilities will be an essential element for creating a force to fight the enemy locally as well as for providing high mobility for modern, regular army corps and for providing equipment resupply to, and enhancing the rear service potential of, the armed forces.

/The new culture/ is one with a profound socialist content and a marked national character. Built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the concept of socialist collective mastery, it selectively absorbs the latest achievements

of today's human civilization and the successes of modern culture and science and technology. At the same time, it crystallizes and improves on the best of the Vietnamese national traditions and culture: industriousness, creativity, optimism, mutual love among laborers, ardent patriotism, stalwartness and dauntlessness in struggle for independence and freedom, respect for truth... This is the moral motive force, ethics and strength of our people in building and defending their country.

/The new socialist men/ in our country are men who are deeply imbued with the national moral values and who skillfully combine these values with the best of the new era. The new socialist men are both the conscious master of our society in socialist construction and the common product of the three revolutions within the socialist revolution. These are men endowed with the sense of mastery and with the ability to exercise it and to use most effectively increasingly modern technical equipment in productive labor as well as in combat against aggressors. We must firmly grasp the special attributes which the party has defined for the new socialist men, and educate and train each Vietnamese citizen and each generation of young Vietnamese to become good socialist workers and good defenders of the socialist fatherland. Only in this way can we organize an all-people movement to fight the aggressors, combine fighting and production and unleash a force: 1 and widespread war for the defense of the socialist fatherland. Also only in this way can we make each citizen a combatant, each basic organization a battlefield, each district a military fortress, each province and city a strategic unit, and the entire country an impregnable position of the people's war for national defense.

Simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions within the socialist revolution, stepping up nationwide socialist industrialization, and building the new economy, new culture and new socialist men--these are /the basis of the aggregate strategy of the party in the people's war for national defense./ Obviously, this aggregate strategy has many new factors which we must firmly grasp so as to create the greatest aggregate strength in the cause of national defense.

//4. Combine national construction with national defense, economic building with national defense, and productive labor with fighting. Build a strong all-people national defense system, always heighten vigilance and stand ready to fight and defeat any enemy.//

National construction must go along with national defense--this is a law governing the survival and development of our nation. The building of socialism must go along with the defense of socialism--this also is a law governing the socialist revolution. In our country, when the fatherland and socialism have become one, the law governing the development of the nation and the law governing the development of socialist revolution also become one. For this reason, the 4th Party Congress clearly pointed out that "national construction must go along with national defense," that "economic building

must be correctly combined with national defense," and that "we must actively build the all-people national defense system, the people's armed forces and defense industries, so as to insure that the country will be ready to defeat any attack by the aggressors. We must closely combine labor obligation with military obligation so as to step up economic building while insuring a steady consolidation of the national defense system." This is the essence of the party's military line in the new stage--/the line of all-people national defense and the people's war for the defense of the socialist fatherland./

The Chinese expansionists have a long-range scheme to weaken and annex our country. They are likely to wage many more wars of aggression against our country. They stay close to us and share the same land, sea and airspace with us. That is why we must always be prepared to victoriously cope with their wars of aggression which may occur on any scale and at any time. While striving to build our country, we must always take precautions against enemy wars of aggression. After defeating an enemy war of aggression, our people cannot enjoy lasting peace. This is because after being defeated in that aggression, the enemy may wage another war of aggression. This fact requires us to have /unified and closely combined economic and military strategies./ We must link national construction with national defense and the economy with national defense. If we concentrate only on national construction without paying any attention to national defense or if we lack vigilance, we will be confused when being attacked by the enemy and will therefore experience difficulties which may render us unable to build our country. On the other hand, if we are only concerned about preparations against a war of aggression without paying any attention to making the country stronger and improving the people's livelihood, we will also be unable to launch strong attacks, will have no long-range combat potential and will therefore fall into the enemy schemes by which they want us to be weakened so they can easily subjugate our country. We must seek every way possible to make ourselves strong in all circumstances.

This is a very basic concept of which we must keep ourselves fully informed when dealing with all fields of activities in society. We have no earnest desire other than to live and work in peace, independence and freedom in order to build our country and improve our people's livelihood. Unfortunately, the enemy does not leave us alone. Therefore, we must build for ourselves a way of life by which we must engage in productive labor while remaining combat ready, namely with a hammer or a plow in one hand and a gun in the other. We must act with propriety and optimism and maintain a gentlemanly bearing in labor and combat.

Naturally, in the basic long-range strategy, the development of each specific strategic situation in various stages is not the same. The situation when the enemy has already waged a war is different from the pre-war situation. The situation when the war factor has not existed is different from that

when there is the war factor. Therefore, while continuing to firmly grasp the basic watchwords of combining national construction with national defense and combining the economy with national defense, we must know how to apply these watchwords in specific strategic situations in order to rationally determine the priority ranking of various tasks: production and the organization of people's livelihood; national defense; and the building of material bases of socialism. Even in a given specific situation, such as when there is a war, the priority ranking of these tasks is not the same in different areas: the priority of a task on the primary resistance line is different from that of the same task on the secondary resistance line. This is also true regarding the priority of a task on the frontline and the priority of the same task in the rear. We should not think that when there is a war, we will concentrate only on our combat missions while paying less attention to our productive labor task, loosening management activities and failing to firmly protect our natural resources and economic establishments.

History shows that our nation has been well experienced in combining the economy with national defense. Since our party was formed to lead the Vietnamese revolution and the Vietnamese revolutionary war, our people have gained more experiences in that field. After the August revolution, we have successfully resolved the task set forth by President Ho, namely fighting poverty, backwardness and foreign aggression. During the resistance against the French, we practiced the idea of carrying on the resistance while engaging in national reconstruction. During the anti-U.S. resistance, in the northern socialist part of the country, our people stepped up the socialist revolution while conducting a people's war against the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction and providing assistance to the frontline. In the South, our compatriots and combatants also closely combined combat activities with productive labor in accordance with the slogan: the longer we fight, the stronger we will be. These are very valuable experiences to be applied to the present specific situation in our country.

With the task of building and strengthening national defense in particular, our party has also pointed out that this is the duty of our entire people and army and of the entire system of proletarian dictatorship led by the party. Building the all-people national defense must be based on the need to build the country and the economy along the general line of the socialist revolution and along the party line on socialist economic construction. The all-people national defense on a national scale as well as in each locality is dependent on the advance toward large-scale socialist production in each locality and in the country as a whole and on the close combination of the centrally run economy and the local economy. It is necessary to build districts into military fortresses on the basis of building the agro-industrial economic structure at the district level. It is also necessary to build provinces and cities into strategic units on the basis of building the industrial-agricultural economic structure at the provincial

and city level. Based on the availability of our manpower and land, we must achieve coordination in the planning of manpower and land; gradually redistribute manpower on a national scale and in each locality; and create a strong position in strategic deployment through the establishment of many strategic zones which must be strong both economically and militarily. Each province, each city, each district and each establishment must be a production unit and, at the same time, a combat unit. The entire country must be a great socialist construction site, and, at the same time, an organized combat position ready to defeat the enemy. Each worker must fulfill his labor obligation and his duties to defend the fatherland and to maintain political security and social order. The people's armed forces are entrusted with two missions: constantly remain combat ready in order to defend the fatherland; and actively engage in economic construction. The people's armed forces must be a great school to train various young generations into new socialist men.

//5. Fulfill national tasks and international obligations; enhance solidarity with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea on the Indochina peninsula and with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries; struggle to win the sympathy, support and assistance of all nations throughout the world; and actively struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.//

The correct /international line and foreign policy/ set forth by the 4th Party Congress are aimed at taking advantage of the favorable international situation to help our people successfully build socialism, firmly defend our fatherland and make active contributions to the world people's revolutionary undertaking.

In the process of the revolutionary struggle under party leadership, our people have always fulfilled their sacred national duty and their noble international obligations. We fought and won victory in the war of aggression waged by the French imperialists, liberating half of the country and contributing to the collapse of the old colonialist system. We again fought and defeated the U.S. imperialist aggressors, liberating the entire country, opening up a period of collapse of neo-colonialism and contributing to increasing the offensive momentum of the three revolutionary currents throughout the world. Today, by striving to build and defend our fatherland and fighting and defeating the wars of aggression of the Beijing reactionaries, we have fulfilled our sacred duty in the new, historic confrontation between, on the one hand, the alliance of revolutionary forces, the core of which is the socialist system, and, on the other, the alliance between the U.S.-led imperialists and Chinese expansionism.

Through the victories in the northern and southwestern border wars, our soldiers and people succeeded in defending their fatherland, while at the same time helping the brotherly Kampuchean people carry out again their

revolution and save the Khmer nation from the danger of genocide. This has dealt a heavy blow to the Beijing reactionaries' annexationist scheme against the Indochinese and Southeast Asian countries and has contributed to protecting the wholeness of Marxism-Leninism and safeguarding peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

Thanks to this, in the past as well as at present, our people have always enjoyed the sympathy and support and the increasingly great assistance of the Soviet Union, other brotherly socialist countries and even the three revolutionary currents of the era. Moreover, we have always benefited from the new achievements of modern science and technology. By following our party's correct international line and by being closely united with the revolutionary and progressive forces of the new era, the revolutionary forces of our nation will certainly provide it with an ever greater combined strength and will develop incessantly.

Obviously, our party's international policy line has had a strong effect on our national liberation war and our war for national defense in the past as well as on our people's national defense at present. Therefore, when solving problems facing the revolution, the revolutionary war and the military on the battlefields, we must always be fully aware of the party's foreign policy and must give adequate consideration to political factors, both domestically and internationally, as well as to their developments. We must also adequately consider the situation of the common struggle of the world people for various lofty goals of our times. We must always uphold the banner of national independence and socialism, firmly combine genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism, resolutely oppose all manifestations of nationalist bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, and strive to fulfill our duties toward our nation and to satisfactorily fulfill our obligations toward the peoples of other countries.

The above are some of the major items in the party's political economic and military guidelines set forth by the 4th Party Congress for the new stage. These items are pieced together into a unified integral system which decides on and controls the most basic problems in the military and war related fields, and which brings to the attention of our scientific and military art sectors involved in national defense many new problems to be studied and solved in order to achieve still greater growth.

The party's socialist revolutionary line clearly points out that /revolutionary and scientific qualities/ are the two most basic qualities of our party. We must firmly grasp and master these revolutionary and scientific qualities of the party in creatively solving all problems arising in the defense of our fatherland.

In our national construction, the all-round situation of our people has undergone constant developments, creating new requirements for national defense and, at the same time, also creating new potential for us to fulfill our tasks. The strategic goal of our national revolution and the combat goal

of our Army and people have experienced constant changes. In its intransigent scheme to weaken and annex our country, the enemy is now capable of waging many wars of aggression on different scales and at different times. It is also capable of resorting to brutal and crafty tricks--militarily, economically, politically and psychologically--aimed at opposing our people. The balance of forces between the enemy and us has always been marked with new developments. The world situation and the historic backgrounds of the war between us and the enemy have also experienced constant changes in favor of our national construction and defense.

Therefore, on the basis of firmly grasping the party's correct, increasingly developed and perfected revolutionary line, we must practically analyze each specific situation in order to apply the above line correctly and creatively.

The party's socialist revolutionary line will eternally be an inevitably invincible banner of our country's socialist revolution and it is also the inevitably invincible banner of our people in the defense of our beloved socialist fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Cach mang thang Muoi voi doc lap dan toc va chu nghia xa hoi o Viet-nam" [The October Revolution with National Independence and Socialism in Vietnam] Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, p 13.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen Tap" [Selected Works] Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 705.
3. Ibid., p 794.
4. Le Duan: "Cach mang thang Muoi voi doc lap dan toc va chu nghia xa hoi"... p 21.
5. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Book II, Part I, p 396.
6. Le Duan: "Bai noi tai Hoc vien quan su cao cap ngay 5-1-1978" [Address at the Military Academy on 5 January 1978] NHAN DAN, 6 January 1978.
7. Resolution of the 4th Nationwide Party Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 24.

OUR PEOPLE'S 35 YEAR STRUGGLE ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 80
pp 35-48 and 57

[Article by Phuc Cuong]

[Text] The past 35 years have coincided with the longest and most difficult fight in the Vietnamese people's 4,000 year history of building and defending the country. This has also been one of the longest and most difficult fights in the history of the struggle for independence and freedom by the nations of the world.

However, the past 35 years have also marked the most glorious pages in the history of the nation of Vietnam, a nation that has recorded countless brilliant feats of arms in its long history. At the same time, these have been some of the most valiant pages in the history of the nations of the world struggling for independence and freedom.

Why Did We Have To Wage the Longest and Fiercest War of National Liberation?

Our country, which is neither large nor densely populated, fought as a colony with a backward and poor economy to liberate itself against powerful enemies whose economic and military might were many times stronger than ours.

Our nation is proud that it won victory over one of the largest old-style colonial imperialists. This power was the French imperialists, an old line imperialist with a military tradition and much experience in ruling colonies and waging colonial wars.

Our nation is also very proud to have won victory over the ringleader of the imperialists, the international gendarme, the common enemy of the people of the world. This power is the U.S. imperialists, the imperialist power with the largest economic and military might and the most modern weapons and means of war in the imperialist camp, a power that once arrogantly bragged about "U.S. might" and could seemingly cause trouble, commit aggression and enslave other nations at will.

Our nation is also proud to have won victory in the first battle against the greatest traitors in the history of the world revolution, the assault troops of imperialism, the dangerous enemy of the people of the world at this time. They are the big country expansionists and hegemonists of China who, relying upon their country's position as the most densely populated country in the world, are pursuing the dream of the "celestial courts" of old to become the rulers of the modern day world.

In this lopsided fight, our people have waged an unrelenting struggle for the very complete goals of independence, reunification and socialism.

In the long and arduous fight over the past 35 years, our people totally liberated the country, reunified the fatherland and began advancing to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. On this basis, the present day independence of our nation is the firmest independence in the 4,000 year history of building and defending the country; this fact can be doubted by no one. The more than 1 million U.S. expeditionary troops, troops of U.S. vassal countries and puppet troops were ultimately defeated. The more than one-half million troops of the Chinese expansionist army that were concentrated on a narrow piece of land along our country's northern border and the more than 100,000 troops of the Pol Pot lackey clique concentrated on the southwestern border ultimately met with tragic defeat. Tens of millions of tons of bombs and shells failed to conquer our nation. Billions of dollars failed to buy our nation. Every aggressor that recklessly infringes upon the independence of our nation must take these facts into consideration.

The nation of Vietnam is one, the country of Vietnam is one. To our people, the unified fatherland is strength, is sacred. Our people have waged a long and arduous struggle against every enemy that has attempted to permanently partition our country, sometimes in three regions, sometimes in two, in order to weaken and easily annex our country. By means of their flesh and blood, our people achieved the complete reunification of their country at a time when the imperialists are still making every effort to oppose the aspirations of the peoples of some Asian countries for reunification. With the reunification of the fatherland, the strength of our nation has increased greatly and the independence of our country is stronger than ever before.

On the basis of an economy marked primarily by small-scale production, our people, even in the fierce struggle for independence and reunification when only one-half the country had been liberated, resolutely followed the course they had selected, the course of advancing directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. This is the course that is consistent with the law of evolution of the history of man, consistent with the trend of our times. The existence and growth of the world socialist system, the pillar of which is the USSR, was a guarantee that our

people would follow this course, would free themselves from the exploitation of the capitalist economic system, an increasingly serious and sophisticated form of exploitation of which many countries that have recently won their political independence are victims and which prevents them from developing strongly and achieving prosperity. The independence of our country finds its strength in the reunified fatherland and has its basis in socialism, consequently, its strength and stability are permanent.

In the 4,000 year history of our nation, this is the third time that our people have thrown off the yoke of foreign domination. And, this will surely be the last time. This victory of our people ushered in the era of independence and socialism throughout our country. This victory of our people also occurred in the new age in the history of man, the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the age of the transition from the society of man exploiting man and the oppression of peoples to a society without exploitation or oppression.

Our people's war of liberation was also long and fierce because its ultimate result had a tremendous influence upon the global interests of French colonialism and U.S. imperialism.

The war waged by the French colonialists in Indochina not only had the purpose of restoring their rule in Indochina, but was also closely linked to protecting the system of French colonies, especially those in Africa. Therefore, the French concentrated their military and financial resources on the war in Indochina. This war crippled the French and the victory of Dien Bien Phu helped to bring about the collapse of old-style colonialism in the world.

The war of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam was the spearhead of the flexible response strategy of the United States in the 1960's and was designed to resist the national liberation movement in the world. For this reason, the United States assembled the highest peace time level of military forces and financial resources, determined to crush the struggle of the Vietnamese and, in this way, intimidate the national liberation movement and oppose socialism in the world. The fight waged by our people and the war waged by the United States, a war that squandered human life and financial resources and was filled with crimes, helped to deepen the crisis of American society, weakened the United States in the world and helped to change the balance of power in the world in a manner favorable for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Our people's victorious fight against the United States proved that a small nation can defeat the most powerful imperialist aggressor and strongly inspire the people of the world in their fight against imperialism.

In their fight against colonialism and imperialism, our people have also had to deal with the betrayal by the reactionary gang within Beijing ruling circles.

Due to the strategic position of our people's struggle as regards the global interests of colonialism and imperialism and because of the hegemonist interests of Beijing, the big country expansionists and hegemonists of China collaborated with the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists to oppose the reunification of our fatherland and the total victory of our people. They made every effort to divide the people of the world supporting Vietnam against the United States in a vain attempt to gain exclusive control of the fight being waged by the Vietnamese. They also took advantage of the assistance being provided by the people of China for the struggle of the Vietnamese, assistance for which the Vietnamese are forever grateful, to serve their sinister schemes. Today, an independent, unified and powerful Vietnam is a major obstacle to the plan of expansion of the reactionary gang within Chinese ruling circles in Southeast Asia, the region most favorable for expansion by them. The greatest betrayal by Beijing of the world revolution has been their betrayal of the Vietnamese. The greatest division sowed by Beijing in the world revolutionary movement has been the division between the Chinese and the Vietnamese. The greatest aggression by Beijing has been the war on two fronts against the Vietnamese. At the same time, their most tragic defeats in the world have also occurred in Vietnam and Indochina.

The factors presented above have resulted in the fight between our people and the imperialists and international reactionaries being a long and fierce fight and becoming an historic conflict. In this historic conflict, our people have had to endure very large sacrifices and, at the same time, have won victories of historic and international significance and made worthy contributions to the world revolution. For these reasons, even though our nation is small and the name of our country did not appear on the map of the world for many years, Vietnam has today become the conscience of mankind, the name of Uncle Ho is deeply ingrained in the hearts of the people of the world, the victory of Dien Bien Phu has become a source of pride of the oppressed peoples and Vietnam's total liberation is regarded by world opinion as a milestone in world history: the "post-Vietnam" period.

Today, we are not surprised that the imperialists and international reactionaries are waging one campaign of deception and vilification after another in a vain attempt to discredit the image of Vietnam in the world. However, no clouds can obscure the bright rays of the sun and no form of deception or vilification can rescue them.

The External Factors That Helped Our People Win Total Victory in This Historic, Lopsided Conflict

The victories of the Vietnamese revolution over the past 35 years have originated in the strength of the tenacious militant solidarity of all our people under the clearheaded leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party. At the same time, all of the victories of the Vietnamese revolution have

been closely linked to the victories of the peoples of the countries struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, closely linked to the constantly growing offensive and the powerful strength of the world revolution, primarily the strength of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system.

Since it was born, our party has always considered the international factor to be an indispensable factor, to be a factor determining the success of our country's revolution. Therefore, in the lopsided fight with enemies many times more powerful than us, our party has coordinated the strength of the nation with the strength of our times to form a combined strength while adopting correct revolutionary methods in order to win victory for the nation, for the class.

Striving for the Most Favorable International Conditions and Strategic Opportunities in Order To Win Victory

The great Russian October Revolution ushered in a new age, the age of transition from capitalism to socialism, the age in which the working class and laboring people truly become the masters and write the new history of mankind as world capitalism follows a course of degeneration and destruction. It is the age in which the international working class and all nations have become enlightened and arisen to abolish the oppression and exploitation of classes and nations. The new age has created an extremely favorable opportunity for nations to make steady progress in the struggle for national independence and socialism. These favorable international conditions improved even more following World War II, when the Soviet Red Army defeated fascism and militarism, when socialism went beyond the scope of one country and became a world system and when imperialism found itself in a deepening crisis and increasingly weak.

In preceding ages of history, nations did not have such favorable international conditions. Under the feudal system, nations that were the victims of aggression could only win victory in their cause by taking advantage of struggles for power within the ruling classes of the countries that had invaded them, by uprisings by their own people, by taking advantage of wars among the feudal emperors and so forth. However, even if they did manage to win and maintain their independence, the small countries had to accept some hegemony on the part of the big countries and found it difficult to achieve total and stable independence. In the period of imperialism, no more than a few imperialist countries invaded and occupied nearly all of Asia, Africa and Latin America, imposing their rule throughout the world, ruling by the "law of the jungle" and crushing all just causes.

Clearly aware of the trend of the age, our party has constantly striven to achieve favorable international conditions and to build and strengthen the revolutionary forces of our country so that it could combine external and

internal conditions when the opportunity arose, win victory and move the revolution forward.

During World War II, in the spring of 1941, our party and President Ho predicted that "whereas the first imperialist war gave birth to the Soviet Union, a socialist country, this imperialist war will give birth to many socialist countries and, as a result, the revolution will win victory in many countries." (1) On this basis, our party adopted the positive guideline of accelerating the struggle of our people and gradually developing the political struggle combined with the armed struggle from local uprisings to preparations for a general uprising to seize political power.

On 13 August 1945, after defeating the German fascists, the Soviet Red Army forced the Japanese fascists into an unconditional surrender. German fascism and Japanese militarism, the two most bellicose and strongest powers of imperialism, had been destroyed and, generally speaking, the entire imperialist system had been weakened. In the face of this unparalleled historic opportunity, and despite the fact that our forces were still small, our party and Uncle Ho, with high determination, rapidly led all our people, from the countryside to the cities, in a general uprising that totally abolished the lackey government of the imperialists and established the revolutionary government throughout the country. This correct decision by the party and the rapid victory of the August Revolution made resistance by the 60,000 Japanese troops still in our country at that time impossible and faced the allied troops that came in to disarm the Japanese army with a fait accompli, namely, the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country. (2)

Thirty years later, very favorable international conditions again arose for our people. The Soviet Red Army's victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism created a favorable period for the world revolution following World War II; the defeat of the United States in Vietnam and the forced withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam marked a new period in the world, the "post-Vietnam" period. The U.S. imperialists were forced to withdraw their troops from Vietnam primarily because the United States had been defeated in Vietnam and, at the same time, because they could not, as a result of being bogged down in Vietnam, protect the larger interests of the U.S. imperialists in the world in the face of the strong offensive by the three currents of the revolution; the defeat of the United States in Vietnam has led to the trend in the United States of opposing a second Vietnam. On the other hand, the oil war in late 1973 led the capitalist world into a comprehensive, profound and prolonged crisis from which there is no escape. This time, our party also seized this historic opportunity to lead our people in completing the total liberation of South Vietnam and reunifying the country. The total liberation of the South was a tremendous surprise to the U.S. imperialists and the Beijing reactionaries.

Historic opportunities are those points in time when conditions are most favorable for us and most unfavorable for the enemy. Opportunities only last a short while. If we are farsighted, if we predict when opportunities will occur and if we prepare our forces in order to seize opportunities, it is possible to take the initiative, attack the enemy and win victory for ourselves.

In the poem "Learning To Play Chess," President Ho raised the matter of seizing opportunities in the following very wise manner:

"Give the wrong command, and two chariots are rendered useless.
Come the right moment, a pawn can bring you victory."(3)

**Closely Coordinating the Strength of the Nation With the Strength of Our
Times To Form an Invincible, Combined Strength**

If we compare the economic and military forces of our country to the economic and military forces of the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists and the Beijing reactionaries, we find that our forces are much smaller, even hundreds of times smaller.

However, the basic weakness of aggressors and expansionists is that their cause is unjust; in addition, they were and are unable to commit all of these strong economic and military forces to aggression against our country. Their schemes have been very large; not only have they been forced to decentralize their forces to many different places in order to carry out expansion and gain dominance, but they have also been forced to deal with other imperialists competing for interests with them while maintaining their forces at home in order to protect their own rule. In particular, when using their forces, they must take into consideration the Soviet Union, the citadel of revolution and world peace, the greatest restraint and deterrence to their schemes of aggression and war, must take into consideration the offensive position and the irreversible growth of the world revolution.

Therefore, if we simply compare our material forces to those of the enemy, we find ourselves far inferior to the enemy. However, we are stronger than any enemy because we have a just cause, have the strength of all the people united together, have the support and unity of the world's people in the common front against the imperialists and reactionaries.

We have been able to achieve this because the goals for which our people have been fighting are peace, independence and socialism, goals which are totally consistent with the goals of the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism; our enemies are also the common enemies of the people of the world: the imperialists and the international reactionaries.

The struggle of our people is an integral part of the common struggle of the people of the world. In the common struggle between the forces of socialism, the forces of national independence, the justice-loving forces of the world and the peace-loving forces, on the one side, and imperialism, colonialism, international reactionaries, racism and Zionism, on the other side, the forces of the three revolutionary currents of our times together with the forces of peace are superior in strength to the forces of the imperialists, colonialists and reactionaries. Since World War II, the three revolutionary currents have increasingly been on the offensive.

This does not mean that every struggle by a nation for peace, independence and socialism automatically coordinates the strength of the nation and the strength of our times as highly as possible. Our party and state have closely coordinated these two strengths on the basis of very fundamental viewpoints concerning the relationship between the nation and the world. We maintain that the Russian October Revolution ushered in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism for mankind; that the victory of the Soviet Red Army created extremely favorable conditions for the revolution of all countries to develop strongly and display its offensive power. We maintain that international conditions determine the overall trend of development of mankind and have created favorable circumstances for nations to develop in accordance with this overall trend. Under the objective conditions of the world, countries do not develop uniformly; whether a country develops rapidly or slowly, develops much or only a little, develops well or poorly is determined by the internal conditions of that country. However, no country can go against or separate itself from the overall trend of the world. Therefore, it has been the position of our party and state to closely link the revolutionary undertaking of our people to the revolutionary undertaking of the people of the world by means of our fight and by actively supporting the revolutionary movements of other countries. The factor of success in closely linking the revolution of Vietnam to the world revolution is that our party and state have fully concerned themselves with the reciprocal impact between the Vietnamese revolution and the world revolution, have correctly coordinated the interests of our nation with the interests of the other nations of the world and have made every effort to struggle for the common cause of the world revolution. Our party and state have always brandished the two banners of national independence and socialism and smoothly combined genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism.

Our party has always closely linked the struggle for independence by our nation with the struggle of the people of the world to safeguard peace. Our people's struggle itself has made a positive contribution to the maintenance of world peace. At the same time, in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, when the U.S. imperialists escalated and widened the war to its highest level, our party still held that we could win victory over the United States within the scope of Vietnam. Our people

were very deeply moved by the fact that the peoples of the fraternal countries and the peoples of many other countries in the world stood ready to send volunteer troops "because Vietnam is giving its very blood"; however, our people were confident that with their own strength and the wholehearted psychological and material support and assistance of the people of the world we could defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors. This was a correct manifestation of our party's viewpoint concerning the relationship between the interests of the nation and the interests of the people of the world with regard to safeguarding peace.

In our people's fight, our party and state have always considered uniting with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries to be a matter of utmost importance, to be a matter of survival to the revolutionary undertaking of our people as well as the revolutionary undertaking of the people of the world. When it was born, our party established closeness between the Vietnamese revolution and the first proletarian revolution in the world. The slogan "protect the Soviet Union" of Vietnamese communists was heard even within the prisons of the French colonialist system and in the fight against the Japanese militarists in World War II. Later, with the formation of the world socialist system, led by the Soviet Union, this closeness became closeness between the Vietnamese revolution and this system, with Vietnam as a member of this system. Our people have always resolutely opposed every scheme of the imperialists to intervene in and weaken the world socialist system. We totally supported the proper, retaliatory steps taken by the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries in the Hungarian and Czechoslovakian incidents instigated by the imperialists and the reactionary powers. Our people have always resolutely protected the solidarity of the world revolutionary movement, the nucleus of which is the Soviet Union and the socialist system. We struggled unrelentingly against the major practitioners of divisiveness within the movement, the Beijing reactionaries, who are scheming to undermine this solidarity and even abolish the socialist system, which is an achievement of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world. The name and the entire career of President Ho Chi Minh are pure symbols of the solidarity and closeness between the Vietnamese revolution and the Soviet Union and world socialist system as well as the world revolution.

While struggling for their own independence, the people of Vietnam have always been in the forefront in supporting, as resolutely as possible, the struggle by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for national independence and a new world economic order and their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and Zionism. Our country has actively participated in the non-aligned movement. Our stand is that the non-aligned movement not participate in any military alliance; however, remaining outside these alliances is not the objective of this movement. The work of the movement is to struggle against imperialism and colonialism, both old and new, in order to achieve peace, national independence and the control of

natural resources. We maintain that the non-aligned movement must unite and cooperate with the socialist countries, their most loyal and dependable friends, in strengthening their national independence and building prosperous countries. We have opposed the scheme of the Beijing reactionaries who want to steer the movement away from its anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist path and bring it within the orb of opposing the two superpowers in accordance with their "three worlds" theory while actually collaborating with the imperialists against the socialist countries and the world revolutionary movement.

The more ardent our people are about their own national independence, the more they value the independence of other nations. For nearly 100 years, the three countries of Indochina have constantly been the victims of foreign aggressors. The French colonialists, the Japanese militarists, the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists all have had or have the ambition of ruling all three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. They have constantly looked for ways to divide and conquer these countries, have used the peoples of these countries to oppose the peoples of other countries, have used these countries as springboards for invading and occupying other countries. In the face of their common enemy, the peoples of the three countries of Indochina must closely unite in order to fight and win victory together for the independence of each country. The militant solidarity and alliance among the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, which were established and forged amidst countless challenges, have defeated every clever scheme to divide the three nations. The victories won in the more than 40 years of struggle against the colonialists, the imperialist aggressors and the international reactionaries have confirmed that the militant solidarity and alliance among the peoples of the three countries are the factors of victory, are the laws of development of the revolution of each country. This noble solidarity, which is a model of proletarian international solidarity, has been praised by the people of the world, only the imperialists and the reactionaries have opposed it.

While fighting the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists and the Beijing hegemonists, our people have attached full importance to their friendship and solidarity with the people of France, the people of the United States and the people of China because our people and the peoples of these three countries are the direct victims of the policies of aggression and war of the rulers of their countries. Our party's viewpoint concerning the people of France, the people of the United States and the people of China has been to closely link our people to the peoples of these countries in the common struggle against French colonialism, U.S. imperialism and Beijing hegemonism.

Over the past 35 years, the struggle of the Vietnamese has closely coordinated the strength of our nation with the strength of our times and this coordination reached its pinnacle in the fight against the United States

for national salvation. A front of the people of the world supporting the Vietnamese against U.S. aggression was formed. This was a broad, worldwide front that had a very deep influence upon the heart and mind of man and had a very strong and effective impact in helping to force the United States to end the war of aggression and withdraw its troops from Vietnam. The formation of this world people's front also involved a struggle to defeat the scheme of the Beijing reactionaries to divide the world revolutionary movement in a vain attempt to exclusively control the fight being waged by the Vietnamese in order to serve their intention of collaborating with the U.S. imperialists. Clearly, this result was a positive contribution to the unity of the world revolutionary movement.

As regards why this was possible, it must first of all be pointed out that the acts of war of the United States in Vietnam caused the people of the world to clearly recognize that the U.S. imperialists are the common and most dangerous enemy of the nations of the world. In the history of colonial wars, never has there been a war of aggression as cruel as the war waged by the United States against Vietnam, a war that posed greater dangers to the entire world. The United States committed many crimes against persons, against the environment, thereby awakening the conscience of mankind. By the way they escalated and gradually widened the war, the U.S. imperialists seriously threatened world peace. They escalated and widened the war to North Vietnam, a socialist country, thereby challenging the other socialist countries and raising the threat of a world war between the two opposing camps on this planet. The colonialist war of the United States against the people of Vietnam actually had the purpose of intimidating and suppressing the national independence movement and opposing socialism throughout the world. Therefore, every time the United States committed a barbarous crime against the Vietnamese and every time the United States escalated and widened the war of aggression against Vietnam they set off increasingly high and strong waves of struggle against the United States in support of Vietnam throughout the world.

The fight of the Vietnamese against the United States occurred at a time when the world revolution was encountering its greatest difficulties and complications and experiencing deep crisis. In the 1950's and 1960's, together with the remarkable advances made by the scientific and technological revolution, the atomic capabilities and the aggressiveness of the U.S. imperialists caused mankind to be concerned about the threat of world war, about the ability to maintain world peace and about the ability to repulse and defeat U.S. imperialism. Against this background and through the efforts of the U.S. imperialists, the national liberation movement took turns for the worse, such as the defeat of the Congolese revolution, the decline of the movement in Latin America following the death of Che Guevara, the defeats in the Dominican Republic and Indonesia and the defeat of the Arab countries in the face of Israeli aggression supported by the U.S. imperialists. Meanwhile, the Beijing expansionists were committing aggression

against India and undermining Afro-Asian solidarity, thereby defeating the second Afro-Asian conference. They seriously divided the socialist countries and the international communist movement.

In this situation, the tenacious fight waged by the Vietnamese against the U.S. imperialists was of very important significance to the destiny of the world and the world revolutionary movement. Never before had the fate of a small nation been so closely linked to the fate of the people of the world. The determination of the Vietnamese to fight until the end regardless of the sacrifices and hardships and the victory of the Vietnamese strongly inspired and confirmed the confidence of the people of the world in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Repaying the contribution made by the Vietnamese, the people of the world gave the Vietnamese the warmest, most effective, deepest and widest support possible.

For this reason, the victory of the Vietnamese and the defeat of the U.S. imperialists made worthy contributions to changing the balance of power in the world and repulsed the threat of world war.

The struggle of our people over the past 35 years has proven: "The strength of inevitable victory of the world revolution today is the combined strength of the three revolutionary currents of our times, the strength of the revolutionary movement in each country combined with the strength and the overall offensive position of the revolutionary forces of the world. By establishing close coordination among the different revolutionary currents in the world to form a combined strength and by directing the spearhead of the struggle against imperialism, led by the United States, the revolutionary forces and peoples of the various countries are fully capable of repelling every counter-attack, defeating every scheme of the imperialists, winning firm victories for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism and gradually carrying out the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale."(4)

On the Basis of Being Determined To Achieve the Final Goals of Independence and Reunification, Our Party Employed Various Methods To Gradually Repulse and Topple Whole Contingents of Enemy Forces and Eventually Completely Defeat the Enemy, Thereby Winning Total Victory

The history of our people's war to liberate the nation from the domination of foreign countries was characterized by the fact that our people began their resistance against powerful enemies with no weapons whatsoever and the fact that this fight had to be a process of experiencing many very arduous, complex and winding stages that lasted for decades and gradually changed the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy so that final victory could be won. Conversely, the wars waged by our people to protect the fatherland against aggression have only lasted a few years. Our people have been ruled by foreign countries three times in their history.

To throw off the first yoke of domination, which lasted for 10 centuries, the struggle for national liberation was a process of many uprisings and armed struggles throughout these 10 centuries until the independent and sovereign country of Dai Viet was established. In the 15th Century, the war of national liberation led by the national heroes Le Loi and Nguyen Trai was a process of progressing from uprisings and partial victories to throwing off the yoke of domination of the House of Minh, a process which lasted for 20 years. During the past half century, our people fought the domination of colonialists and imperialists. Therefore, the recent process of struggling to liberate the nation, from the time our people first had the party to lead it, carried out the successful August Revolution and established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, was also the process of gradually repulsing and toppling whole contingents of enemy forces, eventually completely defeating the enemy and winning total victory.

Winning total victory meant the achievement of the final objectives of independence and reunification, objectives which our party never forgot when leading our people in the recent war to liberate the nation with the determination "regardless of the sacrifices, even if we must burn the entire Truong Son Mountain Range, we must be resolved to win victory," as the revered President Ho stressed when we were carrying out the general uprising in August 1945. However, what had to be done to achieve these final objectives? As a small, weak nation re-sting a large and powerful enemy, we could not win victory all at once. We had to have a correct method that enabled us to win victory gradually.

"Knowing how to win victory gradually means knowing how, during each specific period of time or in each specific situation, to set the most reasonable, specific goals, knowing how to guide the war in accordance with objective laws in order to achieve these goals with the highest possible victory, thereby opening the way for an advance to new and higher stages and creating the firmest possible prospects for final victory." (5) Achieving specific goals during each stage of the struggle insures the achievement of the ultimate goal; however, we cannot merely have our eyes on specific goals and fail to see the guidelines for achieving the ultimate goal, or even foresake the ultimate goal and fall into "the worst kind of opportunism, which can only result in keeping the masses under the yoke of slavery for generations." (6)

The ultimate goals of independence and reunification set forth by our party for the recent war of national liberation are principles that cannot be compromised. They are the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese: independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity; we maintained and protected our government and armed forces while the aggressors had to withdraw all their troops to their country.

To achieve these final objectives, we had to carry out stages of struggle to win partial victories and skillfully apply our strategies in a manner

consistent with the comparison of forces and the requirements and slogan of the struggle at each point in time. In 1954, we accepted the presence of a foreign army for a short period of time and our country was temporarily partitioned into two zones; in the 1960's, we temporarily accepted an independent and neutral South Vietnam in the process of advancing to reunification. Thus, the correct implementation of strategy must be designed to implement the principles mentioned above, must be firmly based on these principles but must not harm or weaken them.

With the signing of the preliminary treaty on 6 March 1946 between our government and the government of France, the victory of our people forced France to recognize the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as a free and sovereign nation which, although not independent and reunified, maintained its revolutionary government and preserved the integrity of its forces. We allowed 15,000 French troops into North Vietnam for a period not to exceed 5 years in order to force the withdrawal of the 180,000 Chiang Kai-shek troops from Vietnam, mop up their reactionary lackeys, gain additional time to consolidate and strengthen our forces and prepare for a nationwide war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors, a war which our party knew was unavoidable.

With the victory of Dien Bien Phu, our people had the ability to win total victory and liberate the entire country, but the Beijing hegemonists prevented this from happening and betrayed our people. Under these conditions, the signing of the Geneva Accords in July 1954, although they did not correctly reflect the victory of our people on the battlefield, did mark a step forward in the long struggle by our people. The French were forced to end the war of aggression in Vietnam, withdraw their troops and recognize the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese, namely, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, something which, 8 years before, they refused to acknowledge in the preliminary agreement dated 6 March 1946. North Vietnam was totally liberated and began the advance to socialism. With the achievements recorded in the development of the economy and the national defense system, the socialist North became the firm base for the entire country to struggle against the U.S. imperialists, complete the national democratic revolution, reunify the country and, at the same time, fulfill its international obligations to the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea.

In 1960, the platform of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam on an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral South Vietnam with the peaceful reunification of the fatherland was designed to remove the U.S. bases from South Vietnam and advance to reunification through the strategy of a temporarily independent and neutral South Vietnam.

In 1968, the fact that the U.S. imperialists found themselves in a situation in which they were fighting while engaged in negotiations and were forced to unconditionally cease the bombing of the North and agree to talks with the

National Liberation Front of South Vietnam was a victory that marked a long stride forward in our people's war of resistance against the United States for national salvation. Through the strategy of accepting the Four-Party Conference on the Vietnam Issue, the socialist North was protected and had the conditions needed to restore the economy, strengthen its potentials in every respect and competently support the revolution in the South as well as the Lao and Kampuchean revolutions. By engaging in talks with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the United States acknowledged the role played by the front in resolving the problem of South Vietnam and was forced to take a step backward in its plan to control all of South Vietnam.

The victory of the Paris Agreement in January 1973 helped to change the comparison of forces in a manner very favorable to us. The United States, forced to end the war of aggression and withdraw all U.S. and vassal troops from South Vietnam, embarked on a course of military withdrawal from the Indochina bloc and avoiding a second Vietnam. At the same time, the United States had to accept the reality in South Vietnam of two governments, two armies, two zones of control and three political forces which, in substance, represented an important step forward in abolishing the puppets in the South. Our side accepted the temporary existence of the puppets in the South in order to force the United States to withdraw all troops and end its intervention in South Vietnam. The puppet government not only lost its base of support, the U.S. Army, but also lost its legal position as the only legitimate government of South Vietnam, because they were only one of three legitimate forces in the South. Meanwhile, we maintained our military and political forces and had a firm legal foundation from which to continue the revolution. As a result, the victory of the Paris Agreement created the conditions for the total liberation of the South and contributed to the revolutionary undertaking of the peoples of the countries of Indochina.

Toppling whole contingents of enemy forces and eventually completely defeating the enemy are also part of the revolutionary method set forth by our party in the long and fierce struggle against enemies many times more powerful than us. As is the case with knowing how to win victory gradually and eventually winning total victory, toppling whole contingents of enemy forces and eventually completely defeating the enemy must be done on the basis of the determination to achieve final objectives.

When the revolutionary government was still in its infancy, our people, through the signing of the preliminary agreement on 6 March 1946, drove the 180,000 Chiang Kai-shek troops from our country in order to focus their energies on the war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors. Nearly 30 years later, with the signing of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam on 27 January 1973, we "drove off the Americans" and maintained the revolutionary achievements that had been recorded in order to take another step forward and concentrate our efforts on "toppling the puppets," as a result of which the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet government was brought down in the spring of 1975.

Facts have proven that our party's method of gradually repulsing the enemy, toppling whole contingents of enemy forces, eventually completely defeating the enemy and winning total victory is both correct and accurate. From the preliminary agreement and the Geneva Accords to the Paris Agreement, our party led our nation in gradually winning victory and eventually achieving the final objectives of the independence and reunification of the entire country.

An Unswerving Policy of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation in Many Fields with Other Countries

Our party and our state have always maintained that all nations have the right of self-determination and equality, that the destiny of each country is determined by the people of that country and that all countries, regardless of their political and social systems, must establish and expand relations of friendship and cooperation with one another on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. As soon as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was founded, President Ho, in the Declaration of Independence read on 2 September 1945, stated: "All nations of the world are born equal, every nation has the right to life, the right to happiness and the right to be free." Over the past 35 years, adhering to this correct viewpoint on the relations among the nations and countries of the world, our state has unswervingly pursued a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation in many fields with other countries.

As the victims of aggression by the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists in past years and the present aggression of the Beijing reactionaries, the more determined our people become to protect their nation's independence, freedom and peace, the more they respect and support the independence, freedom and peace of the other nations. While establishing militant solidarity with the people of Laos and the people of Kampuchea against the common enemy and making every effort to support the struggle by the peoples of all countries for peace, national independence and socialism, our people have always respected the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries and never intervened in their internal affairs.

We have persistently maintained relations of peace and friendship with countries of different social systems and taken the position of resolving disputes through negotiations. As regards enemies that have schemed to violate the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country, we have patiently engaged in negotiations in order to prevent conflicts and avoid bloodshed in war and have only picked up weapons to fight when forced to do so by the situation. The negotiations with France in 1946 and 1954, the implementation of the 1954 Geneva Accords, the 5-year negotiations with the United States and the implementation of the 1973 Paris Agreement as well as the attitude of our country of steadfastly

conducting a course of peaceful negotiations with the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique from 1973 to 1975 and with the Chinese authorities at this time and so forth are eloquent proof of the correct policy of our state. On the other hand, our country stands ready to establish normal relations with countries that have sent troops to commit aggression against us, for example, we established and broadened our relations with France and are ready to normalise relations with the United States on the basis of respecting the independence and sovereignty of Vietnam.

As regards neighboring countries in Southeast Asia, we have always stated our desire to establish permanent relations of friendship and cooperation based on the principles of respecting the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and political system of one another, not using force or the threat of force in relations with one another, not intervening in one another's internal affairs and resolving disputes through negotiations. This has been our consistent policy. For this reason, immediately after our country was totally liberated and reunified, we expressed an attitude of readiness to overlook their hostile policy toward us in the war of our people against the U.S. aggressors and established diplomatic relations with all countries within the region. Our country proposed and stood ready to discuss and sign with the countries in Southeast Asia a non-aggression treaty and stands ready to discuss with them the formation of a Southeast Asia of peace, independence, freedom, neutrality, stability and prosperity.

Our country's policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with other countries is a consistent and clear policy that has made a positive contribution to the maintenance of peace and security in Southeast Asia and the world. In 1950, our country had diplomatic relations with the socialist countries; today, our country has diplomatic relations with 105 countries, including the socialist countries, the nationalist independent countries and the developed capitalist countries.

The struggle by the peoples of all countries for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism over the past 35 years, of which our people's struggle has been a part, proves that, in the present age, a nation, even a small island nation, can win its independence and build a prosperous country if it knows how to coordinate its strength with the strength of the times. A country, regardless of how large and strong it might be, that goes against the trend of our times, against the basic interests of the people of its country and the people of the world will surely meet with defeat.

At present, the big nation expansionists and hegemonists of China, who are collaborating with imperialism, primarily the U.S. imperialists, and the other reactionary powers, are a threat to the independence, sovereignty, peace and security of the nations in Indochina and Southeast Asia. The expansionist designs of the Beijing hegemonists are very grand, however, their capabilities are limited, their real forces are weak and their

expansionist policy has been born during the "post-Vietnam" period, a period in which the three revolutionary currents in the world are larger and have developed a much stronger offensive position than during the period following World War II. Whereas the British and French imperialists were once able to maintain their colonial rule in the world for many centuries, after World War II, the U.S. imperialists, even though they became the most powerful imperialist in the history of imperialism, were only able to maintain their dominance for a few decades. The hegemony of Beijing is far inferior to that of the British, French and U.S. imperialists and will surely not escape the fate of the past aggressors.

The past 35 years represent the longest period in which the people of the world have been able to maintain peace since the birth of imperialism. However, during these 35 years, Vietnam has been the only scene of a continuous and fierce hot war. Our people overcame the greatest difficulties and won victories of epochal and international significance.

Brandishing the ever victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, combining the strength of the nation with the strength of our times, establishing militant solidarity with the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea and with the support and assistance of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and the sympathy and support of progressive mankind, our people will surely advance the work of building and protecting the socialist fatherland to total victory, thereby making a positive contribution to peace, stability and prosperity in Southeast Asia and peace in the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. The resolution of the 8th Plenum of the 1st Party Central Committee (1941), Party Proceedings 1930-1945, published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, p 181.
2. We declared our independence on 2 September 1945; 4 days later, British troops entered, 1 week after that, the Koumintang troops entered and, 1 month later, French troops followed the British in Saigon on 5 October.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Hạt ky trong tù," [Prison Diary], Van Hoa Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 46.
4. Address by Le Duan at the formal meeting commemorating the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnam Communist Party. NHAN DAN Newspaper, 4 February 1975.
5. Le Duan: "Đuổi là cơ về vàng của Đảng, vì độc lập, tự do, vì chủ nghĩa xã hội, tiến lên giành thắng lợi mới" [Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism] Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 35.
6. Ibid.

TEACHING REVOLUTIONARY ETHICS IN THE SCHOOLS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FIVE
TEACHINGS OF UNCLE HO

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[Article by Bui Thanh Khiet]

[Text] Part I

The campaign to improve the teaching of revolutionary ethics in the schools is of tremendous significance in the teaching of the generations of new, socialist Vietnamese.

Ethics are the combination of the concepts and actions of man in his relationships with others. In broad terms, ethics also encompass man's attitude toward nature, toward himself; however, in substance, ethics are the relations between one person and another within a given social system. Ethics motivate man and bring his behavior into conformity with the existence of society in accordance with the viewpoint of a class.

Revolutionary ethics are the ethics of the working class, are a factor helping to stimulate the comprehensive development of man and mobilize the spiritual strength of millions of laboring people to abolish the capitalist system and build socialism and communism. Revolutionary ethics inherit the fine ethical values of mankind and the nation and create a new and unprecedented moving force within man, the force of "making securing freedom and happiness for everyone one's lofty ideal and great happiness." (1) In order for ethics to become a spiritual moving force, they must be converted into confidence, feelings and behavior. Revolutionary ethics lay the beautiful foundation of the new man, determine the course of his development and have the strength to motivate not only one person, but the masses as well in joining together to carry out the revolution.

Of the various qualities of the new man, revolutionary ethics are, as Uncle Ho frequently taught, the "cornerstone." This is not to deny the role played by intelligence, talent or physical conditioning, but simply to

indicate the spiritual strength that causes man to develop and act correctly. The formation of revolutionary ethics cannot, of course, be separated from intelligence and actions; however, whether or not this intelligence and these actions competently support the revolutionary undertaking of the working people in accordance with the political line of the party depends, to a very large degree, upon the ethics of each person.

Teachers and students must forge their ethics to insure that the school improves the quality of education; at the same time, they must struggle against the negative influences of small-scale production and the remnants of neo-colonialism. In the education sector as well as society, certain negative phenomena still exist as do certain outmoded concepts concerning education, particularly the goals of learning and the principles of education. For this reason, the campaign to improve the teaching of revolutionary ethics within the school will provide us with a new capability for repulsing negative phenomena and enhancing the inherent, pure qualities of teachers and students. Moreover, it will help to revamp the organization and improve discipline within the schools, which are indispensable prerequisites to effective educational activities by the school.

Part II

The five teachings of Uncle Ho are the primary ethical standards that must be taught to students:

- Love the fatherland, love your compatriots;
- Learn well, work well;
- Unite well, maintain good discipline;
- Maintain very good hygiene;
- Be humble, honest and brave."

These five teachings are basic ethical requirements not only of students, but of adults, of teachers as well. The schools use them as the ethical foundation in successfully completing their political task: teaching well and learning well.

The first teaching, and the one that determines the qualities of the new man, is to love the fatherland, love one's compatriots. This is the ethical aspect of the political line of the party. Without ardent love for the fatherland, for one's compatriots, it is impossible to possess deep socialist awareness. As Le Duan has frequently stated, communist ideals are closely linked to the most lofty humanitarianism--or, to benevolence. The political basis of love of the fatherland, of one's compatriots is our party's line on the socialist revolution. Only by correctly understanding the political aspect is it possible for revolutionary sentiments to develop correctly and deeply. Conversely, only by possessing revolutionary sentiments is it possible to easily accept and properly implement the political line of the party.

In a speech to teachers, Le Ban had an opportunity to clearly explain the specifics involved in the socialist patriotism that must be taught to students: "They must be totally devoted to the cause of saving the country, defending the country and building socialism; must be completely loyal to the people, the fatherland, the party and the socialist system; must possess the nation's sense of self-reliance; must possess a determined, brave revolutionary spirit of overcoming every difficulty and hardship in combat, production and construction; and must be willing and ready to make sacrifices and, even more, must be willing to give their lives for the country, for the people, for socialism."(2)

At present, patriotism is a most precious quality among teachers and students. However, not everyone has a clear understanding of patriotism, consequently, when talking about patriotism, some persons confuse it with bourgeois patriotism, with narrow nationalism. In addition, there are many youths who, although they are filled with enthusiasm, have not been forged and, as a result, are evading their obligations to their compatriots, to the fatherland. Patriotism must be based on a clear political realization, a correct understanding of the country's situation, of the insidious schemes of the enemy and on unshakeable determination to follow the political line of the party. It is necessary to make both teachers and students deeply aware that "the historic mission of all our people, of our entire army is to be resolved to defeat the scheme of Chinese expansionism and hegemony to commit aggression against Vietnam and maintain the independence and territorial integrity of the fatherland, thereby helping to strengthen the forces of socialism and the national independence movement and maintaining world peace."(3)

The patriotism of the young generation begins with love of the beautiful natural surroundings of the country, of their birthplace and the neighbors within their hamlets and villages and develops into love and respect for the social mores that have been given birth by the socialist system, love and respect for the socialist man as symbolized by Uncle Ho, love and respect for plain war heroes, the troops of Uncle Ho and outstanding workers. Patriotism requires an attitude of treasuring the spiritual values of the nation. Patriotism must be closely linked to the proletarian international spirit, to warm feelings for the working people of the world, for the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

To teach patriotism, it is necessary to emphasize the spirit of national pride and the determination of our country to rapidly free itself from poverty and backwardness. There are some youths who have not experienced revolutionary struggle, who do not fully see the difficulties of our country following 35 years of war and in the face of the continuing threat of aggression; they do not realize that the imperialists and the Beijing expansionists are collaborating with one another to intensify the psychological war, to undermine and reverse the great victories of our nation by appealing to selfish, base interests and to the ordinary tastes of

the bourgeois style of life and scheming to weaken the will to struggle of our youths. Patriotism must be closely linked to love of the socialist system, to a clear understanding of the revolutionary line of the party, to the spirit of revolutionary vigilance. During the years of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, the patriotism, the spirit of national pride, the confidence in the inevitable victory of the revolution and vigilance against the schemes of the enemy gave Nguyen Van Troi and Nguyen Thai Binh the strength to strike fear in the hearts of the enemy.

Loving one's compatriots first means respecting and loving the persons with whom one lives and is very closely associated with patriotism. Beautiful relations between one person and another are the source of man's greatest happiness; therefore, it is necessary to teach the young to love and respect their teachers, love and respect their friends, parents, brothers and sisters and so forth; conversely, children must be reared amidst boundless love for them on the part of adults. This has the effect of further cultivating the patriotism of children.

The patriotism of each person must be expressed in the performance of tasks for the fatherland. Therefore, a very important ethical quality of students is that they learn well and work well; the task of teachers is that they teach well. As set forth by President Ho in a letter to the education sector in October 1968, the guidelines for teaching well and learning well are: "On the foundation of teaching politics well and providing good ideological leadership, it is necessary to endeavor to improve the quality of cultural and specialized education with a view toward finding practical solutions to the problems raised by our country's revolution and reaching, in the not too distant future, the pinnacles of science and technology."(4)

Studying is the main activity of students within the school and productive labor combined with studying, which is a scientific, supervised form of labor, is also an important educational activity supplementing studying. Within the school, it is necessary to teach students the proper motive of studying for the sake of the fatherland, the sake of the people, and, on this basis, developing an enthusiasm for learning and fidelity in one's studies and examinations. This enthusiasm must be created on the basis of the subjects and methods of study. The subjects being studied must be brought up to date, must be closely linked to practice and to the modern achievements of science and technology. The methods of learning, which encompass reading books, doing exercises, conducting scientific research, forging manual skills and so forth, must also be improved in order to develop the intelligence and the habit of self-study of students.

A major drawback of many of our students at this time is that they are not truly enthused about learning; in a number of schools, this drawback is the

starting point of laziness and immorality among youths and teenagers. The shortcomings of the school and the family are: first, the methods of teaching employed by teachers and the methods of learning used by students have not been improved; secondly, ideological activities within the school have not truly focused on the task of teaching well and learning well. Without correcting these shortcomings, it is impossible to achieve high quality education and, in the future, when today's children are adults and have entered life, they will forget the habit of studying and not be able to deepen their knowledge or raise their labor productivity; this will truly be a shame!

Uniting well and maintaining good discipline are qualities of the new man living within the system in which all persons are friends; they are also prerequisites to insuring that students learn well and forge themselves well. The sense of unity and discipline must originate in the feeling of friendship, the feeling of love for the other persons in society or the collective. A strong collective organization helps the individual to develop his talents and increases the strength of the individual. President Ho once advised: "It is necessary to fully practice socialist democracy, build very good relationships and establish very close unity among teachers, between teachers and their students, among students, among the cadres on the various levels and between the school and the people in order to complete this task successfully."(5)

The old system and small-scale production have given rise to the maladies of selfishness, partialism and decentralization and have even led to divisions caused by jealousy, factionalism and prejudice, thereby weakening discipline. Among cadres and teachers, a lack of unity is sometimes caused by trivial matters. At many places, the management of the school is not being carried out in accordance with the Statutes, work hours are still haphazard and the program of study is not considered a law that must be obeyed. As a result, teaching, learning and school activities cannot be put on a regular basis, rather, they have become disorganized. At present, this is the greatest weakness in the activities of many schools, from general schools to colleges. Without a stable, efficient system of operation, it is impossible to achieve high quality education. Educational activities demand a tightly disciplined order manifested in the implementation of the Statutes, in the rules of the school and the contents of education and in an atmosphere of love and happiness surrounding everyone, and this means avoiding unnecessary tensions that can lead to nervous exhaustion and boredom.

Uniting well and maintaining good discipline is a need in the daily lives of both teachers and students not only to insure the performance of the task of teaching well and learning well, but also to teach the young generation to love and respect the new man and the new system. The school is the crucible building the new relations among persons.

As regards the new student, President Ho also concerned himself with the quality of maintaining very good hygiene and a number of qualities that reflect the character of man, such as humility, honesty and bravery. Clearly, in view of the circumstances surrounding the life and work of our people at this time, unmer qualities are very necessary to the young generation. The unhygienic lifestyle caused by the old system and poor economic conditions have had a major and harmful impact upon the growth of youths. This explains why some progressive schools, such as the Tan Thuat Level I-II General School in Thai Binh Province, began the emulation campaign to improve the overall quality of education with improving physical conditioning and hygiene.

The five teachings of Uncle Ho on ethics are not the totality of the ethical qualities of the new man; however, they are the basic qualities needed by the students of every type of school to complete their task of learning and forging themselves. As regards teachers, ethical requirements are, of course, much higher; however, the qualities mentioned above are also the basic requirements that must be met in order for them to become progressive teachers. Moreover, in order to teach students the five teachings of Uncle Ho, teachers must first of all set an example of these five teachings. Therefore, in the present campaign to improve the teaching of ethics at schools, the Central Education Reform Commission has established that both teachers and students are the subjects of the campaign.

Part III

The task of the schools is to make the five teachings of Uncle Ho the personality, the qualities, the ethical habits of students; therefore, forging these qualities within themselves is an important prerequisite of teachers; without these qualities, the teaching of ethics will become nothing but empty words and surely not be effective. Teaching ethics is very complicated work. Ethics guide the relations of man with the world surrounding him and, at the same time, help man guide his personal life and evaluate and adjust his behavior. Man must practice his ethics not only when living within a collective, but even when alone. As a result, ethics must become the source of confidence of each person and the teaching of ethics must be considered the social compass of the individual.

Today, the teaching of ethics is even more complex. Because, the new ethics are not inherent, rather, they only take shape in the process of man building the new society. Moreover, man must consciously select his ethical values amidst the very sharp struggle between the old society and the new, between capitalism and socialism. There are very many factors that have an unexpected impact upon man and the development of the world around him in a very diverse and rapid fashion. For this reason, molding strong and unshakeable ethics within a person, within an entire generation is an extremely difficult and complex matter. However, under the light of Marxism-Leninism, there are, within the field of teaching ethics, certain principles

that absolutely must be upheld. To successfully carry out the campaign to improve the teaching of revolutionary ethics at schools in accordance with the five teachings of Uncle Ho, it is necessary to apply the educational principles of Marxism-Leninism in the teaching of ethics:

1. Wholeheartedly loving and believing in the young generation, developing the spirit of awareness, initiative and creativity of students and respecting their dignity.
2. Thoroughly coordinating instruction with efficiently organized student activities and life within the school.
3. Establishing strict rules and strict discipline that provide for fair penalties and rewards.
4. Coordinating the individual with the collective.
5. Coordinating the school, family and society.

The first principle in the science of communist education is to respect the dignity of the person being educated. Within the socialist system, man is the master and endeavors to become the master of society, the master of nature and the master of himself. The person who possesses the sense of being the master must possess a sense of responsibility for the development of the nation and society and must make every effort to build the new society on the basis of constantly deepening his knowledge and improving his abilities. As a result, the dynamism and creativity of the new man are very high, this is the strength of the new system. In the field of ethical development, no external impact can directly change the ethical world of the young; external impacts only change this world through the lens of the concepts that have been formed within the young. And, the young do not simply absorb the ethical factors of society; they select what is needed to strengthen their spiritual world. This selection is even more precise and firm when it is a conscious selection. However, the old system left behind different ways of treating man. Man had no right of selection and was born in a social order with already established customs and habits and an established economy. Today, in society as well as in many families, even at some schools, the whipping and beating of children have not ended. When adults do not respect the dignity of children, children do not develop the habit of respecting the dignity of others and their relationships with friends become relationships of the strong bullying the weak.

Teaching ethics is a very important measure in the formation of new concepts of ethics. Of course, teaching should not be understood to only mean persuasion through words, rather, it must also include persuasion through actual persons and actual deeds, through the various artistic symbols and through the analysis of the experiences of oneself or the collective. All lessons, all subjects of study and all educational activities have the impact

of teaching ethics, not indirectly, but frequently very directly and thoroughly. Merely explaining ethics has a very limited effect. In this field, learning in conjunction with practice is of special educational significance. Therefore, it is necessary to implement the guideline of combining thorough teaching with an efficient organization of student activities and life within the school.

The ethical world is very complex; it encompasses contradictions between conscience and behavior, and ethics are manifested differently under different circumstances. This contradictory nature is not at all strange, it reflects the contradictions in the living environment of the young. The problem is that teachers must try to create a high level of unity in the social environment related to the young and prepare the young to realize this contradictory nature, to analyze and criticize it. The activities of students in everyday life, especially those activities that are linked to the realities of building socialism or protecting the fatherland, cause them to quickly gain experience in differentiating right and wrong. Verbal persuasion and direct contact with reality, with progressive workers create ethical motivations and cause the intelligence and emotions of the young to develop. As a result, their sense of ethics develops more deeply with each passing day. Unity among the school, the family and society in teaching the young on the basis of a deep feeling of love for the young is the decisive prerequisite to strengthening the confidence the young have in the humanitarianism of the new system, in their own futures. It is also the basis upon which the young can differentiate between the good and the bad and is the correct foundation from which the young should enter life.

The closest social environments of the young are the family and the collective of students (the class, the Youth Union and the Children's Unit). It is within the collective that the young are taught common ethical standards and common goals; these form the strength of the collective; at the same time, if an individual conducts positive activities within the collective and is encouraged and assisted by it, he can develop both his talents and his individuality. Therefore, a class of students cannot be called progressive if it does not have a strong Youth Union chapter or a strong chapter of the Teenagers' Union.

At present, the difficulty that must be overcome is that both factors of this close environment, the family and the collective of students, are still weak in many respects. Many families are still places where one can find backward remnants of the feudal system, such as paternalism, individualism opposed to collectivism and the habit of beating children. The organizations of the Union and the Unit within many schools are still somewhat passive, their activities are perfunctory and monotonous and they do not create enthusiasm for life on the part of the young. These organizations lack persons in charge and, at some places, even lack an activity program.

The guidelines for the teaching of ethics mentioned above combine to form the basis of the methods of teaching communism and must be applied in every form of educational activity (teaching and studying culture, productive labor, social activities, the activities of the mass organizations, physical culture and sports, literature and art, games and entertainment...). Every activity has the effect of teaching ethics and requires a corresponding ethical effort in order to achieve good results. The forms of student activities are very diverse and have a combined effect in forming the new personality; no single measure regarding ethics or an ethical standard is immediately and firmly established through any one particular activity. The teaching of ethics is a diverse, complicated and comprehensive process in which the individual student gradually changes and makes the requirements of society his own needs and motives; and, as a result of many unexpected but profound influences, many changes occur within the personality. However, if there is strict compliance with the laws governing the formation of the new ethics as manifested in the guidelines for the campaign to improve the teaching of revolutionary ethics, revolutionary ethical standards will become firmly established.

Part IV

President Ho taught: "Revolutionary ethics are not handed down from above. They develop and are strengthened through steadfast, daily struggle and forging as a pearl becomes brighter with more polishing and gold becomes purer the more it is tempered." (6) This teaching helps us to realize that the forging of ethics is closely linked to practical activities and that the teaching of ethics must be carried out on a steadfast basis; however, we surely can lead the new ethics to victory within each person and throughout society.

The realities of the campaign to improve the teaching of revolutionary ethics at a number of progressive schools in several localities during the past school year confirm the tremendous capabilities afforded by the teaching of the new ethics. Clearly, if we concern ourselves with teaching ethics to students, we can achieve fine results everywhere, in the countryside and the cities, in the North as well as the South: schools will be clean and disciplined, the quality of teaching and learning will improve, the relationship between teachers and students and the relationship between the school and the people will be close, children will study more diligently, be more polite, be less quarrelsome and so forth. There are many places at which difficulties and obstacles still exist. However, the greatest obstacle is that not all members of the corps of teachers have true confidence in the ability of the socialist school to educate man. Some teachers and cadres of the education sector still have the one-sided view that we must wait until society has rid itself of all negative phenomena before ethics can be taught. This view is incorrect for the following reasons: first, it does not take into consideration the reciprocal impact of education,

of spiritual factors upon society; secondly, it does not acknowledge the revolutionary capability of the socialist school to stop, repulse and struggle against negative phenomena nor does it acknowledge that the new system has a very positive capability as regards the formation of the new ethics.

A system that abolished the exploitation and oppression of man by man, a nation that dared to make sacrifices for a great cause and a vanguard party that has much experience in struggling for national independence and socialism, these are positive factors that have the ability to transform man in a fundamental manner. This explains why, in a social environment that has been heavily influenced by colonialism and feudalism, by neo-colonialism and by small-scale production, many good persons and many good deeds still emerge, not merely among a few individuals, but an entire stratum of persons, an entire new life. Even many persons who fell by the wayside as a result of the U.S.-puppet system today have made tremendous progress thanks to the revolution. The victories of the three revolutions are indispensable, objective foundations underlying the formation of revolutionary ethics; however, in order for the strength of the new system to have an impact upon the formation of the character of the new man, educational activities must be conducted with a view first toward forming the scientific world view and the new ethics.

Teaching man love and righteousness is a long-standing tradition of our nation; teaching man to follow the revolution is an important experience of our party. The combination of these old and new traditions is vividly expressed in the teachings of President Ho and has been creatively applied in the work of many progressive teachers. We must research the theory of communist education and the complete psychological basis of learning; at the same time, we must summarize progressive experiences in order to learn necessary lessons. This is not simple work and, in this work, we must fully avoid being mechanical or rote because each person, each place and each time is different. In the guidance of the movement, it is necessary to motivate everyone to participate, with particular attention to progressive persons and persons who are making progress slowly. Today, it can be said that the places that have conducted this campaign well can do better and, if we evaluate those persons who are slow to make progress and teachers who are still deficient, we see that they have yet to change for the better. Moreover, if, at the progressive schools, the movement is only launched within the confines of the school itself, not out in society or the family, it cannot be said that solid achievements have been recorded. This, in turn, leads to another phenomenon: students are obedient in school but do many things deserving of reprimand at home and in society.

To be able to do a good job of teaching students in accordance with the five teachings of Uncle Ho, it is first of all necessary for teachers to set good examples with regard to these five teachings. It is necessary to help teachers cultivate good ethics, help them to resolve some of the

difficulties encountered in their everyday lives and create the conditions needed for them to maintain the deportment of educators, which is a requirement of the teaching profession. We must also concern ourselves with the social position of teachers. The majority of teachers are young; they must receive much training in how to live with people, in lifestyle and in workstyle. The parents of students and the cadres of the party and government must help teachers to build their spiritual lives and mold revolutionary ethics and must respect teachers, especially in front of students. In the relationship between teachers and students, it is impossible to avoid certain antagonisms and there are also cases in which teachers are responsible for these antagonisms, but students should absolutely never display a rude attitude toward teachers. President Ho once said: "Within the school, it is necessary to practice democracy... Although democracy must be practiced, students must respect their teachers and teachers must treasure their students, but teachers and students are not 'on an equal footing.'" (?)

Teaching the new man is a very complicated job because man is subjected to countless external influences. The man who exercises ownership also develops rapidly and can select from a wide range of spiritual values to incorporate in his character. Ethics are the product of the combination of educational influences and even unexpected influences with the acceptance of what is being taught, of the unity between intellect and sentiment. We must make the teaching of ethics a subject of thorough scientific research, must delve deeply into the psychological basis of learning in the process of teaching ethics, into the social surroundings of the student and must predict the social consequences of political, economic and cultural changes of the country, of each area. In this field, the teachings of President Ho are extremely valuable.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Dưới ngọn cờ của Đảng, đưa đất nước lên ngang tầm cao thời đại" [Under the Banner of the Party, Advancing the Country to the Level of Our Times], TAP CHI CÔNG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW], 2-1980, p 34.
2. Le Duan: "Về đường lối giáo dục xã hội chủ nghĩa" [The Line on Socialist Education], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1979, p 26.
3. Le Duan: "Dưới ngọn cờ của Đảng...", p 22.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Ban về công tác giáo dục" [On Educational Activities], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1972, p 103.
5. Ibid.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Về đạo đức cách mạng" [Revolutionary Ethics], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 91.
7. Ho Chi Minh: "Ban về công tác giáo dục"..., p 44.

SEVERAL VIEWPOINTS OF PRESIDENT HO AND OUR PARTY CONCERNING THE PEOPLE'S WAR AND BUILDING THE PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES

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[Article by the Department of History of the High Level Military College of the Vietnam People's Army]

[Text] President Ho and our party led all our people and our entire army in an uprising and in revolutionary wars against the richest and most powerful imperialist aggressors and their lackeys to win independence and freedom for the nation.

The viewpoints of President Ho concerning the people's war are very profound and extremely valuable. Researching these viewpoints of President Ho and his activities is of very important significance in continuing to develop the military thinking and the proletarian military science of Vietnam. This is a difficult job.

In this article, we have presented several initial thoughts on the viewpoints of President Ho and our party concerning the people's war and the people's armed forces with a view toward contributing to the research of the extremely great military work of President Ho and our party.

All The People Fight the Enemy, the Entire Country Fights the Enemy

Soon after the August Revolution in 1945 achieved success, our people had to wage a 9 year war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors and, following that, a 21 year war of resistance against the United States for national salvation. In September 1979, our people victoriously carried out a war to protect the socialist Vietnamese fatherland against the Beijing expansionists.

In its history, our nation has a tradition of waging people's wars to liberate the nation and protect the country. The House of Tran defeated the troops of Nguyen three times, Le Loi defeated the army of the House of Minh, Nguyen

Hue routed some 200,000 Thanh troops and so forth. All of these people's wars, which were either led by the feudal class or developed from struggles by peasants, were limited by historic conditions.

When our party was born and under the leadership of the party, headed by President Ho, the people's war in our country assumed a new meaning and invincible strength. It is a war waged by all the people under the leadership of the working class, a war "for" and "by" the people in the full meaning of the term in the new age.

In 1927, in his book "The Revolutionary Road," President Ho wrote: "Revolution is the common work of all the people." (1) In uprisings and revolutionary war, forces lie in the people; "when the people are strong, no soldier, no weapon can successfully resist them." (2)

Firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism that the masses are the persons who create history and that the masses are the persons who determine victory in every war, President Ho set forth the line on revolutionary war in our country. In December 1944, in the directive establishing the Vietnam Propaganda Unit for National Liberation, he said: "Our war of resistance is a war of resistance by all the people and we must mobilize all the people." (3)

After our people seized political power, in the historic Declaration of Independence read on 2 September 1945 at Ba Dinh Square, President Ho said: "The entire nation of Vietnam is determined to devote the entirety of its spirit and forces, its life and wealth to maintaining its freedom and independence." (4) This showed the unshakeable determination of all our people and the thinking and boundless confidence of President Ho in the strength of our people in the work of protecting the achievements of the August Revolution.

One month after our people seized political power, the French colonialists returned to commit aggression against our country once again. In a directive entitled "The War of Resistance and National Construction" (25 November 1945), the Party Central Committee and President Ho took the position of "mobilizing the forces of all the people, waging a determined war of resistance and organizing and leading a protracted war of resistance." (5)

When the nationwide war of resistance broke out, on 20 December 1946, President Ho appealed: "Men and women, old and young, regardless of your religion, political affiliation or nationality, all Vietnamese must stand up to fight the French colonialists to save the fatherland. Those who have rifles will use their rifles; those who have swords will use their swords; those who have no swords will use spades, hoes or sticks. Everyone must endeavor to oppose the colonialists and save the country." (6)

On 22 December 1946, following the unscheduled, enlarged plenum of the Party Central Committee held at Van Phuoc in Ha Dong under the chairmanship

of President Ho, the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee issued the "Let All the People Wage the War of Resistance" directive. The directive pointed out: "All the people must closely unite," "we must wage a nationwide war of resistance." (7) In another document, President Ho wrote: "In the protracted war of resistance, every citizen is a soldier, every village is a combat trench. The 20 million compatriots of Vietnam are determined to rout the several tens of thousands of reactionary colonialist troops." (8)

In the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, President Ho once again stressed the line on all the people waging the war of resistance: "In the people's war being waged by our entire country against the U.S. imperialists," "our 31 million compatriots in both the North and the South, old and young, men and women alike, must be 31 million brave soldiers killing the Americans to save the country, must be determined to win final victory." (9)

All the people waging a war of resistance, the entire country fighting the enemy are the basic elements of the Vietnamese people's war pointed out by President Ho at the very outset, are the spirit running throughout every policy, are the thinking guiding every plan for combat operations and the buildup of forces, are the law governing a people's war in Vietnam in the present age.

The line on all the people fighting the enemy, the entire country fighting the enemy set forth by President Ho has its own specific conditions, its own theoretical and practical bases.

We know that the political nature and social role of war determine the nature of a war and, in turn, the nature of the war is the factor that increases the role played by the masses in the war. Lenin said: "War is the continuation of politics by different means. Every war is closely linked to the political system that gives birth to it." (10)

The revolutionary war in our country over the past several decades was a people's war led by the working class, a war fought truly for the interests of the people, for national independence, for a people's democracy and socialism.

President Ho and our party closely linked the goal of national independence to the goals of democracy and socialism. He appealed: "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom." (11) These tasks and goals of the revolution are also the political goals of the revolutionary war. Therefore, the political goals of the Vietnamese people's war today fully combine the goals of "saving the country" with "saving the people" and liberating and protecting the fatherland with liberating the working people. These are goals that are truly in the interests of the people. They are totally consistent with the fervent aspirations of our entire nation, consistent with the immediate and long-range interests of our country's

working people and consistent with the course of development of history, of our times.

These political goals determine the just nature of the war. President Ho wrote: "Our war of resistance is just."

We are only defending our fatherland, our country, only fighting for the reunification and independence of the fatherland. The French reactionary colonialists, however, want to steal our country from us, want to force our people to live as slaves. Thus, we are right, the enemy is wrong."(12)

Therefore, just wars are usually people's wars. As the political goals of the state leading the war and the political goals of the people become increasingly similar, as the social system becomes increasingly beautiful and as the nature of the war becomes increasingly progressive, the people's war develops more and more.

In the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, President Ho appealed: "In our country, a fierce fight is taking place between a just cause and an unjust cause, between civilization and barbarity," "the just cause is ours."(13)

The political goals and the just nature of the war are the basis for creating the political, moral and material strengths of the people's war today in our country. An understanding on the part of the masses of the reasons for and the goals of the war we are waging is of tremendous importance and is a factor guaranteeing victory; therefore, the party and President Ho regularly educated the people in order to give everyone a deep understanding of the tasks and targets of the revolution and the goals of the war and gain the participation of increasingly large numbers of persons in the uprising and the revolutionary war. President Ho attached full importance to tapping the patriotic spirit of our people. He said: "Our people possess ardent patriotism. This is a precious tradition of ours. Since antiquity, whenever the fatherland has been invaded, this spirit has risen to the surface and formed an extremely strong and large wave that has overcome every peril and difficulty and drowned all traitors and country-robbers."(14) "We must make every effort to explain, propagandize, organize and lead so that the patriotism of each and every person is practiced in patriotic work, in the work of waging the war of resistance."(15)

President Ho was particularly concerned with uniting all the people, because unity is strength: "Unity, unity, broad unity; success, success, sweeping success."(16) He concerned himself with building extremely broad and stable forces encompassing every patriotic and progressive strata and individual from every nationality and religion, in the countryside as well as the cities, within a united national front with the alliance of workers and farmers as its foundation and led by the working class. As Lenin taught: "He who has

more reserves, he who has more manpower and he who stands firmly among the masses will win victory in war." (17) The people's war in our country has won such brilliant victories because it has been firmly based upon the forces of the entire country, of all the people fighting the enemy.

With the line on all the people waging the war of resistance, with the viewpoint of practicing self-reliance and making every effort to win international support, the party and President Ho took the position of intensifying the war of resistance and gradually carrying out the tasks of the revolution even in the course of the war, as a result of which we had the ability to thoroughly develop every potential force of the country and highly develop the role of the rear area in order to maintain and accelerate the advance by the war of resistance to victory.

President Ho always appealed: "We must be determined to overcome every difficulty in order to carry out the slogan: everything for the frontlines, everything for victory!" (18)

In the two wars of resistance against France and the United States, our people fought the enemy within their own country under the conditions of using small forces to triumph over large forces, using few forces to fight many, using weapons and means of war that were, generally speaking, inferior to the enemy's in both number and level of modernization. For this reason, the party and President Ho mobilized all the people to fight the enemy in a comprehensive manner, fight the enemy on all fronts, the military, political, economic, cultural and diplomatic fronts, in order to mobilize every capability, develop every possible strength, use and coordinate every form of struggle and align with every revolutionary and progressive force in the world in order to defeat the enemy.

President Ho said: "Every Vietnamese, old and young, men and women, rich and poor, large and small alike, must become a soldier struggling on every front, the military, economic, political and cultural fronts, every Vietnamese must implement the slogan:

"All the people wage the war of resistance,
A comprehensive war of resistance." (19)

In the wars of resistance, although encountering very many difficulties, President Ho and our party, as a result of skillfully organizing and mobilizing the two factors of patriotic emulation and the mobilization of manpower and financial and material resources, made use of every possible force and employed every form of struggle, thereby insuring victory for our people's war.

As a result, the enemy had to contend with not only our army, but with our entire nation, with all our people everywhere, in all three strategic regions, the mountainous jungles, the rural lowlands and the cities.

It was for this reason that we were able to develop the combined strength of the armed forces and political forces, coordinate armed struggle with political struggle and civilian and military proselyting, coordinate uprisings by the masses with combat operations of the armed forces, coordinate annihilating the enemy with winning and maintaining the right of ownership of the people, coordinate the methods of fighting of main force troops with the local people's war and coordinate modern weapons with rudimentary weapons in order to win victory over the professional armies and modern weapons of the enemy. By relying upon the strength of all the people fighting the enemy everywhere by means of every possible force, every form of struggle, every method of fighting and every available weapon and means, we were able to build a strategic position for the people's war that was advantageous to us, displayed a high degree of offensive thinking and always seized and maintained the initiative in attacking the enemy, thereby forcing the enemy to be on the defensive on the battlefields, on the frontline as well as in their rear areas so that they were constantly being drawn out and spread thinly, surrounded and cut off, worn down and annihilated.

With this mode of war, our army and people thoroughly implemented the teaching of President Ho: "Each citizen is a soldier, each village is a fortress" so that "the enemy army is harrassed, attacked and annihilated wherever it goes." (20) This mode of war possesses tremendous strength. It mobilized every strata of the people, "men and women, old and young," to man every line in the struggle against the enemy, mobilized millions of persons for the frontlines and developed every potential of the country as highly as possible in order to support the war. The mode of war that is the people's war made it impossible for the enemy, despite their many troops and weapons, to utilize their tremendous strength, impossible to take advantage of their strongpoints, impossible to crush the resistance by our army and people. The large size of the professional aggressor armies of France and the United States became small, their strengths became weaknesses, they became bogged down in a sea of fire and they became confused and on the defensive in a style of war that had no clear lines, no clearly defined rear area.

The widespread people's war of Vietnam against France and the United States made it impossible for the enemy to resolve the contradictions between decentralization and centralization, between defense and offense, between fighting a rapid war and fighting a protracted war, as a result of which their material forces were increasingly depleted and their will to aggress constantly declined, thereby enabling us to win victory over them in the end. In the war to protect the fatherland against the aggressive expansionists within Beijing ruling circles, our army and people, continuing to uphold the ever victorious people's war line of President Ho and our party, won victory in the war of aggression launched by them in February 1979.

With the line set forth by President Ho and the party, the nationwide, comprehensive war of resistance in our country reached a very high level of

development compared to every preceding period in the history of our nation and has become a model of people's war in our age. This nationwide, comprehensive resistance war line successfully resolved the problem of how the people of a small country with an underdeveloped economy can win victory over wars of aggression by large imperialist powers with tremendous economic and military might.

A just war, a nationwide, comprehensive war is invincible. It defeats every enemy aggressor, regardless of how many troops and weapons they might have, regardless of how savage they might be.

Mobilizing All the People To Build Powerful Political Forces and People's Armed Forces.

Having adopted the correct line on the nationwide, comprehensive war of resistance, it is necessary to adopt a correct line for building forces in order to win victory.

President Ho was fully concerned with organizing and building the basic forces of the revolution. He said: "The revolution must have a very stable and strong organization in order to achieve success." (21) The uprising and revolutionary war are undertakings of all the people; however, the people cannot carry out this struggle in a fragmentary, disorganized manner, rather, they must be reorganized in exact accordance with a line in order to achieve the strength needed to win victory over savage and stronger enemies.

Under the conditions of our country, in order to develop the strength needed to win victory over the enemy, it is not only necessary to rely upon the strength of equipment and weapons, but also upon the forces of all the people mobilized and reorganized.

Under the leadership of President Ho and our party, revolutionary organizations of manual workers and farmers, patriotic mass organizations and the United National Front were established. These forces became an increasingly powerful political army that played an extremely important role. They were the firm foundation for the buildup and development of all forces of the revolution. They were the foundation for arming all the people, for forming and developing the people's armed forces. President Ho said: "To develop an armed unit, we must have a propaganda and agitation unit, a political unit first. Consequently, this work must be performed immediately so that this political unit becomes increasingly large. In our country, for example, who will bear weapons to fight the French, fight the Japanese? Who will volunteer to bear arms? We must have politically enlightened masses who volunteer to bear arms before we can win victory." (22)

In conjunction with organizing the political forces of the masses and on the basis of these powerful political forces, President Ho and our party built the people's armed forces.

Creatively applying the arguments of Marx-Engels and Lenin on arming the masses and building the worker-farmer Red army and on the basis of the people's war line, President Ho and our party set forth the line on building the Vietnamese people's armed forces as building a worker-farmer army and arming the revolutionary masses. The arming of all the people must go hand in hand with building the revolutionary army. Our people's armed forces consist of main force troops, local troops and militia and self-defense troops. This is the best and most suitable form for implementing the principles of Marxism-Leninism on the military organization of the proletariat, for inheriting and developing upon the experiences gained by our nation in the past in organizing armed forces and for developing the fighting strength of all the people.

President Ho attached particular importance to militia and self-defense troops, considering them to be "the forces of the entire nation, an invincible force, an iron wall of the fatherland. Any enemy, regardless of how cruel they might be, will be routed when they encounter this force, this wall."(23)

As warfare has developed and the requirements of combat have become increasingly high, it has been necessary to establish regular force units, main force units to fight large battles, change the situation, change the comparison of forces between the two sides and bring about new leaps forward. According to Engels, strong main forces are needed in order to implement the principle of "centralizing forces for the purpose of delivering main blows at the decisive points" and this is the "great tactical principle that still determines the outcome of virtually every battle."(24)

President Ho and our party overcame countless difficulties to build the standing army, build an increasingly regular force and modern, powerful main force unit.

In late 1944, President Ho issued a directive founding "the first armed unit," "a main force unit": the Vietnam Propaganda Unit for National Liberation. He said: "Although its initial size is small, its future is very glorious. It is the starting point of the liberation army and can develop from the South to the North, throughout Vietnam."(25)

His prediction has become reality today. From the national salvation and liberation units born in the revolutionary movement of all the people, the Vietnamese people's armed forces grew like Phu Dong, developed very rapidly and became the heroic Vietnamese people's army of the heroic nation of Vietnam.

Today, in keeping with this correct line on military organization, our people have developed powerful armed forces consisting of "main force troops, local troops and militia-self-defense troops, which form the main force

army and the local army, consist of powerful standing forces and widespread reserve forces; the various elements of the military and the various forces are balanced and well coordinated, are closely linked to the people, who are the masters of the locality, the masters of the entire country. The main force army, which consists of the necessary branches and services in the form of mobile, regular force, modern, well trained and experienced military corps, has the ability to annihilate large forces of the enemy and firmly protect our strategic areas. The local army consists of local troops and militia and self-defense troops; in the border provinces and districts, there are also border security troops."(26)

The ever victorious Vietnamese people's army won victory over the Japanese, French and American imperialists, liberated the country and, in the spring of 1979, won victory over the Chinese aggressor army and firmly protected the Vietnamese socialist fatherland.

As the beloved father who founded, educated and forged our army, President Ho always kept abreast of the progress being made by troops, inquired about their welfare and guided the entire army steadily forward to victory in combat. He and the Party Central Committee applied Lenin's principles on building the new style army in order to build our armed forces and armed our army with the invincible science of Marxism-Leninism.

Born of the people, fighting for the people and together with them, our army is a people's army led by the party. The nature of our army is the nature of the working class. It is the competent tool of the revolutionary state, the dictatorship of the proletariat state, and of the socialist system of collective ownership in waging the revolutionary struggle, the armed struggle and in performing the revolutionary tasks of the party in order to liberate the nation, liberate the class and protect the fatherland.

President Ho constantly concerned himself with cultivating the revolutionary nature, the popular nature and the class nature of the army. He considered this to be the basic factor in creating the invincible strength of the armed forces. He said: "Our army is invincible because it is a people's army built by our party, led and educated by our party"(27); "we must insure that our army becomes a genuine army of the people."(28)

President Ho taught our army to be "loyal to the country, filial to the people."(29) He also taught our army to be "loyal to the party, filial to the people and ready to fight and die for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for socialism."(30) He always closely linked the party and the country, national independence and socialism.

President Ho constantly reminded our army to be close to the people. He said: "The people are the foundation, the parents of the army." "We must insure that troops have the trust, support and love of the people."(31) "The people are the sea, troops are the fish. Victory over the enemy can only be won

when troops have the full support of the people." (32) "Of vital importance to every main force unit, local army unit and militia or guerrilla unit is that it cling to the people, sure defeat will result if they are not close to the people. Being close to the people means having their love, their trust, their respect. In this way, every difficult job can be performed and victory is a certainty. To accomplish this, we must protect, help and educate the people." (33)

In a nationwide, comprehensive war, the army and the people fight the enemy together. The people are the foundation, the base of the army. Troops must consider civilians to be their close relatives, must respect, love, help and protect the people, must learn from the people and set a good example for the people. Troops must always be close to the people, must achieve a oneness of will between the army and the people.

The army is the nucleus of the fight by all the people against the enemy. Therefore, full importance must be attached to the quality of fighting of the army. President Ho said: "We must build very good forces of truly high quality." (34)

In order for the army to be strong, it is necessary to strengthen the leadership provided by the party because "with a strong party organization, every job flows smoothly." Within the army, there must be unity, democracy and strict discipline. President Ho said: "The army is strong as a result of thorough education, correct policies and strict discipline. Therefore, discipline must be strict." (35) Only when "orders are obeyed by everyone" are thinking and actions unified, is victory won over the enemy.

In order for the army to be strong, it must have competent cadres. President Ho was particularly concerned with training and forging the corps of command cadres. He always taught: cadres must struggle throughout their lives for the revolution, for the party, must be frugal, honest, just and devoted, must possess love, wisdom and courage. He said: "Every effort must be made to train cadres, to forge their thinking, heighten their political awareness and raise their tactical and technical proficiency. These are the main elements of the various types of work that must be done." (36)

Cadres must concern themselves with the daily lives of and must teach and train troops thoroughly before troops can fight the enemy well. President Ho said: "Troops are like a knife, a weapon; if the knife or weapon are not cleaned, they become unusable. If we give our attention to training troops, they will improve their skills." (37) "All of you, whether you are group commanders, regimental commanders or battalion commanders, are only persons who formulate plans and guide battles. In battle, the emplacement of mines to destroy bunkers is done by the members of your units. If their thinking is firm, if their politics are firm, if their technical proficiency is high, if their physical conditioning and health are good, victory is assured. Conversely, if they are politically firm but militarily deficient or

firm both politically and militarily but in poor physical condition, victory cannot be won.

"Therefore, cadres must love and care for the members of their units. Cadres must insure that the members of their units are well fed and well clothed. They must consider the members of their units to be their own hands and feet in order for the members of their units to consider cadres to be their head and mind." (38)

President Ho attached very much importance to molding the new socialist man. He appealed to the army to display a high sense of revolutionary heroism and make every effort to emulate in killing the enemy and recording feats of arms: "The emulation must be intensified and spread everywhere so that everyone, regardless of his job, emulates to record greater achievements, so that every sector emulates to make stronger progress, to study and train many more heroes, many more soldiers." (39)

Of importance is the quality of troops, not the number. Concerned with improving the quality of the army, President Ho set forth the thinking of knowing how to fight and how to win victory, the thinking of using the few forces of a small country to defeat the many forces of large imperialists.

President Ho also taught our generals the various military arts. One very highly developed art among the various military arts is that of using position, timing and combat activities in war. This thinking of his was clearly manifested in the poem "Learning To Play Chess":

"Eyes must look for a head, and thoughts be deeply pondered.
Be bold and unremitting in attack.
Give the wrong command, and two chariots are rendered useless.
Come the right moment, a pawn can bring you victory." (40)

He also taught our army the pure and selfless proletarian international spirit. "We must mold ardent patriotism and the genuine international spirit" (41); we must help Laos and Kampuchea under the thinking "helping others is helping ourselves." (42) He also taught that we must cooperate with and learn from the Soviet army and the armies of the other fraternal socialist countries.

The work of building and protecting the beloved, socialist Vietnamese fatherland demands that we deeply research and thoroughly understand the viewpoints of President Ho and our party concerning the people's war and continue to build our armed forces so that they are powerful and increasingly regular force, modern armed forces that are ready to fight and determined to win victory in protecting the fatherland while engaging in productive labor, thereby helping to build the economy and the country.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Duong khach menh" [The Revolutionary Road].
2. Ibid.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve dau tranh vu trang va luc luong vu trang nhan dan" [Armed Struggle and the People's Armed Forces], Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 152.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do vu chu nghia xa hoi" [For Independence and Freedom, for Socialism], Su That Publishing House Hanoi, 1970, p 55.
5. "Van kien Dang, 1945-1954" [Party Documents, 1945-1954], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1978, Volume 1, p 28.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve dau tranh vu trang...", p 168.
7. The directive of the Standing Committee of the Central Party Committee to all the people to wage a war of resistance, 22 December 1946.
8. Ho Chi Minh: "Voi cac luc luong vu trang nhan dan" [With the People's Armed Forces], Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 34.
9. Ibid., p 468.
10. V. Lenin: "Military Speeches and Writings," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 3, p 16.
11. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve dau tranh vu trang...", p 371.
12. Ibid., p 176.
13. Ibid., pp 392 and 393.
14. Ibid., p 239.
15. Ibid., p 240.
16. "Nhung loi keu goi cua Ho Chu tich" [Appeals by President Ho], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume IV, p 202.
17. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1972, Volume 30, p 55.
18. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve dau tranh vu trang...", p 262.

19. Ibid., p 213.
20. Ho Chi Minh: "Voi cac luc luong...", p 109.
21. Ho Chi Minh: "Duong kach menh."
22. Vu Anh: The Memoirs "Uncle Ho," Van Hoc Publishing House, 1960, p 154.
23. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve dau tranh vu trang...", p 174.
24. F. Engels: "Selected Military Theses," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, Volume II, p 98.
25. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do...", p 47.
26. Le Duan" Address delivered during the commemoration of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnam People's Army (22 December 1979), TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW], No 1-1980, p 33.
27. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do...", p 270.
28. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve dau tranh vu trang...", p 239.
29. Ho Chi Minh: "Voi cac luc luong...", p 81.
30. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do...", p 270.
31. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve dau tranh vu trang...", p 206.
32. Ibid., p 244.
33. Ibid., p 269.
34. Ibid., p 397.
35. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 432.
36. The report by President Ho at the 4th Plenum of the Party Central Committee (January 1953).
37. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve dau tranh vu trang...", p 216.
38. Ibid., p 255.
39. Ibid., p 325.
40. Ibid., p 417.

41. Ho Chi Minh: "Ket hop chat che long yeu nuoc voi tinh than quoc te vo san" [Closely Coordinating Patriotism with the Proletarian International Spirit], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 123.

42. Ibid., p 118.

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PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH, THE PERSON WHO INAUGURATED AND USHERED IN A NEW AGE
IN LITERATURE

BAOAI TAP CHI (NG) HAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 80
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[Article by Ha Minh Duc]

[Text] President Ho, the founder of the Vietnam Communist Party and the founder of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, now the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, was also the person who gave birth to the revolutionary literature of the modern age. This is a great honor for literature and writers in the new age. President Ho did not consider himself to be a writer or a poet and had no intention of building a literary career for himself. In all of his different writings, literature only revolved around the word "revolution." For the sake of the goals of the revolutionary struggle, he at times used poetry and prose as an effective weapon of revolutionary propaganda. All of his writings, be they political essays, biographies or poems, had but one purpose, to oppose the colonial and feudal system and win back independence and freedom for the fatherland and happiness for the people. The noble mission of his writings was to serve the revolution and their greatest effectiveness was achieved when they became a strength that awakened and inspired the masses to engage in revolutionary struggle. For this reason, the literature of President Ho has always provided tremendous ideological and emotional inspiration to and kindled and nurtured the confidence and will to struggle of many generations in the course of the nation's revolution.

"The Biography of Nguyen Ai Quoc," the "Prison Diary," "The Poems of Ho Chi Minh" and so forth and all of his political writings are precious pearls that shine with a new light, that have ushered in a new age in literature.

To begin with, it is necessary to mention the works of President Ho Chi Minh during the period of his activities in the 1920's. This youth in search of the path of national salvation, whose heart was saddened by the suffering of his homeland and boiling with hatred for the crimes of the enemy, found the

voice of denunciation to be an extremely effective weapon. He entered the political arena via strongly inspiring, incisive articles that sent shock waves through public opinion. His was the voice of the suffering colonial subjects, a voice that exposed the crimes of the colonialists, the voice of the anti-imperialist proletarians and the communist militants in the vanguard of the national liberation revolution and the proletarian revolution.

"French Colonialization on Trial," "The Indictment of Colonialism," "Here Is the 'Justice' of the French Colonialists in Indochina" and so forth are works which, besides their tremendous political value, are also of important literary and historical value. These were stern indictments that laid bare the true face of the colonialists, indictments based on sharp reasoning and accurate evidence. The author directly criticized the entire structure of the machinery of colonialist rule, from the ringleaders, the ministers of the colonies, the governor general and the other ministers to the system of lackey officials. Data ripe for denunciation, short stories and many other materials taken from the books and newspapers of the colonialists themselves bared their true face.

The political writings of Uncle Ho during this stage reflected the power of the unity of the national liberation movement in its early beginnings, savagely indicted the racism of imperialism and showed boundless respect for the dignity of man, thereby providing the confidence and energy to struggle for the happiness of man. At that time, the light of the October Revolution was brilliantly shining on Russia; however, it was prevented by the conditions that prevailed from spreading to every corner of the sky. Uncle Ho went directly to Leninism and creatively applied the revolutionary thinking of Lenin to resolve a series of problems of the national liberation movement and bring the light of truth to the impoverished colonies. His works were thus both a platform of action and revolutionary prophecy.

Of special value is the fact that the above mentioned truths were expressed with the full measure of the keen perception and attraction of a thinker who was rich in intelligence, possessed intense revolutionary zeal and was rich in detailed imagery. These were the bases that helped to create the literary value of the works mentioned above.

The intellectual essence of his political writings was Marxist-Leninist ideology, the intellectual pinnacle of the new age. Like the sun shining in the sky, this light shattered the darkness of the night, clarifying issues still shrouded in confusion and doubt, exposing the true face of the enemy, pointing out the cause of every agony of the slave and bringing guidelines for the future. This intellectual essence was a system of profound knowledge in many fields, in politics, economics, society, culture and art. The political situation and the suffering of the peoples of Indochina, Algeria, Morocco and so forth, the cruel policies of the French

and British colonialism, the racism in the United States, the beautiful life of the Soviet people and so forth, all of these issues were dealt with in detail, dealt with on the basis of deep research and understanding. In particular, their intellectual essence gave the majority of his political writings of that time power to persuade and the absolute power to prevail. His sharp attacks usually originated in the depth of ideals as revealed through many interesting comparisons and thought associations: strong and thorough without being crude or simplistic; far-reaching and sharp without being convoluted or difficult to understand; obviously gifted and immensely interesting while still being ample and natural... The nature in his political writings was a very skillful blend of the traditional and the modern. The political writings of President Ho were richly stimulating. All his writings on his homeland, on the suffering that the people still had to endure, reflected a love so deep as to sometimes be overflowing. The nation of Vietnam, a nation with a long tradition of patriotism, an inherently diligent nation that values love and righteousness, was now being cruelly oppressed by the enemy, was imprisoned, impoverished and uneducated. "The Agony of Indochina," "The Catastrophes of French Civilization," "The Banality of Plunder," "Blood Tax" and "The Sufferings of the Native Women" are works that generated many deep feelings and deep indignation and hatred of the oppressors and exploiters. They did not consist of merely cold denunciations and indictments or dry figures. His political writings were intense and ardent; behind the written page were a heart, a sympathetic, internal voice and ardent fervor. This art filled with love also genuinely felt the suffering of the peoples of other nations and filled with joy whenever thought was given to the beautiful future.

Also in the 1920's, in addition to his political writings, Uncle Ho wrote many short stories: "Paris," "The Lament of Mrs. Trung Trac," "Travelling Incognito," "Oriental Games, or Varen and Phan Boi Chau," "The Turtle," "Class Solidarity," "Man Knows the Smell of Smoke" and "Of One Heart and Mind." (1) Although not many in number, the special importance of these works lies in their artistic quality. They truly marked a major turning point in Vietnamese prose in the modern age.

Uncle Ho turned to this type of literature with the intention of making creative and flexible use of literary forms other than political writings to competently support the task of the revolution. Incidents in political life were directly reflected in the press or used in an indirect manner; the real was combined with the imagined, that which exists was coordinated with that which is possible in order to support the theme of the writer. All of the important thinking and issues raised in his political writings were reflected in a very versatile and interesting way in the form of short stories. The first short story by Uncle Ho very clearly presented the stand and outlook of a young patriot, a communist militant in the face of the easily confusing environs of life in Paris. The short story "Paris" records what the youth saw and heard in the poor worker wards in which the

author lived and whose life he was able to understand. The main theme of this work was to expose the true, decadent face of the colonialist and feudal systems. All of the governors general, such as Varen and Albert Sarra, and ministers (in "The Turtle" and "Man Knows the Smell of Smoke") were cruel colonialists at heart, were persons to be cursed and fit his denunciation of them;

"All of the important governors general and lesser governors general that have been entrusted by the mother country with the destiny of Indochina have, generally speaking, been ignorant and vulgar men."(2)

Directly criticizing and winning victory over the ringleaders of the colonialist and feudal systems through the power of a person whose cause was just, who firmly grasped the truth and the laws of development of history, the author, going beyond criticism, opened a window on the future, on the horizon that was rising in the dawn of communism. The short story "Man Knows the Smell of Smoke" told the story of a dream, but it was a dream that came true, a dream based on the warm image of the beautiful Soviet Union.

As a result, the short stories of Uncle Ho embodied valuable and brand new characteristics in the literary situation at the start of the 20th Century. At that time, a segment of public literature was being enslaved in the mold of "NAM PHONG Journal" and "INDOCHINA Journal." Another segment was going back and forth between the consciousness of the withered feudal system and the consciousness of the young, weak bourgeoisie. There were a few frail and distant patriotic voices, such as Tran Tuan Khai and Tan Da. It was then that the works of Uncle Ho, although newly emerged, revealed the beauty of the brilliant Red sun, presented the most revolutionary thinking of the times and represented the revolutionary literature of the proletariat. In artistic terms, the prose of the 1920's was still restricted to the style of Nguyen Ba Hoc and Ho Hieu Khanh, a style marked by cliches and parallel constructions; the structure of stories leaned heavily toward essays; and the mode of expression still primarily involved the copying of biographies. The short stories of Uncle Ho were written on the basis of a new and interesting art. Every story was concise and condensed, but not a simple summary; each was rich in intellect, was of a deep folk nature and skillfully combined real life with imagination. Each short story had a unique style perfectly suited to its theme. This was not an accidental result, but the result of combining, in a very meaningful way, revolutionary thinking and deep knowledge of and talent for art; we must also mention the indirect contributions made by the masters and talents of the literary world whom he met and admired, such as Leo Tolstoy, Anatole France [pseudonym of Jacques Anatole Thibault], Bac-buyt-xo [Vietnamese phonetics], Guy de Maupassant...

The stories of Uncle Ho firmly asserted the existence of a new literary genre: socialist realism. They dealt with representative, contemporary

issues and the major topics of life, expressing them in a true and realistic manner. But, Uncle Ho did not restrict his novels to the framework of reality, but constantly searched for new forms of expression, new symbols in order to increase his ability to mirror life. A deep sense of partyhood and socialist ideals created the depth and the thirst for advancement found in his novels. The diversity and flexibility of his art created harmony between the content and form of his writings.

In the writings of Uncle Ho in the 1920's, there were closeness and unity between the style of his political writings and the style of his short stories. All of these works emanated from the common ideological source of patriotism, of Marxist-Leninism. All of his themes were closely linked to the important, burning issues of the times. The lines of his political writings as well as his prose reflected the true nature of the author--a militant who possessed the revolutionary-offensive spirit, a militant on the ideological front. The spirit of partyhood was deep and ran like a red thread connecting one page to the next. While strongly and thoroughly criticizing the decadent aspects of colonialism and imperialism, his works also opened new horizons, horizons of boundless inspiration, hope and trust.

The works of Uncle Ho during this period ushered in a new age in literature, the age of the literature of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Another important contribution in the literary career of Uncle Ho had to do with poetry. In addition to "Prison Diary," which was written under the special circumstances of 1942-1943, President Ho also composed hundreds of poems between 1941 and the final months of his life. He never considered himself a poet. However, he did attach importance to this spiritual activity. Poetry can make an important contribution to the propaganda task of the revolution. Poems appealing to the masses to unite and drive off the Japanese and the French, poems celebrating New Year's Day, poems of inspiration and concern, poems celebrating victory in battle and so forth were written to meet the requirements of the revolutionary task. Poems were also trustworthy and gentle friends of his. All of the lofty thoughts and feelings of this revolutionary militant in times of challenges and adversity as well as in the joy of victory were confided through poems. It was in this spirit that "Prison Diary" and a number of other poems of deep feeling came to life. This differentiation is only a judgement because a poem has but one "destiny" and the poet has but one stand:

"There must be determination even in a poem;
The poet must also know how to attack."

The "Prison Diary" is a collection of poems of revolutionary intelligence expressing profound but natural conclusions concerning the path of revolutionary struggle. The height of the poet stand, the breadth and keenness of his vision and the beauty of his intellect came many of his lines of poetry to burst forth with the beauty of truth, truth with a very strong

and specific attraction. The intelligence and thinking within his poems combined with feelings of love and respect for life and man,

The feeling of love, the sharing of joy and sorrow with the poor working people and a genuine sympathy with the unfortunate, downtrodden lives of society gave his collection of poems deep humanitarian value. The steel-like nature of the soul of his poems did not overpower or weaken his sense of humanity, rather, it caused his love of life, his love of his fellow man to become deeper and stronger, to have direction. And, his poems provided not only love, not only the sharing of joys and sorrow, but, on an even more lofty plane, they also uplifted and awakened everyone, inspired everyone to overcome pain and suffering. The heart that he revealed in his poems was the heart of a revolutionary leader who was respected and loved in life; as the poet To Huu wrote:

"Uncle Ho! How vast is your heart!
It embraces the whole fatherland, embraces each and every person."

For this reason, this work had an even greater attraction, an even greater appeal and deeply penetrated the feelings of everyone. Many foreign writers and poets have said that this was one of his best works. The "Prison Diary" was written while in prison, but it consists of poems that are extremely lucid and lofty. His poems are simple and sincere but possess very strong attraction; they combine classical tradition with modern creativity, militant determination with the sense of humanity. His poems are self-portraits of the character of a great communist militant; but, in broader terms, they are portraits of the spirit of an entire people, an entire age, of the working people standing up to become the masters of their destiny.

In addition to the "Prison Diary," Uncle Ho wrote hundreds of other poems that reflected many of the typical aspects of a nation's life in the various stages of revolutionary struggle. Here, the intense atmosphere during the days of clandestine activity and the period preceding the uprising is conveyed through poems appealing to the masses to drive off the Japanese and the French and to workers, farmers and women to join the Viet Minh, joined the armed self-defense and guerrilla forces to fight. The heartfelt words of his poetry, like words of advice and as concise and strong as an order to arise in struggle, truly became the strength of the mass movement. He wrote many poems about victory in battle to inspire victory on the battlefield by our army and people in the two great wars of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialist aggressors. The group of poems on the victories of our army and people in the fall-winter campaign in Viet Bac also called forth an atmosphere of very high spirits: "The joyous news of victory in battle reverberates like the hooves of horses" and joyfully cheered "that bell suddenly awakes the slay; it signalled victory in battle in the interzone." He also wrote poems on the occasion of

the former campaign and the historic Dien Bien Phu Campaign. The refrain of "victory" also reappeared and was chanted in the poems written during the years of the resistance against the United States, especially when news was received of victories on the northern battlefield. President Ho wrote many poems expressing New Year's greetings to our soldiers and compatriots each spring. Every poem was an important milestone marking a stage of development in the revolutionary movement over the months and years. But what was even more appealing and moving was that the hearts of the leader and the people were overflowing with the joy of the new year beginning. This was not simply a matter of protocol, but a noble sentiment, a beautiful and vivid emotion left to our people by Uncle Ho.

The value of the entirety of the poetic works of Uncle Ho is truly large. He truly laid the solid foundation of the revolutionary poetry of the modern period, of the foundation and development of socialist realism in poems. Together with the works of a number of other representative revolutionary poets, such as Lu Han, Song Bang, Le Duc Tho and so forth, Uncle Ho brought to our nation the poetic soul of the new age, and surpassing the military of the proletariat and great desires and ambitions which no previous class could achieve. The function and importance pointed out by Uncle Ho, that "the poet must also know how to attack," are the most beautiful attitude and bearing that the poet-soldier can assume.

After the August Revolution, as president of the country, Uncle Ho wrote many important works on politics. These were major documents of historic significance encompassing reports, appeals, articles and speeches to the mass organizations and masses during the period of the resistance against the French in the early years of socialist reconstruction and the resistance against the United States for national salvation. The value of the political content and import of these documents was extremely large. The strategic and tactical lines of the revolution, the correct and creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of the Vietnamese revolution, the spiritual values that crystallized the ambitions and aspirations of the revolutionary masses...all of these were deeply stirred in his writings. Understood and evaluated from a literary standpoint, the above-mentioned political writings are of important value, especially those that came to be at special points in history: The Declaration of Independence, the Appeal to the Entire Nation to wage a War of Resistance, the Appeal to the Compatriots and Soldiers of the Entire Country (17 July 1960), the Historic Testament and so forth are important historic documents and also model political writings. Here we find the highest possible crystallization of the aspirations, political viewpoint and heart of the masses, of which the leader of the revolution was the embodiment. Although time has passed, these writings still resound with the national pride and the will to charge forward of a country determined to protect its legitimate right to live in the face of the enemy aggressor. The spirit of the age, the beautiful qualities of the nation and the people and the intelligence and

... of the leader aspired to give equal value to his writings. In his works, we constantly see the classical union of great tasks with pure and interesting forms, of general observations with concrete images, of reason with sentiment, of content with form... Many of Uncle Ho's writings and speeches created strong feelings between the leader and the masses and spoke with a voice of love and warmth. The letter to soldiers and compatriots on the occasion of the Binh Triet Tet, the mid-autumn Tet and the youth of Vietnam, the mid-autumn Tet letter to children, the letter sent to his compatriots by Uncle Ho on Wounded Soldier and War Dead Day and the letter of condolence on the death of Ho Tung Mau were filled with feeling and were deeply moving. His political writings during the period following the August Revolution were directed toward many different strata: soldiers on the battlefield, workers in the factories, farmers in their fields and intellectuals at their work. His prose was as pure, simple and sincere as the soul of the people, but it deepened the knowledge of everyone. He had visited many countries and regions, had come into contact with many of the cultures of mankind, but he still kept the essence of the nation as the backbone of his character and strengthened it with every other spiritual value. His prose was precise and scientific, but never dry, and was always embellished with many vivid images of life. The poet To Han made the following profound observations:

"The prose of Ho Chi Minh is the clearest example of the new literature based on the national, scientific and popular guideline. President Ho was not only a political and military leader, but a major writer of our country as well. From his textbooks on ideology to his nationwide appeals, his short letters to elders, soldiers, wounded veterans, teenagers, children and so forth, President Ho's writings were always easy to understand but profound, clear and concise, always strong, warm and practical but colorful; while often discreetly humorous, they retained a seriousness that penetrated the minds and hearts of the people like the warm spring sunshine; they were a remarkable blend of scientific thinking with the sentiments and the manner of speaking of the nation. They combined, on a sophisticated level, the simple beauty of folk literature and the incisive beauty of proletarian literature. The literature of Ho Chi Minh bears the deep imprint of the Spring of our times and is an inexhaustible lesson to writers."(3)

President Ho was the person who inaugurated and ushered in a new age in literature. He found Leninism and the proletarian revolutionary movement at an early date. The time when the new light showed him the path of revolutionary struggle was also the time when this revolutionary thinking spread through the lines of his political writings and other literary works. And, his writings were not merely guidelines for opening new directions, new sources. He laid the first solid foundation for proletarian revolutionary literature in many genres: novels, biographies, poems, etc. This achievement differed from the ordinary in that his writings embodied from the very outset all the characteristics of the stage of development with all the richness and perfection of artistic creativity.

His works of Uncle Ho, as diverse and rich as they were, had but the one goal of struggling for national independence and socialism. He considered works of art to be weapons in the revolutionary struggle, to be a means for helping to mold the heart and soul of man in a subtle but effective manner.

What is to be greatly treasured is that through his works, especially through his poems, we happily once again feel and relive the deep love that this leader had for his fatherland and people.

The new age in literature which Uncle Ho ushered in is developing through the many achievements of a vanguard anti-imperialist literature, a socialist literature rich in creativity. In the firm strides forward of today, the corps of writers, the soldiers of our party, are still receiving from Uncle Ho an immortal light, a light that will shine forever.

FOOTNOTES

1. All of his novels were translated by Pham Huy Thong. "The Lament of Mrs. Trung Trac," "Travelling Incognito," "Outlandish Games, or Varen and Phan Boi Chau," "The Turtle," "Class Unity" and "Man Knows the Smell of Smoke" were printed in "The Novels and Biography of Nguyen Ai Quoc," Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974.
2. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "French Colonialization on Trial," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 110.
3. To Huu: "Building a Great System of Literature and Art Worthy of Our People, of Our Times," Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, p VI.

PRESIDENT HO, AN OUTSTANDING INTERNATIONAL MILITANT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 80
pp 75-81

[Article by Thanh Ve]

[Text] After the day our Uncle Ho "went to meet Karl Marx, Lenin and the other elders of the revolution" our party and government received thousands of cablegrams from various parties, governments, mass organizations and individuals representing more than 100 countries of the world expressing their grief and praising the good deeds of Uncle Ho.

We know that large numbers of revolutionary forces, nations and laboring people throughout the world expressed their respect and love for and their deep grief over the loss of President Ho primarily because of his contributions to the common struggle of the people of the world for the four goals of our times, peace, national independence, democracy and socialism and for the cause of molding the new man and building the new society for today and tomorrow.

Praising President Ho as "a great figure of our times," the revolutionary forces and people of the world closely linked the contributions by President Ho to the wise leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, to the just and tenacious struggle of the Vietnamese to achieve the goals of the Vietnamese revolution and contribute to the growth of the three revolutionary currents, which are continuously on the offensive and are gradually repulsing imperialism and the reactionary powers.

The journal NEW TIMES (USSR) stated on 17 August 1969: "Ho Chi Minh was an outstanding militant of the world communist and worker movement, the leader of the Vietnamese revolution, one of the originators and the outstanding leader of the national liberation movement." GRANMA Newspaper (Cuba) stated on 14 September 1969: "He had the great honor of being one of the first persons to smash the colonial system of imperialism." ETUMBA Newspaper (the Congo) stated on 12 September 1969 that President Ho was "the great anti-colonialist militant of our times."

we all know that President Ho was an outstanding communist militant, was a person who struggled throughout his life for the interests of the working class and was the person who founded the Vietnam Communist Party; however, one preeminent quality of his was his spirit of patriotism, his deep love of independence and freedom. His most famous words of advice were: "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom." His stern words that have been recorded in history were: "We would rather sacrifice everything than suffer the loss of our country, than be enslaved"; "we are determined to win independence and freedom even if we must burn the entire Truong Son Mountain Range."

The unique aspect of President Ho was that he met Marxism-Leninism and communism on the path of national salvation. He met the worker movement on the path of serving the nation. He was imbued with internationalism at a time when his mind and heart were overflowing with patriotism. Reflecting this patriotic spirit, the first name he adopted when he began to travel the path of the revolution was Nguyen Ai Quoc [Nguyen The Patriot]. As the general secretary of the Uruguayan Communist Party said: "Ho Chi Minh arrived at communism as a result of a thirst for national liberation" (E-XIU-DI-OT/Vietnamese phonetics/Journal, September 1969).

Born in an old style colony, President Ho experienced the suffering and shame of a citizen who had lost his country and of an entire people that was being oppressed. He himself experienced the pain of the chains of slavery because the oppression and exploitation of colonialism caused him to rapidly sympathize with similar unjust conditions in the other colonies, be they in Africa, Latin America or other places. Aboard the freighter Latouche Traville, he said: "To the colonialists, the lives of the Asians and Africans are not worth one penny!" And, it was through the cruel acts and the barbarous methods of exploitation of the colonialists that President Ho came to clearly understand the reactionary and corrupt nature of capitalism.

The questions of national liberation and national independence became questions that constantly burned in his conscience and this led him to constantly ponder the crimes of the colonial system, the various forms of exploitation of the colonial nations and the path and mode of struggle for liberating the nation.

Following the Versailles Conference (which was held following the conclusion of world war I), he became increasingly aware of the deception being practiced by the imperialist capitalists. Nguyen Ai Quoc began to take action. He founded the Colonial League, an organization that widely rallied all of the "colonial" subjects in France. He published the newspaper LE PARIA, a propaganda organ designed to awaken the oppressed peoples and a means of communication among the persons and groups struggling for national liberation. Concerning the contents of LE PARIA, the French Journalist George Mong-ta-rung/Vietnamese phonetics/wrote on 11 September 1969: "...It was an anti-colonialist newspaper in which he developed the

thinking that has become so valuable to us today. I am referring to his thinking on the right of self-determination of all nations, of resisting the oppression of man by man, resisting the exploitation of the poor countries by the wealthy countries, demanding respect for the dignity of each and every person... Ho Chi Minh showed the nations that are poor, hungry and thirsting for a new life for man that to achieve liberation, it is first of all necessary to practice self-reliance and that a nation can only survive if the persons of that nation refuse to live the life of slaves. He pointed out that the fight for human dignity and freedom must take precedence over every other fight."

His book "French Colonialization on Trial," through specific, living and eloquent words, thoroughly revealed the extremely reactionary and cruel nature of colonialism, the enemy of the independence, freedom and right to live of all nations.

His farewell letter to the colonial subjects in France when he left for the East can be considered an appeal to unite, a source of inspiration and a guideline for winning independence and freedom for the nation:

"Even though we are persons of different races, different countries and different religions, we have loved one another as brothers.

We share a common suffering: the tyranny of the colonialist system. We are struggling for a common ideal: to liberate our compatriots and win independence for our fatherland.

In our fight, we are not alone because we have the support of our entire people...

What must we do?

We cannot answer this question in a mechanical manner. The answer depends upon the circumstances of each of our nations.

As for myself, the answer is clear: to return to my country, join the masses, enlighten them, organize them, unite them, train them and gain their participation in the struggle for freedom and independence."(1)

Nguyen Ai Quoc persistently looked for the opportunity to direct the attention of the world toward and remind communists of the revolutionary struggle in the colonies and constantly emphasized the relationship between the revolution in the colonies and the revolution in the mother country while resisting the tendency to make the revolution in the colonies dependent upon the revolution in the mother country. On this basis, he inspired and spread the spirit of initiative, of self-reliance in carrying out the revolution and not relying upon the revolution in the mother country.

As a person who steadfastly opposed imperialism and colonialism, President Ho was very contemptuous of and hated traitors, persons who willingly serve as lackeys of the imperialists and international reactionaries, regardless of where they are from or which reactionary clique they serve. This has also been the attitude of genuine communists, who, in past years, denounced such persons as Ly Thua Van, Mac Xay Xay and Xom-be [Vietnamese phonetics] and today denounce Pinochet, Mobutu, Samosa, Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and so forth.

As regards the role and position of President Ho in the national liberation revolution, Professor Sin-go Si-ba-ta [Vietnamese phonetics] said during a meeting to mourn the loss of President Ho Chi Minh on 25 September 1969 in Tokyo:

"The contributions made by Ho Chi Minh truly ushered in a new age in the theories concerning the national and colonial questions... He grasped the antagonism between imperialism and the colonies as well as the relationship of mutual support among the colonies... He did not stop at generalizing the various questions regarding the colonial and vassal countries, rather, he delved into detail while still grasping the universal situation as well as the special characteristics of these countries."(2)

President of the Algerian Revolutionary Council, Houari Boumediene, praised President Ho as follows:

"President Ho Chi Minh was one of the first revolutionaries to fight against the different forms of colonialism and imperialism and was one of the persons who, through his words and actions, smashed the regimes of cruelty and contributed to the just cause of the oppressed nations of the world..."(3)

And, Premier Fidel Castro stressed: "We think that all oppressed nations of the world will see in the life of Ho Chi Minh, in his political thinking, in his pure viewpoints concerning tactics and strategy, an extremely rich source of knowledge for answering their own questions."(4)

Shortly after the death of Lenin, President Ho stated at the 5th Congress of the Communist International:

"According to Lenin, in order for the revolution in the West to win victory, it must maintain close ties with the national liberation movement against imperialism in the colonial countries and the enslaved countries. The national question, as Lenin taught us, is a part of the overall question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat."

At the congress founding the French Communist Party in 1920, when asked why he endorsed the 3rd International, he replied:

I view the 3rd International as one giving very much attention to the colonial question. The 3rd International has stated its support of the

oppressed nations struggling for freedom and independence. The 2nd International never concerned itself with the revolution in the colonies. This is why I voted for the 3rd International. My dream is to achieve freedom for my compatriots and independence for my fatherland."

Coordinating the national revolution and the proletarian revolution was the hallmark of the revolutionary career of President Ho. He left the country in the early 20th Century at a time when the national liberation undertaking of our people faced a profound crisis concerning the line to be followed following the defeat of the Can Vuong Movement. Having gone overseas to select a revolutionary road, he clearly saw the reactionary nature of the world capitalist powers. He joined the movement of the working class and discovered the light of Marxism-Leninism, of the Russian October Revolution. A person who had lost his country and was living in the heart of the international worker movement, President Ho was fully capable of clearly understanding the inevitable nature of the coordination of the national revolution and the proletarian revolution.

In an address delivered at the ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnam Communist Party, Le Duan said: "Nguyen Ai Quoc, the great Vietnamese patriot, accepted the light of the October Revolution, correctly understood the essence of Marxism-Leninism and found the genuine path of national salvation, the proletarian revolution. He asserted: 'Only socialism, communism can liberate the oppressed nations and laboring people of the world from the yoke of slavery.' ...Our country's revolution, from the very outset, has been fully within the orb of Marxism-Leninism. The liberation of the nation has been closely linked to liberating the working class and laboring people; national independence has been closely linked to socialism; the Vietnamese revolution has become a part of the world proletarian revolution."

The entire life of revolutionary activities of President Ho was a consistent struggle for national independence and for socialism. Since 1930, the Vietnam Communist Party, which was founded by President Ho, has simultaneously brandished the two banners of national independence and socialism. In particular, between 1954 and 1975, the Vietnam Communist Party led the Vietnamese revolution in simultaneously performing two strategic tasks: building and protecting the socialist North and liberating the South from the occupation of the U.S. imperialists.

It was these historic circumstances of the Vietnamese revolution that made it possible for President Ho to fully employ his thinking and inherent talents in coordinating patriotism with socialism, coordinating the national movement with the worker movement. Also for this reason, President Ho belonged to the stratum of persons who fought steadfastly and tenaciously for a strategic alliance between the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution in the present revolutionary age.

The eulogy delivered during a memorial service for President Ho in Australia on 10 September 1969 read in part:

"...Until the day he departed from this life, he never once hesitated when talking about patriotism. There are a few who maintain that socialists truly make a mistake when they talk about patriotism; however, in actuality, this is one of the important reasons leading to the liberation of the world. As regards communists, nationalism and internationalism are two aspects of the same issue, namely, the struggle for the rights of the people of one's country and for the people of the entire world."(5)

In the age of Marx, the common slogan of communists was: "Proletariat of all countries, unite!" In the age of Lenin, this slogan was further developed: "Proletariat of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!"

Our people's resistance against the United States for national salvation, which was led by President Ho and our party, was a struggle for national interests as well as a struggle to fulfill international obligations. For this reason, our people's war of resistance against the United States was able to put together a broad front of the people of the world resisting the U.S. imperialists, the number one imperialist power, the number one enemy of progressive mankind. The front of the people of the world uniting with Vietnam against the U.S. imperialists was the most vivid manifestation of the coordination of the forces struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, was an alliance in practical action of the three revolutionary currents. While leading our people in the struggle to liberate the nation in the South and build socialism in the North, while closely cooperating with the community of socialist countries and uniting in friendship with the bloc of nationalist countries, President Ho and the Vietnam Communist Party made the most positive contributions possible to implementing Lenin's slogan "Proletariat of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!" and contributions to accelerating the three revolutionary currents in the world.

Here, we also find a "touchstone" for differentiating genuine communists who adhere to Marxism-Leninism from fraudulent "communists" who betray Marxism-Leninism. The disciples of Mao who sit upon the golden throne in Trung Nam Hai, Beijing, and proclaim themselves to be "communists," have also invoked "Marxism-Leninism" and also advocated "building socialism"; however, their actions have shown that they are trying to abolish the achievements of the Chinese revolution, are hostile toward and looking for ways to undermine the socialist countries, have sown discord between the nationalist countries and the socialist countries and collaborated with the imperialists and international reactionaries to oppose the national and democratic revolutionary movement. To replace the strategic alliance between the proletariat and the oppressed peoples, the Maoist expansionists set forth the "three worlds" theory, which, in substance, involves establishing an alliance with imperialism, seeking the support of the

capitalist powers, undermining the national movement and opposing the USSR and socialist countries. The detrimental and dangerous aspect of the "three worlds" theory is the scheme to create opposition between the national, democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, between the non-aligned countries and the socialist countries. This scheme is designed, on the one hand, to restrict the development of socialism and, on the other hand, to weaken nationalist forces and deprive them of their base of support. Thus, the Beijing reactionaries have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, betrayed socialism, betrayed other nations.

The contributions of President Ho in coordinating the three revolutionary currents and uniting the revolutionary forces of the world are of tremendous significance in the present age and deeply reflect the thinking of President Ho. He clearly understood the reciprocal impact among forces in the process of the world revolution. In this process, the historical transition from capitalism to socialism and the national liberation struggle are the two currents of one tide of history. One current leads to the other. They are two currents that neither pose obstacles to nor flow against one another, rather, they converge to form the great strength of our times.

President Ho was a communist, a Marxist-Leninist, a great leader of the working class. He was one of the founders of the French Communist Party; he was a member of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International; he was the founder of the Vietnam Communist Party.

The entirety of President Ho's revolutionary activities were oriented toward the victory of socialism in the country of Vietnam and on a worldwide scale. President Ho worked tirelessly to contribute to consolidating and increasing the strength of the socialist forces, of the international communist and worker movement. Above all, he contributed to maintaining the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

During a memorial ceremony for President Ho in Paris, the general secretary of the French Communist Party, George Marchais, said: "This great Vietnamese patriot was not only a son of the Vietnamese, but also a son of the international communist movement. President Ho was one of the great figures of a glorious period during the first years of the 3rd International because he began his activities in the Communist International at the time Lenin died. We respected President Ho Chi Minh because he was one of the vanguard militants of communism, one of the persons who organized and developed the revolutionary movement throughout the world" (L'HUMANITE Newspaper, 12 September 1969).

President Ho attached very much importance to and made every effort to make positive contributions to uniting with the fraternal socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, the citadel of peace and the world revolution. Concerning this matter, the Soviet Union's PRAVDA Newspaper said on 19 May

1974: "The people of the Soviet Union know President Ho Chi Minh as the militant who struggled continuously and tirelessly for the unity and solidarity of the international communist and worker movement, for the solidarity of all progressive forces of our times in the struggle against imperialism for peace, democracy and socialism. In the interests of this struggle, Ho Chi Minh was very concerned with strengthening the solidarity and unity with the Soviet Union, with the Soviet Communist Party."

The people and the party of the working class of Hungary often recall the visit made by President Ho to Hungary immediately after the counter-revolutionary rebellion in 1956. President Ho confirmed his sympathy and support and that of the Vietnam Communist Party for the party and people of Hungary against the counter-revolutionaries. As regards the 1968 incident in Czechoslovakia, he totally agreed with the Soviet Union's action of sending troops to help the Czechoslovakian revolutionary forces to oppose counter-revolutionary force. The Vietnam Communist Party rapidly expressed its support of the noble action taken by the Soviet Union in protecting the fruits of the socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia.

In the present international situation, a situation in which the big country expansionism and hegemony of Beijing are innately opposing the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the other socialist countries, the thinking of President Ho sheds even greater light on the truth of our times and is an example of the proletarian international spirit, of unshakeable devotion to socialism, of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism.

The thinking of President Ho concerning "unity within the great socialist family"--as he frequently said--and within the international communist and worker movement involves a unity based on principle, based on pure Marxism-Leninism and has the purposes of cooperating with and helping one another in a selfless and generous manner in order to protect and develop the forces of socialism, which are a factor determining the development of mankind.

Loyal to the above mentioned thinking of President Ho concerning unity and making every effort to carry out his Testament, the Vietnam Communist Party of today, headed by Le Duan, has been and is constantly strengthening its militant solidarity and close cooperation with the Lao revolution and the Kampuchean revolution; constantly broadening our comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community; making every effort to unite with and support the revolutionary movements in the world while maintaining a readiness to fight aggression by the imperialists, expansionists and hegemonists and protect our socialist fatherland; and resolutely exposing those who betray the revolution, undermine socialism and distort Marxism-Leninism.

Until the final moment of his life, our revered President Ho, through his revolutionary activities, made important contributions to the national

liberation movement, the international communist and worker movement, the solidarity and unity of socialist forces and the communist and worker parties and to protecting the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

As a result of these important contributions, President Ho has been praised by the revolutionary forces of the world as an "outstanding international militant."

FOOTNOTES

1. "Những mau chuyện về đời hoạt động của Hồ Chí tịch" [Stories on the Active Life of President Ho], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, pp 51-52.
2. "The giới ca ngợi và thương tiếc Hồ Chủ tịch" [The World Praises and Mourns President Ho], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, pp 234, 235 and 238.
3. Ibid., p 285.
4. Ibid., p 79.
5. "The giới ca ngợi Hồ Chủ tịch" [The World Praises President Ho], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, pp 643-644.

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CSO: 4209

IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES: OPPRESSION OF THE MASSES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 80
pp 82-84

[Article by Nhat Tan]

[Text] In those systems in which man exploits man, oppression of the masses is part of the nature of the social system. Under the feudal system, every right of the working people, including the right to live, are crudely and brazenly trampled upon without any attempt at concealment. Under the capitalist system, although the ruling class constantly talks about "equality," "fraternity" and "human rights," it is the ruling class and the wealthy who actually possess all power; the poor working people are constantly oppressed and beset by suffering.

In our system, man has been totally liberated and the worker has become the master of society. Our party and our state attach full importance to upholding the right of collective ownership of the masses and have created every possible condition for each citizen to exercise his right of ownership. Ours is a state of, by and for the people. In our society, one would think that the oppression of the masses would be totally abolished because it has no foothold, has no path by which it can develop. However, there are, at present, a number of cadres and party members who are guilty of oppressing the masses.

A small number of persons, through brazen, serious acts, have threatened and intimidated the masses, have beaten, detained, searched the houses and confiscated the property of the masses illegally, have fabricated crimes in order to put persons in prison and so forth.

The form of oppression of the masses used more widely than all others is retaliation. The special characteristic of retaliation is the seemingly "legal" nature of an inherently illegal act. The violator (usually a cadre of position and authority) abuses the authority of the organization, employs political, economic and social measures concealed behind legal forms and even uses the principles of party life and the authority of the state to retaliate

against and oppress the masses. There are also times when the violator is not a cadre in position of power but a person who abuses the confidence of the upper level and uses the authority of the upper level to retaliate against others. The persons against whom this retaliation is directed are lower level cadres (sometimes cadres on the same level), manual workers, civil servants, cooperative members and other laborers, persons outside the party and party members. They are retaliated against because they did not support or did raise their voice in criticism or denunciation of the illegal actions of others.

Retaliation usually occurs immediately following the illegal actions of persons who have been criticized or denounced. When they are criticized, these persons remain silent, but they are silently waiting for a chance, for an opportunity. And, when the opportunity arises, they use every means at their disposal to turn innocent persons into criminals, blow shortcomings out of proportion, turn minor infractions into serious crimes and so forth and then, on this basis, take disciplinary action against these persons, such as issuing them warnings, expelling them from the party, reducing their salary, firing them from their job and so forth. Sometimes, retaliation is manifested in a prolonged attitude of injustice toward someone else, such as not granting a salary increase, not granting a promotion, not offering praise or transferring the person to a job outside his sector or trade, isolating him, creating difficulties for his children in their work, education, etc.

The above mentioned acts of oppressing the masses crudely violate the rights of citizenship and the right of collective ownership of the masses.

Within our system, oppression of the masses is an intolerable crime. It harms the solidarity and oneness of mind among the party organization, state agencies and the masses. It attacks words spoken out of loyalty, confuses black and white and creates the bad psychology of seeing the correct but not daring to support it, seeing something wrong but not daring to struggle against it and not having confidence in the inevitable victory of that which is right. In particular, it generates suspicion and reduces the confidence that the masses have in our party, state and system. For this reason, wherever oppression of the masses exists, the basic units of the party are deficient, cadres and party members are corrupt and the leadership role of the party organization, the role of the government and the role of the mass organizations are vague and, at some places, are even paralyzed. Wherever oppression of the masses exists, negative phenomena and violations of the line and policy of the party and state develop.

Retaliation against the masses is not a spontaneous action. Retaliation is an intentional, carefully planned act of oppression of the masses for which full preparations are made. Persons who retaliate against others are persons who are seriously afflicted by individualism and who have lost all

their good qualities. They oppress others in order to conceal crimes of their own, such as misappropriation, immorality, conspiracy, bribery and so forth. In the face of forthright criticism by loyal persons, they not only refuse to admit their mistakes, but also look for ways to conceal and "harile" them. And, they commit the further crime of oppressing and retaliating against the persons who exposed their mistake in order to keep them quiet.

With the party in political power, a number of cadres and party members who have not been properly forged have become bureaucratic, become remote from the masses, abused their authority and oppressed the masses.

When cadres and party members oppress the masses, it becomes necessary to talk about shortcomings on the part of the party organization. The basic organizations of the party have not attached importance to teaching politics and ideology to cadres and party members, have not correctly used the weapon of self-criticism and criticism, have not taken measures to manage and supervise the work and qualifications of cadres and party members, not organized the masses well so that they can contribute their opinions concerning the work of the party chapter and party organization and the work and qualifications of cadres and party members or not attached importance to the opinions of the masses. Another important matter that must be discussed here is the attitude of the party organization in dealing with cadres and party members who oppress the masses. At practically every place at which the oppression of the masses has been widespread and prolonged, the attitude of the party organization and government has not been strict or timely and has, at times, been rightist and irresponsible. This attitude has not only failed to stop, but has caused the oppression of the masses to develop and spread. At some places, when letters of complaint or denunciation are received from the masses concerning mistakes made by cadres at installations, they are returned to the installation for action and no inquiry is ever made about the action taken by the installation! As a result, the persons who made the denunciation are punished instead of the persons who committed the crime. Sometimes, when a person who is the victim of retaliation sends a letter of denunciation to the upper level concerning this retaliation, the upper level sends the letter back to the installation in order to "request" action. As a result, the person who was the victim of retaliation continues to be the victim of even more serious retaliation. There was also a case involving oppression of the masses that was examined for the purpose of prosecution but the authorized agency failed to fulfill its responsibility, did not conduct a thorough investigation, did not develop adequate evidence and finally had to drop the case. And, the person who suffered was a loyal person! Worse yet, there have been a number of serious cases involving retaliation against and oppression of the masses, cases over which the masses have become very upset; however, the agencies whose cadres and party members created the disturbances handled them with "kid gloves" because they maintained that it is necessary to "protect cadres"; there have even been cases in which the upper level has covered up for or tolerated

the lower level. Such actions seriously violate the discipline of the party and the laws of the state. What is even more harmful is that they cause the masses to reach the point where they do not have full confidence in the fairness of the party and the government.

Struggling against oppression of the masses is an integral part of and has a cause and effect relationship with the struggle against negative phenomena, in general. We cannot effectively combat theft and bribery if we do not take determined steps to overcome the oppression of the masses. Because, as long as there are cadres and party members who oppress the masses, the masses cannot exercise their right of collective ownership in combating theft and bribery. How can the masses raise their loyal voices if they are still being oppressed and retaliated against! Conversely, only by effectively waging the struggle against theft and bribery is it possible to have a positive impact upon the struggle to stop the oppression of the masses.

Combating the oppression of the masses is one of the three pressing requirements of the present struggle against negative phenomena; at the same time, it is, in a number of ways, a measure, a premise for overcoming other negative phenomena.

The effort to combat oppression of the masses must be closely linked to the ideological and cultural revolution, to the campaign to mold the new, socialist man. It is necessary to point out the cruel, insidious, unconscionable and unprincipled nature of the oppression of the masses and generate widespread public opinion strongly condemning this action. At the same time, when oppression of the masses is discovered, determined and prompt steps must be taken to prosecute and appropriately punish the persons involved. Every cadre and party member, regardless of how important his job might be, who oppresses the masses must be harshly punished.

In view of the difficulties and challenges being experienced in the struggle to build socialism and protect the fatherland, it is even more necessary to very harshly punish persons who oppress or retaliate against law-abiding persons that struggle against or denounce the illegal acts of cadres and party members. The organizations of the party and the government must be responsible for appropriately redressing the grievances of persons who are the victims of retaliation, redressing them politically, spiritually and economically as well as in terms of their everyday life and occupation. Every attitude of saving face, rightism, irresponsibility, protecting others and tolerating those who oppress the masses causes harm to the struggle against negative phenomena and must, depending upon the nature and degree, be criticized and dealt with in a harsh manner.

In our system, every manifestation of oppression of the masses is seriously dealt with by the state and denounced by society; everyone is indignant.

Every party member and cadre must possess a full sense of responsibility, possess revolutionary bravery and actively struggle to stop, repulse and eventually eliminate oppression of the masses as well as misappropriation and bribery.

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COMMENTARY: WHO KILLED LIU Shaoqi?

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 80
pp 85-88

[Article by Tran Quoc Tu]

[Text] In Beijing on 17 May 1980, the gang of reactionary disciples of Mao held, with great fanfare, a "memorial ceremony" for Liu Shao-qi, a person who died more than 10 years ago! What was the reason for such a late "funeral service"? What are the traitors in Beijing planning to do with the container holding the ashes of Liu Shao-qi? These are the important questions that have arisen in the mind of each person in China and overseas when learning of this news.

What kind of person was Liu Shao-qi?

For a long time, Liu Shao-qi was the "right arm" of Mao Zedong. Liu Shao-qi was a person who performed a great service for Mao by helping him seize control of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese revolution. In late 1934, in the fifth "seige" by the Chiang Kai-shek army, the Chinese Red army was unsuccessful in its resistance and had to withdraw from its base in Giang Tay. The nationalist clique, headed by Mao Zedong, took advantage of this defeat to carry out its long held scheme to topple the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. In between the defeat and the "Long March," Mao Zedong carried out his scheme to divide the party and topple its leadership. Liu Shao-qi actively supported Mao Zedong at the Tuan Nghia Conference (January 1935), which was the conference that put Mao Zedong in control of the communist party and the Chinese Red army. Later, in Dien An, Liu Shao-qi was the first person to propose the "ideology of Mao Zedong," to propose replacing Marxism-Leninism with the "ideology of Mao Zedong." It was on the basis of the proposal made by Liu Shao-qi that the 7th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1945 decided to record in the Statutes of the Chinese Communist Party that "the ideology of Mao Zedong is the theoretical basis guiding the ideology of the party."

In view of Liu Shao-qi's important contributions in support of Mao Zedong, why did Mao Zedong topple him? In 1958, under the "three Red flags" policy(1)

Mao Zedong took China to the edge of a deep abyss. Due to his deep desire to make China the number one superpower in order to achieve the dream of being the "ruler of the world," Mao Zedong set forth the "great leap forward" policy. The "great leap forward" seriously harmed the Chinese economy. According to revelations in the Chinese press, due to the consequences of the "great leap forward," during the period of the second 5-year plan (1953-1962) in China, the total output value of industry and agriculture did not increase, labor productivity seriously declined and the wages of manual workers and civil servants fell by 7 percent. Using this setback as an excuse, the majority faction within the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which was led by Liu Shao-qi, forced Mao Zedong to resign as chairman of the country. At the first session of the 2nd Congress of Delegates of the People in April 1959, Liu Shao-qi was elected to serve as chairman of the People's Republic of China in place of Mao Zedong. This was something Mao Zedong could not accept.

In the land of the "suns," where everyone in the ruling class is an advocate of expansionism and harbors the dream of becoming "emperor," struggles against one another for high and important positions have become a law. Moreover, Mao Zedong proclaimed himself to be "the sun." And, "the sky cannot have two suns."⁽²⁾ Of the two, Mao Zedong and Liu Shao-qi, only one could survive. When Liu Shao-qi took the oath of the office of the chairman of the People's Republic of China at the first session of the 2nd Congress of People's Delegates in April 1959, he was also reading his own death sentence. Because, Mao Zedong could not forgive this action of his. To Mao Zedong, this action amounted to "usurping the throne." And, in the tradition of the emperors of China, "usurping the throne" is a crime punished by death.

Unwilling to accept defeat, Mao Zedong temporarily withdrew, prepared his forces and awaited the opportunity. This opportunity appeared when the U.S. imperialists launched the war of aggression against Vietnam in 1965. Boggled down in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists were unable to intervene in the internal affairs of China. Mao Zedong was thus able to wage a "civil war" to topple Liu Shao-qi and win back his position as "supreme figure." Mao Zedong then informed the U.S. imperialists: "Don't bother me and I will not bother you." This was advantageous to both sides. The United States was free to massacre Vietnamese while Mao was free to launch a "civil war" to topple Liu Shao-qi. The United States accepted Mao's proposal. As a result, the "great proletarian cultural revolution" was launched in China at the initiative of Mao.

Coming out of his hiding place in central China, Mao personally commanded the rebellion under the slogan "Betrayal Conforms with Reason." Using demagogic words, Mao appealed to the young (the Red Guard) to stage an uprising and carry out a rebellion. Mao's headline "Aim the Artillery at Headquarters" was an order from Mao to the "Red Guard" to assault and topple the leadership committee, which was headed by Liu Shao-qi. Of course, the

thunder and lightning of the "cultural revolution" had to fall upon the head of Liu Shao-qi, Mao's principal opponent.

Even though he was the leader of the state--until his death, Liu Shao-qi was, in name, still the chairman of the People's Republic of China--Liu Shao-qi was under close scrutiny beginning in late 1966. He was accused of all sorts of crimes: being a "traitor," an "internal spy," a "collaborator," "the ringleader of the counter-revolutionary gang within the party," "the highest ranking person in the country to follow the course of capitalism," etc. On 18 July 1967, Liu Shao-qi's family was separated: the entire family continued to live in one house but they were forbidden to see or talk to one another. On 13 September 1967, Liu Shao-qi's three eldest children were taken against their will to a school to participate in a denunciation of Liu Shao-qi and were never allowed to return home again. His youngest child, who was only 6 years of age at the time, was driven from his home. Liu Shao-qi's wife, Vuong Quang My, was arrested. After that day, the children never met their parents again, his wife never met him again. That day marked the "separation" of the Liu Shao-qi family. With the family having been torn apart, the children of Liu began living lives of extreme deprivation. Liu's youngest son had to sell his blood in order to live!

Separated from his wife and children, denounced and mistreated both physically and spiritually, Liu Shao-qi became weaker with each passing day. During the year preceding his death, Liu lived a miserable life: he was ill but received no care, his bed was covered with feces and urine and his entire body was covered with filth and stench. On 17 October 1969, while still ill, an emaciated, pale, dazed and totally naked Liu Shao-qi, naked because he was not allowed to wear trousers, was wrapped in a blanket and carried onto a plane. He was taken to a prison camp in Khai Phong in Ha Nam Province. Liu died in that camp on 12 November 1969. His body was secretly cremated at night. The worker who had the job of cremating corpses, Niu Chin Chin, who cremated the corpse of Liu, said that on the night of 14 November 1969, he cremated a "special corpse," the corpse "of an older cadre who had been tortured to death." On 16 September 1979, at a meeting of the Office of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Deng Xiaoping said that "Liu Shao-qi died an unjust death." If the president of the country is treated in such a horrible fashion, how cruelly mistreated must lower level cadres and ordinary citizens be! According to an admission by Deng Xiaoping during this meeting, "about 100 million persons were cruelly oppressed" during the cultural revolution in China. In the kingdom of the "ideology of Mao Zedong," human life is treated like trash.

Everybody knows Liu Shao-qi had to die because of Mao Zedong. Yet, when they decided to "restore" Liu Shao-qi, the traitorous disciples of Mao in Beijing loudly declared that they were doing so to "restore the original face of the ideology of Mao Zedong." They have restored the honor of a

person who was unjustly killed in order to point out the merits of the ones who unjustly killed him! What strange reasoning!

If Mao Zedong was the main person responsible for the death of Liu Shao-qi, Hua Guofeng was the second person, behind Mao, directly responsible for this death. Because, during the time of the "cultural revolution," Hua Guofeng, as the head of China's public security sector, controlled the secret service and security forces that specialized in suppressing those who opposed Mao and controlled the system of prison camps in which Liu Shao-qi and millions of other persons were detained, mistreated and tortured to death. In the Liu Shao-qi "murder case," Mao Zedong was the "principal plotter" and Hua Guofeng was the "murderer." Ironically, it was Hua Guofeng who presided over and opened the memorial service for Liu Shao-qi in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on 17 May 1980. The disciples of Mao in Beijing think that through this deceitful act they can wash the bloodstains of Liu Shao-qi from the murderous hands of Mao Zedong and Hua Guofeng. But they have made a mistake. The people of China as well as persons overseas concerned with the situation in China are not persons they can deceive easily.

And which schemes was Deng Xiaoping pursuing as he read the long eulogy praising the merits of Liu Shao-qi at the memorial service in Beijing? To Deng Xiaoping, the urn containing the ashes of Liu Shao-qi, which he dispatched a person to bring by plane from Trinh Chau to Beijing, is a lever for "forcing" Hua Guofeng from the positions of chairman of the Chinese Communist Party and premier of China. Over the past several years, in his steadfast struggle to "rectify the unjust case against Liu Shao-qi," Deng has pursued the sole objective of overthrowing Hua Guofeng, the person who was directly responsible for the death of Liu. This has been a struggle filled with difficulties because Hua is the only legal successor of the "great helmsman." Must not the members of the Hua faction always cite the words "if you accept the task, my mind will be at ease." (3) in order to protect the legal position of Hua against Deng's scheme to overthrow him?

The struggle for power in China in the "post-Mao" period has been a long and sharp one. With the restoration of the honor of Liu Shao-qi, Deng Xiaoping scored another point over Hua Guofeng. However, Hua Guofeng has not been "knocked out," consequently, Deng Xiaoping has not been able to quickly achieve his objective.

Hua and Deng are fiercely struggling against each other and looking for ways to kick the other out. However, the two are in agreement as regards their ambition to rule Southeast Asia and the world. Both of them believe in Maoism because Maoism stands for the great nation expansionism and big country hegemony of China. Hua and Deng are also in agreement with regard to using the mask of Marxism-Leninism to carry out great nation expansionism. Therefore, they both agreed to disperse the ashes of Liu Shao-qi at sea. They maintain that doing so will cause others to think that they are following

the example of one of the founders of scientific socialism, Engels (Engels directed that his comrades disperse his ashes over the North Sea) and mistakenly think that they are loyal to Marxism-Leninism. However, this trick of theirs deceives no one. Because, their domestic and foreign policies are not the least bit Marxist-Leninist.

Although they agree on certain points, Hua and Deng are engaged in an increasingly savage struggle against each other. Because, both adhere to the viewpoint of the emperors of China that there cannot be two suns in the sky. The relationship between the two is a relationship in which one will survive and the other will not.

Since the day the People's Republic of China was established, there have been many struggles for power in Beijing, including the major struggle, the one between Mao and Liu. This struggle concluded with the tragic death of Liu Shao-qi. At present, the struggle for power between the factions in the Beijing ruling circles is continuing. The struggle between Hua and Deng has gone on for many rounds and is a sharp struggle. How will it end? The next round will tell!

FOOTNOTES

1. The Three Red Flags were "the common line," "the great leap forward," and "the people's commune."
2. Confucius said: "The sky cannot have two suns, the land cannot have two kings, the house cannot have two heads, only one person is deserving of the highest respect, not two."
3. A vague remark attributed to Mao when he appointed Hua premier of China.

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