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INCREASE THE QUALITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL WORK

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[Editorial in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN No 10, Oct 80 pp 1-8--Translation of Hanoi Domestic version previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 216, 5 Nov 80 pp K11-K14]

[Text] In light of the resolutions of the fourth party congress and the party Central Committee, our country's revolution has developed vigorously and achieved great new successes in the past 5 years. In fact, we have founded and taken a step toward consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and socialist collective mastery systems; defeated the two aggressive wars waged by the Chinese reactionaries; firmly protected the socialist fatherland; contributed to liberating Kampuchea and building a sound militant solidarity bloc of the three Indochinese countries; healed the wounds of war; restored, reformed and developed our economy; developed our culture; built socialism in the entire country and strengthened and consolidated the overall alliance between our country and the socialist community, especially the Soviet Union.

These successes are due to many factors, the primary one being that our party has correctly solved problems concerning the revolutionary line, domestic and foreign policies, the line for socialist revolution and the struggle to defend the fatherland against the Beijing reactionaries.

Although the contingent of cadres and party members has some good qualities, some of them, now faced with difficulties in economy and life, are confused and even vacillating because they are paying attention only to the difficulties and not to the advantages and their will to fight is being weakened while others remain steadfast. This ideological situation has affected many activities of our party and state, especially ideological work.

During the past 5 years, to meet the new requirements of the revolution, our party has applied many measures to widely develop ideological work, thus contributing to making the majority of cadres, party members and the people understand the situation in the country, feel proud of the great successes of the Vietnamese revolution and show concern about common national affairs and a will to overcome difficulties and endure hardships. Their awareness of the socialist revolutionary line, the line of struggling to protect the fatherland against Chinese expansionism, and of our foreign policy is higher than before. This is the basis of our entire people's solidarity and unity.

However, ideological work presents many shortcomings. Since our victory over the Americans, our country has been endowed with many advantages and the potential to build socialism. Propaganda about these advantages and this potential is necessary, but we have failed to explain the difficulties correctly and the need to secure material conditions and time to turn capabilities into realities.

Our entire country's advance to socialism is very basic. But in the new stage, preparation for the thoughts of cadres, party members and the people in south Vietnam in particular and their indoctrination in socialist ideology and the party's concept regarding the struggle to solve the problem of "who will win" between the socialist and capitalist roads still leaves much to be desired.

In the new stage, we must struggle against a new enemy who is frenziedly attacking us through cunning maneuvers. But in our ideological work, we have not yet deeply analyzed his concrete actions and promptly frustrated his psychological warfare activities. Moreover, we have not yet distinguished right from wrong regarding a number of specific problems in the implementation of the party's economic line. It can be said that the ideological work has not kept pace with the development of the revolutionary situation and has not closely followed life.

Sometimes, we have failed to remain in our position to carry out the slogan "Ideological work must win success every hour and minute." Our country is now in a situation in which we are enjoying peace and facing a possible war. Our people must make every effort to carry out the following tasks:

1. To successfully build socialism in all the country. With socialist industrialization as the central task in the transitional period, we must presently complete socialist transformation while building the material and technical bases of socialism and stabilizing and improving the people's lives.
2. To further consolidate national defense, resolutely safeguard our national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and oppose all schemes and actions of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the imperialists.
3. To fulfill our international obligations toward the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, strengthen our solidarity, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries in every aspect and take stands contributing to the world's people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

To insure successful implementation of these strategic tasks, we must enhance our party's fighting strength and the entire proletarian dictatorship system, properly build the "party leadership, people's mastery and state management" system, step up the mass movement to satisfactorily fulfill the pressing tasks of developing production, stabilizing the people's livelihood, intensifying national defense and security, standing ready to fight against aggression to defend the country and resolutely struggling to overcome negative aspects in our economic and social activities.

To contribute to fulfilling the political tasks at present and in the years to come, the ideological work must make the entire party, people and armed forces understand the situation and be fully aware of the objectives and developmental trends of the revolution and the revolutionary line so as to heighten the sense of responsibility and practical organizational ability of the cadres and party members and resolutely overcome difficulties in fulfilling the immediate tasks, thus effecting a good change in our national economy and social life and advancing revolutionary undertakings.

We must safeguard and expand our active position on the ideological front, master the situation, secure the battleground, effect a profound change in our way of thinking and in the people's minds so that positive thoughts can prevail over negative, and resist and eliminate the impact of the enemy's psychological warfare.

The ideological work must aim at constantly indoctrinating our cadres, party members and people in the line of national defense and the struggle against the reactionary Chinese rulers' and the imperialists' scheme to weaken and invade our country. It must promptly point out these enemies' cunning maneuvers in the political, military, economic and diplomatic fields so that our cadres, party members and people will heighten their vigilance over the enemies' psychological warfare moves and sabotage activities. We must continue to uphold the "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" concept, point out the strong and weak points of our enemies and ourselves and explain our party's military line and art regarding the people's war for national defense so that everyone can realize our people's capability of defeating any enemy aggression.

We must also continue to indoctrinate our cadres, party members and people on the socialist revolutionary line and on the way to develop the economy in the new stage, and help them develop the spirit of collective mastery and industriously build socialism.

We must, through implementing policies regarding production development, socialist transformation and improvement of distribution and circulation work, indoctrinate them in the party's line and viewpoint in the socialist revolution, the struggle between the two roads and collective mastery to make them aware that the initial period of socialist revolution in our country is replete with difficulties and that everyone must have a full sense of his duties, strive to endure temporary privations in his life, work in an industrious, disciplined, methodical, highly efficient manner and contribute to building socialism, defending the fatherland and gradually improving living conditions.

We must intensify indoctrination in proletarian internationalism, the party's foreign policy and the solidarity, friendship and all-sided cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union as well as other fraternal socialist countries--our people's steadfast prop in rational construction and defense.

We must smash the enemy's distorted and divisive allegations, propagandize the strong development of the international communist movement, criticize bourgeois nationalism and opportunism of all types and inculcate the special solidarity between our people and the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea and our international obligations to these two fraternal countries.

The ideological work must positively contribute to enhancing the party's capacity to struggle. At present, we must concentrate on increasing our knowledge of the party's line and policies and our capabilities regarding economic organization and management--a sphere in which we have many shortcomings and weaknesses. We must also attach great importance to indoctrination in traditions and we must constantly improve the revolutionary qualities of cadres and party members; resolutely oppose corruption, bribery and oppression of the masses; the indifferent, irresponsible and undisciplined attitude; random speech, indifference to right and wrong. We must encourage the people to develop positive factors and eliminate negative aspects so as to make party organizations clean and healthy, step up the improvement of party organizational activities; further promote self-criticism and criticism inside the party and motivate the masses to participate in building the party so as to constantly improve our work, increase the quality of party organizations and members and strengthen the solidarity and unanimity of party members; we must also formulate plans for training cadres and improving their skills; carry out indoctrination for concrete purposes; connect theory with reality and learning with practice.

In our ideological struggle, we must direct the spearhead of the struggle at the hostile thoughts of Chinese reactionaries and imperialists and at the impact of bourgeois thoughts and the survival of feudalistic thoughts and coordinate the ideological, organizational and administrative measures to eradicate the enemies' reactionary allegations and psychological warfare means and forces.

We must criticize and overcome bourgeois thoughts and the views of small producers in society and their influence inside the party in a permanent, positive and persevering manner.

To achieve these tasks and objectives, we must promptly improve the content and form of ideological work and improve its organization and performance, constantly enhancing the party's activities and the scientific nature of ideological work and really linking ideological work with life so it can exert a direct impact on the masses' thoughts and daily acts.

Actions are directed by thoughts. However, thoughts can develop their effectiveness only when they permeate the masses' minds and are translated into revolutionary acts. This leap forward can be made only through organizational measures.

Our present great shortcoming is our failure to closely coordinate ideological work with organizational work and to develop the might of the organization in ideological work. To overcome this shortcoming, we must seriously carry out the following tasks set forth by the fourth party congress: Closely coordinate ideological work with organizational work, translate thoughts into action through organizational measures, insure that Marxist-Leninist thoughts permeate our people's life and become a life-style of our society.

To develop the effectiveness of ideological work and overcome the weaknesses in this work, we must also improve the system of organizing the implementation of ideological work, strengthen our ideological organs, mobilize and deploy forces in charge of ideological work, improve the way to guide ideological work, build a system of ideological management and so forth.

Our present problem is to properly organize fighting forces on the ideological front. What is most important is to organize our entire party to carry out ideological work. To this end, our local party organizations in charge of ideological work must, first of all, fulfill their tasks in every sphere. Our party committee echelons must be real leaders in ideological work and consider this work as part of their daily leadership mission.

To organize the masses to indoctrinate themselves is the best way to implement ideological work. We are experienced in this matter and must review and popularize our experiences.

To closely coordinate the forces in charge of ideological work with other forces is a good organizational way to reduce staff. We must mobilize the forces endowed with great capabilities in various sectors and echelons to participate in ideological work, closely coordinate the party organs in charge of ideological work with the state organs and insure the party's direct leadership over information, broadcasting, television, press and publishing organs.

The form is determined by the content, but the form is very important. The content, no matter how good it may be, will be useless if the form is poor and disliked by the masses. Therefore, we must pay special attention to improving the form and method of implementing ideological work, restore and develop the party's forms and methods that were proven and were esteemed by the masses in the past, improve the existing forms and methods, create new forms and methods which are simple but effective, lively and thorough and have a high ideological character, great attractiveness and an educational and entertaining effect. We must soon overcome administrative bureaucracy; as well as poor, monotonous and formalistic methods and the lack of vivacity in ideological work.

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SOME IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK

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[Text] One of the current fierce battlefronts of our people is the one on which we must build socialism while struggling to defend the fatherland against the scheme of reactionaries in the Chinese ruling circles and imperialists to weaken our country and prepare a war of aggression.

Since 1975 the Chinese reactionaries have unceasingly sought all ways and means to oppose and undermine our country because they regard Vietnam's revolution and the success of socialism in this country as the main obstacle to China's expansion into Southeast Asia. Since some aspects of China's hostile policy toward Vietnam are consistent with the U.S. plan to check the impact of Vietnam's revolution, this policy is now vigorously supported by the American and other imperialist forces.

The reactionary Chinese rulers have carried out vulgar retaliatory measures against Vietnam, including cutting aid, recalling experts, breaking off economic relations, inciting Hoa people to leave Vietnam for their homeland and conducting diplomatic campaigns to motivate other countries and international organizations within the sphere of imperialist influence to coordinate their acts in postponing or canceling all aid to Vietnam. They frenziedly waged an aggressive war along all the northern border of our country in February 1979. Launching their military offensive, they sought to rapidly repel and exterminate Vietnam's revolution.

Despite their great efforts to prepare for war over several years, the pitiful setbacks they sustained in the initial round of the test of strength greatly infuriated them. They are now resorting to all available measures and maneuvers to oppose and undermine our country. Their acts have become increasingly frenzied and violent in the economic, political, ideological, cultural and other spheres.

After establishing the proletarian dictatorship system in the entire country, we cannot yet concentrate all our strength on solving all problems related to socialism. The aggressive war on the southwestern border and then on the northern border of our country destroyed much of our manpower and wealth. The situation in which we are enjoying peace while standing ready to cope with a possible new war of aggression by the Chinese side has affected socialist industrialization in our country. Of course, we cannot achieve developed socialism in a 5-year period. However, if the Chinese reactionaries in collusion with the imperialists had not carried out hostile and sabotage activities against our country, we would have scored even greater achievements despite natural disasters and our poor economic management.

These hostile and sabotage activities are the main direct cause of the difficulties and negative phenomena now prevalent in our country. We must make everyone aware of that. Let us unite, millions as one, and concentrate all our strength on resolutely foiling all enemy schemes and moves. Only by winning complete victory in this struggle can we protect our national independence and our work of building socialism.

Because of the continuous dispute among the Chinese reactionary forces, the situation in China will remain complicated. Although they have modified a number of Mao's policies, the reactionaries in the Beijing ruling circles have maintained his theories on big-nation nationalism and expansionism. They are making positive efforts to carry out Maoism and more cunning, practical maneuvers. Despite their disunity and power struggle, they remain unanimous on undermining Vietnam's revolution. Although they are facing increasingly strong opposition from progressive forces at home, they still have the forces and conditions to carry out their counterrevolutionary policy.

Therefore, our ideological work must make everyone aware of this situation in order to resolutely continue the struggle to firmly protect the fatherland and eradicate all manifestations of losing political vigilance.

While they are still unable to launch a military offensive, the reactionary Beijing rulers are resorting to the landgrabbers' familiar maneuvers of sabotage, including an economic blockade and a political offensive, and propagating a noxious culture and lifestyle.

In fact, they are frantically stepping up psywar activities; spreading false rumors and slanderous and distorted allegations; capitalizing on our difficulties and shortcomings; criticizing the line, policies and leadership of our party and leading organs at all levels; sowing doubt and discontent; and inciting opposition. They are striving to revive the neocolonialist culture and old lifestyle and stimulate vile desires and ridiculous competitiveness through subtle, covert means and through their henchmen and the remnant reactionary forces in our country. Their only desire is to make our people stray from the path of struggle and to shake their fighting will.

In the previous processes of Vietnam's revolution, our enemies resorted to military violence in their counteroffensives because they had no conditions for carrying out their schemes for disturbances and subversion. For this reason, many of our comrades have no experience in this aspect of the struggle.

At present, since the balance of forces has tilted to the disadvantage of the enemy, he is concentrating on disturbances and subversion to achieve his expansionist scheme. Many of us are still unaware of the enemy's schemes and dangerous nature and are even subjective, overlooking or disregarding his psywar allegations. A few comrades, due to their lack of vigilance, have served as psywar mouthpieces of the enemy by nonsensically spreading false news and hostile allegations.

In the history of revolutionary struggles in the world, we can learn many lessons on the lack of vigilance. If revolutionary forces fail to deal appropriate, timely counterblows to the enemy's psywar offensive, he will surely capitalize on this failure to make deeper and wider encroachments and the consequences will therefore be very serious.

The Chinese reactionaries are used to resorting to disturbances and subversion in their internal disputes. In our country, not all forces opposing us have consented to reform themselves properly and some have lent a hand to our enemies.

To foil the enemy's psywar moves is one of the pressing problems of ideological work, because this is a problem of the security of the revolution. Let all our party organizations, party committee echelons, cadres and party members further sharpen their vigilance, heighten their spirit of responsibility and oppose the attitude of those who remain indifferent to anything, right or wrong.

In the face of the masses' concerns and questions, our cadres and party members should promptly explain things and persuade them through words and deed, leaving no room for the enemy to distort facts or cause incidents. When faced with the enemy's hostile allegations, we must promptly counterattack and expose his schemes and maneuvers.

What is basically important is to constantly indoctrinate the masses on the situation and tasks and make them thoroughly aware of the reactionaries in the Beijing ruling circles, thus enabling them to become politically aware and stand ready to expose and check all the sabotage maneuvers of the enemy.

On the second front, we must resolve the question of "Who will win" in the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths--a fierce revolutionary struggle that must be waged on both a short- and long-term basis. Over the past few years, along with accelerating socialist construction in the north, we have stepped up socialist transformation in the south. As a result, the question of "Who will win" in the struggle between socialism and capitalism has been basically resolved in the field of production relations. In the south we have basically eliminated the capitalist economy and the bourgeoisie. The southern bourgeoisie, whose main force consisted of Chinese-born bourgeois compradors, was a well-organized and experienced force which had many ramifications both in our country and abroad and was an important part of world capitalism, mainly of the capitalism represented by the Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. If we do not eliminate it along with capitalist production relations, we cannot consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, cannot carry out socialist transformation in agriculture and handicraft and cannot reorganize our social production in line with large-scale socialist production.

In the south, agricultural collectivization is being carried out, with the laboring people embarking upon the collectivized undertaking in varied forms. However, the struggle between the two paths remains complicated in the south and the rest of our country as well. Basically, we have achieved great success in socialist construction. However, our progress is still hampered by the impact of the lingering capitalist forces, by the spontaneous small-scale production and by our weaknesses and shortcomings in economic and social management.

It should be stressed that we have sometimes, and in different places, slackened the dictatorship of the proletariat and economic management, thereby creating conditions for non-socialist forces to reemerge. An example is found in the implementation of the resolution of the sixth party Central Committee plenum--an absolutely correct resolution aimed at further consolidating and constantly developing our socialist economy and promoting the development of the other economic components to serve as a complementary force in our socialist economy. However, in some localities, incorrect interpretations and implementation of that resolution have been noted: slackening control and allowing the individual and privately-run economies to develop at the expense of our principled stand. Besides, due concern has not been given to developing the state-run and collective economies, causing them to be gradually invaded by the other economic components.

Rightist manifestations have also been noted on the market issue. As we know, it is extremely important for us to control the market and goods in the struggle to determine "Who will win." "If the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat manages production but is unable to control the market, that is, goods--primarily the most essential ones--how can it be sufficiently strong to completely defeat the bourgeoisie? Yet a number of localities have allowed the free market to expand at the expense of the socialist market and allowed individuals to compete with the state in securing goods, thus undermining our socialist economy and seriously affecting the lives of workers and civil servants.

Our socialist construction achievements are also impeded by the developing negative manifestations that have emerged for several years--theft being the most serious--causing great losses to our socialist state property, adversely affecting production, aggravating our state's economic and financial difficulties and causing difficulties in our people's lives. Some people hold that theft stems from difficulties and privations in our people's lives. That is not true. It is against our ethical principles. One certainly can live an honest life regardless of privations. One can proudly share his compatriots' and comrades' hardships and privations. The true causes of theft are fast living, individualism, moral depravity and so forth. Theft is a crime, as stipulated by state law. We must check its development. Otherwise, we will be unable to successfully develop production and improve our people's living conditions. In every government agency and enterprise managing state property, we must wage a struggle against this negative manifestation in both the ideological and organizational aspects. Of course, we do not mean that all the thieves and all of the thefts are motivated by our enemies. However, objectively speaking, thefts of state property help our enemies in their scheme to undermine our economy and weaken our country so as to attack and conquer our country more easily. In addition, we must remain highly vigilant because some thefts have been clearly politically-motivated. Any theft of state and collective property must be thoroughly investigated and convincing conclusions drawn.

The struggle to determine "Who will win" is also vigorously waged in the domain of culture and way of life. Previously, to serve their scheme of enslaving our people, the U.S. imperialists introduced a type of culture into the southern part of our country which promoted individualism, a selfish lifestyle that corrupted people with fast living, encouraged them to enjoy life for the moment and to forget about the future and to spare no tricks, even vile ones, to make a living. Although the Americans and their puppets were defeated many years ago, the neocolonialist culture has not been rooted out. Due to our difficulties and shortcomings, it is being revived in the south and is being expanded to the north. In addition, forces hostile to our people, both at home and abroad, are also attacking us on the cultural front. Their wicked scheme consists of spearheading their sabotage activities at our youth because they are intent on spoiling our younger generation and thereby ruining our revolution.

They take advantage of our youth's natural, wholesome tendency of enjoying the novel and the beautiful to arouse new crazes in them causing them to lust after unhealthy desires and to live an ~~unwholesome~~ lifestyle so as to gradually make them forget about their political tasks.

In view of this situation, ideological work must be aimed at further promoting our people's combativeness and at further strengthening the socialist battleground on the political, economic and cultural aspects so as to curb the influence of nonproletarian thoughts. We must by all means seek to make the voice of our just cause resound far and wide, enhance our ethical standards and reaffirm our *raison d'être* under the socialist regime so that they will act like the voice of conscience in prodding the people to think and act correctly in the interest of the fatherland, of socialism and for their own sake. Any compromise, any rightist manifestation in the ideological struggle is harmful, because if we slacken our pace in the fierce struggle to determine "Who will win," antisocialist feelings will gain ground.

Ideological work must contribute positively to fighting against the schemes and tricks of the international reactionary forces colluding with the remnant reactionary force in our country--elements of the former exploiting class who dodged reeducation, hoodlums and bandits who are taking advantage of our difficulties and shortcomings to undermine our revolutionary undertaking on the economic and cultural fronts. Meanwhile, we must vigorously arouse public opinion to condemn and abhor the unwholesome negative manifestations in social life and to be determined to do away with them. We must closely coordinate our struggle against negative manifestations with our prompt recognition and praise of examples of good men and good deeds and examples of sacrificing oneself for the sake of socialism, which are multiplying across the country in all fields of activity.

To achieve success in socialist construction, everyone must constantly enhance the level of his political awareness and the spirit of collective mastery. We must, through ideological work, motivate the masses to carry out the party's lines and policies for the development of production, socialist transformation, improvement of circulation and distribution of goods, building of a new culture, a new lifestyle, a new type of man, and so forth, so as to make everyone better understand the party's line and policy regarding socialist revolution and the struggle between the two paths.

In our advance to socialism, we must now concentrate our efforts on surmounting the economic difficulties and the predicaments in our people's lives. Everyone must make all-out efforts to overcome these difficulties and bring about favorable changes. Only with a revolutionary attitude and through the revolutionary actions of our entire party and people can we improve the overall situation. Passivism and irresoluteness are very detrimental to our revolutionary undertaking. We must face up to the difficulties, analyze them, and then devise effective measures to surmount them. We must cause everyone to assess the situation correctly, recognize the difficulties and realize our achievements and progress.

The U.S. imperialists once stated that the South Vietnamese economy, which they poured billions of dollars into yearly to support, would irrevocably collapse after their withdrawal from Vietnam and the termination of their aid. The Chinese reactionaries also thought that by recalling their specialists, cutting off aid, imposing an economic blockade and adopting other measures in that direction, they could cause our national economy to collapse. Overcoming those challenges and the consequences of repeated natural calamities, our people have rehabilitated and are developing their agricultural and industrial production. Our entire party and people are devoting their entire energies to promoting our country's progress. Some difficulties can be rapidly overcome; yet we need time to overcome others because they are closely related to the development of our socialist material and technical bases.

In addition, new difficulties may arise along the way. However, with their fine revolutionary nature and their considerable fighting experience, our party and people will certainly be able to resolve the newly-emerged problems of our socialist revolution and will successfully carry out the new revolutionary program.

The economic front is different than the military front, and economic laws differ from war rules. However, on any front, the leadership of our Marxist-Leninist party and the party members' and masses' confidence and determination to advance are factors insuring success. Advancing along the path charted by the party, we will certainly succeed in our socialist construction and in effectively defending our socialist fatherland.

The fierce and tough revolutionary struggle on the two aforesaid battlefronts has positive effects on our cadres, party members and party organizations. In this struggle, by developing their vanguard role, the majority of our cadres and party members have overcome all setbacks to continuously maintain and develop the qualities of communists who remain always loyal to their ideals and their party's line. However, in the face of the new turning point and complicated developments of the revolution, a number of cadres and party members have revealed their weaknesses and unhealthy manifestations. Faced with difficulties in economy and life, they are confused and even wavering, losing their faith and fighting spirit and erring in their awareness and implementation of the party's line. Meanwhile, other comrades are not sufficiently vigilant against the sabotage schemes of the Beijing reactionaries and imperialists. They have become degenerate and deviant, taking advantage of their positions to misappropriate state property, take bribes, oppress the masses and collude with dishonest people to carry out illegal businesses and so forth.

All these things are very harmful to our revolutionary undertaking, especially at a time when our enemies of all types are coordinating their efforts to attack our party from all directions.

The tough struggle between revolution and counterrevolution and between socialism and capitalism is taking place in every aspect, so one of the present pressing problems of ideological work is to positively contribute to building the party politically and ideologically. This task is being implemented, but it must be carried out in a more widespread and effective manner. All party organizations and party committee echelons must closely coordinate ideological work with other work in their own way with a view to constantly increasing the quality of cadres and party members, strengthening their solidarity and unity of mind and enhancing the fighting strength of party organizations and members.

One of our weak points is that our ability in leadership and economic and social management still leaves much to be desired. Ideological work must therefore contribute to effectively overcoming this weakness. However, we should not overlook indoctrination on ethical qualities. As far as a party leading the administration is concerned, to overlook indoctrination on ethical qualities will create conditions for bureaucracy and other negative phenomena to appear and develop and will cause the party's influence on the people to decline. Construction and criticism, the two aspects of indoctrination on ethical qualities, must be closely coordinated. Along with indoctrination in the communist outlook on life and encouragement of the development of positive factors, we must resolutely oppose corruption, bribery, oppression of the masses, indifferent, undisciplined and irresponsible attitudes and random talk on problems related to the interests of the revolution.

The issuance of party membership cards is being expanded. So, ideological work must be closely coordinated with it and must contribute to purifying the party's fighting ranks, increasing the effectiveness of the party organizations' leadership and prestige and strengthening the relationship between the party and the masses.

To win in the struggle for socialism, our cadres and party members must uphold their organizational and disciplinary sense, tighten their ranks around the party and protect the party's unity like the apple of their eye.

In assessing the situation 3 years after the October Revolution, Lenin affirmed that the primary reason for success was the discipline of cadres and party members, stressing that without discipline the proletarian administration would be unable to stand for 3 days, let alone 3 years.

Speaking of the importance of the sense of organization and discipline, Stalin used the illustration of a ship in a gale. How can the ship survive? The only way is for the ship's crew and passengers to observe discipline and comply with the captain's orders fearlessly. Stalin's words are more meaningful to us today. In the face of new difficulties and ordeals, all our cadres and party members must have a sense of their words and deeds in order to protect the party's line and leadership and insure successful implementation of the party's line. Ideological work must meet all these requirements because this is a vital problem in the struggle against our enemies. This is also the most important matter because we must overcome difficulties and advance.

The aforesaid pressing problems of ideological work are closely correlated and must therefore be solved uniformly. If we can solve them satisfactorily, we will surely be able to make positive prevail over negative and effect a good change in everyone's awareness and mental habits, thus contributing to successfully fulfilling the tasks set forth by the party.

THE VIETNAM WOMEN'S UNION AND THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 80 pp 16-21 and 30

[Article by Nguyen Thi Dinh]

[Text] Twenty-five years have passed since the first organization of Vietnamese women was established. Under the wise leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, our women have overcome every difficulty, enthusiastically participated in every revolutionary task and made their own worthy contributions to the common cause of the nation.

The Liberation of the Nation, the Liberation of the Class Also Meant the Liberation of Women

Our country, our people experienced thousands of years of living under the feudal system of harsh exploitation and hundreds of years of living in extreme misery under the domination of imperialist colonialism. Women were the ones who suffered the most, who were oppressed and exploited the most. Theirs was not only the suffering of a person, of a family, but also the suffering of an entire nation, of an entire oppressed class. Only by carrying out the revolution, overthrowing colonialism and feudalism, liberating the nation, building the new, socialist society and bringing back a life of independence, freedom, comfort and happiness to the working people, more than one-half of whom were women, could women truly be liberated.

In the history of their struggle, the women of Vietnam have been extremely proud to have the party leading it. The party set forth the correct line for thoroughly liberating women. The party placed the interests of women among the common interests of the nation and the proletariat and closely linked the liberation of women to the struggle to liberate the nation and liberate the class.

At the 7th Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in July 1935, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, the representative of our party, clearly set forth the party's viewpoint: the liberation of women in the colonies must be closely linked to the struggle to liberate the nation from the yoke of slavery, liberate the class from oppression and build a socialist society.

On the basis of this viewpoint, our party has, over the past 50 years, considered the mobilization of women to participate in every revolutionary movement led by the party to be "a major issue of strategic significance in the party's overall

mobilization of the masses, a matter of national policy with which every echelon of the party must be particularly concerned."(1) "The revolutionary forces of women are very important forces. If the mass of women does not participate in the revolutionary struggle, the revolution cannot win victory."(2) Therefore, after it was founded (3 February 1930), the party organized the Liberated Women's Association (October 1930) and then the Anti-Imperialist Women's Association (1936), the National Salvation Women's Union (1946) and so forth to enlighten and organize the various strata of women and struggle to achieve the goal of the liberation of women set forth by the party.

Experiencing many hardships and sacrifices and engaging in both clandestine and public activities, the women of Vietnam joined the rest of the people in carrying out the victorious general uprising in August 1945 and establishing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker-farmer state in Southeast Asia. Together with all the people, women participated in running the government and, conversely, the new government brought many changes to the life of each woman. As a result, under the leadership of the party, the women of Vietnam, through their Union, contributed much labor and even sacrificed their lives to build and protect the young government and fight enemies, both domestic and foreign. The intense and thorough activities of the cadres of the Union at this time gave the majority of women the understanding that struggling along with all the people to protect the government was the same as struggling to protect the vital interests of women and opening an increasingly broad and straight path for the liberation of women.

On the basis of their deep understanding of the struggle to liberate the nation and protect the country, the women of Vietnam were strongly inspired to participate in the arduous and difficult resistance against the French and contributed along with the army and people of the entire country to winning the "earth-shattering victory of Dien Bien Phu."

In 1954, our country's revolution entered a new stage that had two strategic tasks: carrying out the national, democratic revolution to liberate the South while building socialism in the North to serve as the strong, solid rear area of the revolution in the South. At that time, the activities of women spread with each passing day. In the North, the Central Committee of the Vietnam Women's Union launched the "three responsibilities" movement, which was a mass movement of tremendous revolutionary significance and a comprehensive nature. It "was an integral, very basic and very large part of our people's revolution."(3)

In 1965, when the U.S. imperialists poured large numbers of troops into South Vietnam and widened the air war of destruction to the North, mothers and sisters eagerly bid farewell to their husbands and sons and mobilized millions of youths to leave for the frontlines; tens of thousands of young women volunteered to build roads, transport the wounded, carry ammunition and so forth. In production, especially agricultural production and consumer goods production, practically all jobs were undertaken by women. Kernels of rice soaked with the perspiration and even the blood of women and the other citizens in the great rear area were shared so that one-third to one-half of their rice could be sent to the battlefield; millions of meters of cloth and thousands of tons of medicine from the socialist North were carried, practically all by responsible women, to the front, thereby giving additional

strength to our army and people so that they could defeat the enemy. Also during this period, a large corps of women cadres rapidly matured. In the space of 4 years (1965-1968) of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, we acquired 3,733 women cooperative heads and assistant heads and 45,000 women production unit chiefs and assistant chiefs. In combat support and direct combat operations against the barbarous war of destruction of the U.S. pirates, countless examples of heroism were set by women. The 10 young women at the Dong Loc intersection in Nghe Tinh Province--a target for heavy attacks by U.S. aircraft--bravely gave their lives in order to keep communication lines open. Mother Suot, although old, exposed herself to the bombs and shells of the pirates to transport troops across the Nhat Le River. The women's artillery unit of Ngu Thuy Village in Quang Binh Province set many U.S. warships afire. The women's military platoon of Hoa Loc Village in Thanh Hoa Province was the first women's unit in the North to shoot down a U.S. jet aircraft, etc. The achievements of the women of Vietnam were worthy of the praise given them by President Ho Chi Minh: "The women of Vietnam have been brave and responsible in the resistance against the United States for national salvation."

In the South, in the more than 20 years of the war of aggression, the U.S. pirates had to contend with the sacred war of national salvation waged by our people, among whom the force of women played an important role. The struggle by our people in the political, proselyting and armed fronts created the three spearheads that attacked the enemy from many directions and, on every front, women participated in the struggle, striking fear into the hearts of the enemy and even winning their admiration. These activities were the resourceful and flexible activities of the "long hair army," which were activities of a unique nature of the people's war in the South. The women of the South were deserving of the praise given them by Uncle Ho: "They are heroic, unyielding, loyal and responsible."

Never before had the strong vigor of women been as clearly evident as it was in the fierce challenges of the cruel war waged by the wicked enemy in our country. Eleven units of the armed forces that consisted entirely of women were praised as heroes of the army by the National Assembly; of the 120 women heroes, 45 were in the armed forces.

The outstanding contributions made by women in the cause of national liberation gave women a worthy position in society. However, only the socialist revolution thoroughly liberates women because, through the socialist revolution, the classes of exploiters are abolished, production forces constantly develop and every citizen, men and women alike, have all of the conditions needed to gradually become the masters of society, the masters of nature and the masters of themselves.

In the socialist revolution, under the leadership of the party and with the guidance of the Union, the mass of members of the Women's Union have actively participated in productive labor and constantly endeavored to make progress. Many women have made an effort to study and raise their cultural, political and scientific levels so that they can participate in many new fields of work. Many women have been elected as delegates to the National Assembly, the highest executive body of our state. In this, the 6th National Assembly, 132 women were elected as delegates, constituting 26.9 percent of the total number of National Assembly delegates. Many women have held important positions in the agencies of the government; 19 women have served as

ministers and vice ministers or held posts of similar level; and 191 women are enterprise directors or deputy directors. Of the total number of cadres who have a college education, women constitute 24.9 percent. A number of women were recently appointed by the government as professors and assistant professors.

In the many fields of production and work, women constitute a rather high percentage of the workforce: nearly 70 percent in agriculture, 60 percent in industry, 70 percent in commerce, 56 percent in the grain and food sector, nearly 60 percent in public health, education and so forth.

Our country is still facing many difficulties, but the state is constantly concerned with creating the conditions that are needed, such as child care centers, kindergartens, collective dining halls, the planned parenthood campaign, and so forth, for women to easily participate in production on a society-wide scale and gradually reduce the amount of strenuous work that must be performed within the household. Many resolutions have been issued by the party on the mobilization of women. In many localities, the party committee echelon has scrupulously complied with the directives and resolutions of the Central Committee and actively guided the work of the Women's Union. However, there are still some places at which the party committee echelon has not regularly guided the mobilization of women and has not given attention to using the organization and truly upholding the democratic principles of the revolutionary mass organization in order to, on this basis, tap the strength of the organization and mobilize the mass of women to participate in labor, production, work and the implementation of the positions and policies of the party.

However, the important reasons why the mobilization of the mass of women has lacked intensity and has limited the contributions made by women in the socialist revolution over these past several years are primarily because the various levels of the Women's Union, from the central level to the installations, have not clearly defined their functions, tasks and scope of responsibility, have not taken the initiative and delved into research in order to propose to the party matters that lie within the scope of their work and the mode of operation of the women's organization and have not proposed effective themes or forms of organization and activity suited to the various categories of women in order to be able to widely rally the masses and mobilize women to contribute much to the common revolutionary cause and, on this basis, gradually implement the rights of women.

The various levels of the union have not taken the initiative and sought specific leadership and guidance from the various party committee echelons within the locality and have not organized good working coordination with the related sectors and mass organizations.

Appropriate attention has not been given to training women cadres and raising their overall qualifications in order to meet the requirements of the mobilization of the masses in the new period of the revolution.

On the other hand, the present organizational apparatus is cumbersome and ineffective and has created a method of working that is bureaucratic, remote from the masses and divorced from reality; the cadres of the Union do not maintain close contact with installations in order to gain an understanding of the thoughts and aspirations of women, consequently, the activities of many levels of the Union are still general in nature and are not closely linked to the vital interests of women, as a result of which women at many places are not close to their organization.

The main reason for the situation presented above is that the tasks and guidelines of the Women's Union are still unclear. The revolutionary situation has changed very much and the requirements of the revolutionary task are constantly growing, but the activities of the Women's Union have not promptly changed and do not fully meet these requirements.

Activities Must Be Firmly Based on the Political Task of the Party!

Actual experience has shown that the various levels of the Women's Union have, in stages of the revolution filled with difficulties and hardships, still succeeded in mobilizing the masses to struggle to achieve the goals set forth by the party, namely, the goals of the liberation of the nation, the liberation of the class and the liberation of women, because they have firmly based their efforts on the political tasks of the party. As a result, everyone has clearly seen the positive role played by the organization of the Union in the overall revolutionary movement.

After the great victory of the spring of 1975, when the country was reunified and the people of our entire country began the work of building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland, the Vietnam Women's Union launched the "new woman building and protecting the fatherland" movement. This movement has gained the participation of the mass of women.

On the agricultural front, women farmers are intensely participating in the movement to plant all available farmland, build water conservancy projects, make fertilizer, plant vegetables and subsidiary food crops, accelerate household livestock production and so forth. In the South, in conjunction with mobilizing women to make every effort to accelerate agricultural production, the various levels of the Union must also mobilize women farmers to embark on the collective way of life and establish the new production relations in the countryside.

As regards women manual workers and civil servants, the "new woman building and protecting the fatherland" movement is clearly evident in the struggle to overcome the difficulties posed by the shortage of electricity and the shortages of raw materials and supplies, produce with high productivity, complete the plan and make a positive contribution to socialist industrialization.

In addition to endeavoring to complete the political tasks of the citizen vis-a-vis society, women must also fulfill the functions of wife and mother within the family. The work of "raising healthy, obedient children" within the family has a significant impact upon the future generations of the country. This, of course, must be the task of the entire party, of all the people. However, the role played by the Women's Union is also very important because this is a political task, a social task that is directly related to the happiness of each woman. As Premier Pham Van Dong said: "...No one is as ardently or deeply concerned about the work of women as women are; women must concern themselves with this work and then awaken the various agencies and sectors to support and assist them."

Therefore, the various levels of the Women's Union must continue to intensify the movement to build families of the new culture and must propagandize and educate women so that they clearly understand the basic viewpoints of the party concerning

educating children in accordance with the five teachings of Uncle Ho and clearly understand the position of the family and the role of the mother in the education of the young; this must be achieved by providing training to women cadres in the knowledge needed to teach children within the family and by adopting a plan for widely disseminating this knowledge among the masses.

Under the leadership of the local party committee, the organizations of the Women's Union on the basic level must coordinate with the agencies, mass organizations, the Parents' and Students' Association and the school to establish close cooperation among the family, the school and society in order to teach children. The Union must promptly praise those mothers who raise their children well and set examples followed by other women.

To perform the large tasks mentioned above well, the Women's Union must truly become a strong organization that is capable of rallying the mass of its members; the Union must be a front uniting the various strata of patriotic women, primarily women manual workers, farmers and socialist intellectuals.

The above mentioned requirements raise several pressing problems that must be resolved:

--The various levels of the Women's Union, from the central level to the basic level, must take determined steps to overcome their administrative, bureaucratic, less than thorough workstyle, which prevents them from maintaining close contact with the production and everyday lives of the masses. With an administrative style of work that is remote from the masses, the Union cannot mobilize the masses well.

--Women themselves must be determined to display the spirit of self-reliance and must not feel inferior or rely upon others. We must successfully build a new generation of Vietnamese women who possess the true spirit of collective ownership and are the masters in their work, within their families and in society.

Every cadre and member of the Women's Union must develop a new point of view for themselves, one that is consistent with the times, one that is not narrowminded; at the same time, they must strengthen their unity and oneness of mind in order to create a combined strength for advancing the women's movement.

In the face of the present revolutionary situation and pressing revolutionary tasks, our entire party, our entire army and all our people are concentrating their efforts on emulating in productive labor, waging a determined struggle against negative phenomena in society, endeavoring to overcome the difficulties in economic management and everyday life and intensifying socialist construction and the protection of the fatherland. This is a time when we need strong activities of the mass organizations very much, consequently, the various levels of the Union, from the central level to the basic level, must clearly define their function and task and attach importance to mobilizing the women's movement so that it yields practical returns, political as well as economic.

The various levels of the Women's Union must regularly intensify their teaching of politics and ideology to their members and help them raise their level of socialist

awareness so that they perceive the difficulties we now face correctly, engage in productive labor, work with all the people to overcome every difficulty, help to stabilize and raise the standard of living of the people, wage a determined struggle against the negative phenomena within society, especially theft, bribery and the intimidation of the masses, and create strong public opinion denouncing these decadent acts. They must accelerate the "new woman building and protecting the fatherland" movement and establish a corps of women who possess good political qualifications, qualities, ethics and knowledge.

The women of Vietnam have a tradition of patriotism, bravery and tenacity, intelligence and creativity and they possess boundless love of mankind; at the same time, they are also diligent, industrious workers who undertake the work of the country and are skilled in the work of the home. In the new stage of the revolution, however, these fine traditions must be raised to a higher level. The women workers of today must not stop at diligent, hard, simple labor performed for low remuneration, but must develop comprehensively in the process of socialist industrialization. Only on this basis can the equality of women be firmly asserted. As a result, we must train a corps of women workers who are highly educated, are highly skilled in science and technology, are skilled in management and possess good manual skills to meet the constantly rising requirements of the cultural, scientific and technological revolutions.

To resolve this problem, the Vietnam Women's Union must maintain close contact with and assess the situation surrounding women laborers, take the initiative in making proposals to related state agencies and help to resolve problems involved in training, in the distribution and balancing of men and women workers and in the use of women workers within each trade in a manner consistent with the physiological characteristics of women. Besides labor and production, the Union must give attention to developing the noble role played by women in the building of the new family, the molding of the new man and the building of the new culture. The Union must concern itself with caring for the lives of women and children even better; help to guide planned parenthood in a positive and well coordinated manner; research and establish a good organizational and management structure for child care centers and kindergartens, a structure which insures that children are raised well. On the other hand, the various levels of the Union must fulfill their function of inspecting and supervising the implementation of state regulations and policies in order to uphold the interests of women and children in every field.

The tasks mentioned above demand that the Vietnam Women's Union gradually train for itself a corps of cadres who are highly competent, possess high revolutionary qualities and, at the same time, possess knowledge of science and technology, knowledge of the social sciences and economic management qualifications so that they can mobilize the masses in a comprehensive and thorough manner.

To help women complete the political task assigned them by the party and fulfill their functions as wives and mothers within the family, the mobilization of women must, with the assistance of the various levels of the party and government, meet the following specific requirements:

Child care centers and kindergartens must be organized well so that women have places to send their children and can engage in production with peace of mind, especially

at a time when the country is still experiencing many economic difficulties. Particular attention must be given to child care centers, kindergartens and collective dining halls at factories, enterprises, agencies, worksites, state farms and forestry sites in order to help improve the standard of living of women cadres, manual workers and civil servants and create the conditions for them to use their abilities, work and produce well.

Every possible condition must be created for women, especially young women, to study politics, culture, science and technology and increase their knowledge in every area so that they can comprehensively improve their work skills.

With full sympathy for the special difficulties of women, we must give our attention to caring for the interests and the daily lives of women and children; at the same time, we must concern ourselves with training a corps of women cadres who possess comprehensive political qualities and skills. We must abolish the feudal, narrow-minded thinking of having low regard for women and must help women endeavor to achieve true equality within the family and in society.

FOOTNOTES

1. The resolution of the Secretariat on women cadre work, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, p 5.
2. The resolution of the 1930 Party Plenum, "Party Documents on the Mobilization of Women," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 10.
3. Pham Van Dong: "The 'Three Responsibilities' Movement Is an Integral Part of the Revolutionary Movement," On the Mobilization of Women, Phu Nu Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 19.

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THE NATION'S NOBLE TRADITION AND SOLID CULTURAL FOUNDATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 80 pp 22-24 and 53

[Article by Professor Nguyen Khanh Loan]

[Text] Some countries that developed early left the world remarkable vestiges in the form of various styles of large-scale architectural projects--citadels, castles, palaces, temples, shrines, imperial tombs, aqueducts, towers, monuments, statues and so forth--and huge, priceless collections of books--theories regarding the universe, the Koran, the Bible, epics, chronicles, stories of love and accounts of military operations, expeditionary operations and famous land and naval battles recorded in detail in the ancient Egyptian, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Pali, Sanskrit and other languages.

Today, through meticulous research of these vestiges by specialized scholars, a host of brilliant, ancient civilizations have been brought back to life. These civilizations hold very much interest in view of their unique and sophisticated characteristics, with the Chan, Thien and My civilizations being considered classical models.

The discovery of these projects drew back the curtain of time that had concealed the entirety of a brilliant past, causing us to feel surprise and admiration over the opening pages in the history of civilization in the world.

The fact that the projects mentioned above were constructed under systems of slave ownership does not negate their value nor that they are milestones which mark tremendous strides forward by man in his struggle against nature and show the inexhaustible creative energies of man.

On the other hand, however, this is no reason to say that these are the only, the perpetual models of the cultural and spiritual life of man.

These great ancient civilizations have won the hearts and minds of subsequent generations because of the following three factors: first, the huge size and imposing appearance of many projects stand as a challenge to time and the elements; secondly, the fact that a number of nations developed a written language at an early date causes us to think that only these nations could create such grand projects because written language is a manifestation of a highly developed civilization; thirdly, such a highly developed civilization is always closely linked to a high

level of development of military art, to renowned feats of arms in "conquering the whole world," conquering neighboring nations. As a result, whether we want to or not, we reach the point where we have a low evaluation of the contributions made by other nations to the world civilization because the cultural development of these nations has not involved the impact of the three factors mentioned above: impressive size, a written language and the conquering of neighbors. For this reason, the values of many nations that do not possess a brilliant, "classical" past of this type have long been neglected. There are even some precious relics and evidences of a unique culture that are not recognized as civilized because they belong to a small country, to a "backward" people. This is truly incorrect.

Therefore, while considering the impressive projects of ancient Greece, Rome, Egypt, Luong Ha and so forth to be remarkable products of the hands and mind of man, to be priceless contributions to the civilization of mankind, we must recognize that they are not the only expressions of the greatness of ancient man and that the places mentioned above were not the only places at which the creative energies of man were displayed at an early date.

Because of the different natural, historical, social and cultural conditions within each region and each community of people, man built, developed, maintained and protected his material, cultural and spiritual life along the lines of a separate and distinct model with its own special characteristics and created traditions that became deeply ingrained in his life.

At a very early date, about 4,000 years ago, the Viets established on this strip of tropical soil an agricultural civilization specializing in the cultivation of wet rice. This was a great victory in the long, dangerous and arduous struggle against nature, a struggle in which they forged for themselves a character possessing such noble virtues as diligence, patience, bravery, intelligence, resourcefulness, unity and mutual help.

They were free, working farmers who lived together within a social structure of which the village was the cell. When they began to build the country, they also had to defend and protect the country. The powers that constantly threatened their survival were the powerful monarchies of China who, for thousands of years, had proclaimed themselves to be the rulers of the Asian continent and who never abandoned their scheme to annex the land of Vietnam which, although small, occupied an important strategic position. But these powerful monarchies were continuously defeated because the Vietnamese were determined to maintain, at all costs, their sovereignty and be the masters of the fruits of their labor.

It was through this glorious struggle that our people developed their sense of nationhood and country at a very early date. And, on this basis, their spirit of national independence became increasingly strong. The 4,000 year history of the nation of Vietnam, a nation that "proclaimed itself civilized long ago" (Nguyen Trãi), has been an immortal epic.

This is eloquent proof that the life of our people in the past was very rich and created a noble tradition and a solid national culture.

The traditions of our nation are very rich and very beautiful. They originate in the spirit: "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom"; in the consciousness of being the master of the country and our own lives; in love and devotion to one's compatriots, to the race; in the need to join efforts to triumph over nature and enemies; in summary, they originate in the extraordinary vitality of the Vietnamese.

Producing and fighting, building and defending the country are the two wheels of history, wheels that have not once over the past several thousand years veered from the course of independence and sovereignty. of insuring the permanent survival of the nation.

This vitality is like an "ancient tree that flourishes for 10,000 years" because it symbolizes the ability of the people to constantly survive.

Producing and fighting are still the two inseparable factors of the existence and development of every form of society of man as long as some persons in the world have not left the realm of the inevitable in order to enter the realm of freedom. And, at all places in this world and in every age of history, it is the working people who write history.

These are the basic factors that have had a decisive impact upon the direction of development of Vietnam's history from the time the community of Viets first appeared in the arena of history.

This evolution occurred under the following geographical, historic and social conditions:

--The pressure exerted by nature as well as hostile powers, especially the constant threat of aggression from the north, quickly faced the small community of Viets with the need to unite and join forces to build and protect the fatherland and the race.

--Geographically, the country of Vietnam is diverse: it has mountainous jungles, midlands, lowlands, a seacoast and islands, all of which are linked together within a single structure by two factors: land and water.

--The population of Vietnam consists of many segments: the ethnic Vietnamese, Muong, Tay Nung, Thai, Dao, Meo, Ede, Javai, M'nong, Khmer, Cham and so forth, but all of them are the branches of one tree, are of the same origin and have no feelings of discrimination, jealousy or ethnic prejudice.

--The Vietnamese language is the ancient tongue of the nation. Today, it is the beautiful, common language used throughout the country because, with the help of the nation and national unity, of which it is the nervous system, it has been able to meet the countless challenges of history.

This is sufficient to show that for countless years in antiquity and the Middle Ages, before written languages appeared from abroad, the Viets had a very rich life, one based on the standards of these ages and created by their own hands.

In that life, the Viets cultivated beautiful material, cultural and spiritual values that served as the foundation for continuous progress by the nation despite the obstacles placed in their path by cruel rulers and oppressors in the course of history.

The foundation and soul of the national culture are the folk culture, which is created by the people. Thus, it possesses enduring vitality. Even after the infiltration by a foreign language, the Chinese language, the folk literature did not decline in importance nor was it eliminated, rather, it took advantage of the foreign written language to establish a scholarly literature of a totally national content and flavor, not one that was half native-half foreign. This was not the result of "enlightenment" on the part of the powerful Chinese hegemonist aggressors, rather, it was the indomitable spirit of the Viets and their legitimate pride in their national culture that created beautiful values and tradition which manifested the undying spirit of the nation and have enabled the national culture to maintain its freshness. Of utmost importance was that our very determined and resourceful forefathers thwarted the scheme of assimilation of the powerful Chinese hegemonists and created, protected and developed the national culture.

Thus, it can be said that the Vietnamese nation is one of the nations that has a very beautiful culture, the value of which has withstood the test of time, because it is a nation of charity and justice, of love and devotion to the country, the people, man, independence, freedom, happiness and peace and because its foundation is the people. It is a worthy contribution to the common culture of mankind.

Because of historic circumstances, primarily the ruling yoke of colonialism and the scheme of assimilation of the northern expansionists and hegemonists, a number of strata of Vietnamese lost their sense of value of the Vietnamese folk culture for a significant period of time.

However, as a result of the August Revolution, the light of Marxism-Leninism and the wise leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, the intelligence, value and importance of the folk culture were clearly understood and developed.

The cultural platform set forth by the party in 1943, the nature of which was national, scientific and popular, shed more light on these values.

When evaluating the victory of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, our party confirmed that one of the factors of that victory was that the party "smoothly and successfully combined the revolutionary science of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, and the extraordinary fighting energy and inexhaustible creativity of our people with the essence of the 4,000 year tradition of our nation."(1)

Thus, we must consider collecting and deeply researching, in a highly scientific spirit, the valuable cultural vestiges of our forefathers a major responsibility on the ideological and cultural front.

FOOTNOTES

1. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su Phat Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 8.

THE THOUGHT THAT RUNS THROUGHOUT THE SELECTED WORKS OF HO CHI MINH: "THERE IS NOTHING MORE PRECIOUS THAN INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM"

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 80 pp 25-30

[Article by Pham Thanh]

[Text] On the occasion of the three major anniversaries celebrated this year, the 50th anniversary of the founding of the party, the 90th anniversary of the birth of President Ho Chi Minh and the 35th anniversary of the founding of our state, Su That Publishing House has published the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh," which consist of two volumes of the important literary works, speeches and articles of President Ho from 1920 until the day of his death.

This valuable collection of works fully reflects the great thought that pervaded the very intense and rich revolutionary life of President Ho: the thought that "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom."

"There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," this was the strong determination that burned in his soul throughout his life and was, at the same time, the one thought that he constantly taught to our people in all stages of the revolution.

Before the revolution had achieved success, he appealed to our compatriots to wage a resolute and steadfast struggle for independence and freedom: "Beloved compatriots! Saving the nation is the work of everyone, all Vietnamese must assume part of this responsibility: those who have money must contribute money, those who have property must contribute property, those who have manpower must contribute manpower and those who have talent must contribute talent. As for myself, I promise to devote my energies to working with my friends and compatriots to win our independence and freedom, even if it means sacrificing my own life"(Volume I, p 322)(*).

When our people won political power, President Ho asserted the independence and freedom of our nation and voiced our determination to protect our independence: "Vietnam has the right to enjoy freedom and independence and has truly become a free and independent country. The entire nation of Vietnam is determined to devote its entire spirit and forces, life and wealth to maintaining this freedom and independence" (Volume I, p 354).

When the French colonialists invaded our country again, President Ho appealed to all the people to arise in a war of resistance to maintain our recently won independence and freedom. He expressed the will of our people to fight the enemy and defend the country: "We would rather sacrifice everything than suffer the loss of our country, than be enslaved" and appealed to "every Vietnamese, men and women, old and young alike, regardless of their religious beliefs, political affiliation or nationality, to arise and fight the French colonialists in order to save the fatherland. Those who have guns must use their guns, those who have swords must use swords and those who do not have swords must use hoes, shovels or sticks. Everyone must make every effort to fight the French colonialists and save the country"(Volume I, p 403).

During the decisive hours of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, when the U.S. imperialists poured troops into the South and pursued a "scorched earth" policy in a vain attempt to conquer our compatriots in the South while boldly using their air force in attacks against the North, including Hanoi and Haiphong, in a futile attempt to pressure us into negotiating on the basis of their terms, President Ho issued his appeal for determination to fight and win: "The war might drag on for 5, 10, 20 years or longer. Hanoi, Haiphong and a number of cities and enterprises might be destroyed but the people of Vietnam are determined not to be afraid! There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom. On the day of victory, our people will rebuild our country to be grander and even more beautiful"(Volume II, p 430).

Shortly before his death, he once again advised us: "The war of resistance against the United States might drag on. Our compatriots might have to endure heavy losses of property and human life. Regardless, we must be determined to fight the U.S. pirates until total victory has been won.

We must fight as long as the mountains and rivers, as long as one person remains. When victory is won over the United States, we will rebuild the country to be ten times more beautiful than today!"

(Volume II, p 542)

The appeals to save the nation that were made by President Ho resound throughout the struggle by our nation over the past 50 years like proclamations by the mountains and rivers echoing into the future. President Ho's determination to protect our independence and freedom was the determination of a nation that has a 4,000 year history of struggling to build and protect its country.

The truth is always simple and profound. The thinking that "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," which was presented by President Ho in many different ways, is such a truth. Its power to persuade and inspire is extremely strong. This truth was accepted by our people with the full force of their ardent patriotism and turned by them into revolutionary action.

There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom! Because, to lose one's independence and freedom is to lose everything. This is something that our entire nation as well as each and every Vietnamese felt during the days we lived in misery and shame under the domination of French colonialism.

Feeling deep pain over the loss of our country, President Ho clearly reflected the misery of our people at that time in a series of famous articles, especially in his work "French Colonialization on Trial." It described how peasants were caught between the "developers" and their own "protectors," from the governor-general to the colonialists masquerading as clergy, who stole all their land and turned them into persons who had no place to live in when alive, no place to be buried when they died. It described how workers lived miserable lives as a result of being exploited by the capitalists, forced to work beyond the point of exhaustion and being beaten and maltreated as though they were lowly animals. It described how our people were forced to become cannon fodder to protect the holdings of the capitalist "sharks" in World War I and World War II; how they were compelled to buy alcohol and poison themselves and make the liquor monopolists in the "mother country" wealthy; and how they were forced to pay all kinds of unreasonable taxes, from the cropland tax, housing tax, market tax and ferry tax to the personal tax and even a "blood tax." It described scenes of "whole groups of old men, pregnant women and young children tied together two by two in a line to respond to charges of having violated customs laws"; scenes of innocent persons being mistreated or beaten to death by some nameless soldier who was never punished for his crime; and scenes of entire villages being massacred and razed because the people refused to live in shame under the laws of their "protectors." Losing every human right, this was the fate of every Vietnamese when our people lost their independence and freedom. President Ho said: "Never before in any country has every human right been so barbarously, viciously and brazenly violated"(Volume I, p 196).

President Ho also pointed out that love of independence and freedom has been a traditional virtue of our nation throughout its 4,000 year history. In many articles, President Ho used the example of slain heroes to motivate and inspire our people to display a high determination to struggle for their independence and freedom. He said: "The many great wars of resistance in our history prove our people's patriotic spirit. We have a right to be proud of the glorious pages of history written during the eras of the Trung Sisters, Mrs. Trieu, Tran Hung Dao, Le Loi, Quang Trung, etc. We must record the feats of our national heroes because they are symbols of a heroic nation."(Volume I, p 485).

He appealed to our people to follow the example of our forefathers and arise in a successful struggle for independence and freedom.

"Children of Hong Tien!
Unite quickly and strongly
Men and women, rich and poor
Young and old, unite together
Provide manpower if you can, money if you can
Join together to win back our sovereignty"(Volume I, p 334)

To President Ho, "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" was not only the truth of our nation, but also a universal truth that applies to all colonies.

With ardent patriotism and a deep love of the people, President Ho travelled throughout the world in search of a path for saving the country, saving the people.

It was on this long journey that he came to see that the same suffering and shame existed in all colonies; independence and freedom were not only the pressing demands of Vietnam, but also of all the colonial nations, which constituted three-fourths the world's population. He denounced the imperialist colonialists, in general (be they the French colonialists, the British colonialists, the U.S. colonialists, the Italian colonialists and so forth). Because, colonialism had robbed the colonies, in general (be they in Asia, Africa or Latin America), of their basic national rights and their human rights, of the most sacred, most precious rights of these nations.

He considered the pain and suffering of the people of Madagascar, of Dahomey, of Algeria, of Syria, of Haiti and so forth to be his own pain and suffering.

He appealed to the peoples of the colonies to arise in a revolution to liberate themselves from the yoke of "the deprivation of the rights that are closely linked to the dignity of man, such as the freedom of association, the freedom of assembly, freedom of the press and freedom to travel, even travel in the countries of their brothers"; liberate themselves from "having to submit to heavy servile labor" and "having to pay the salt tax"; liberate themselves from being poisoned and being forced to consume liquor and opium, as in Indochina, while still being forced to stand guard at nights to protect the property of the colonialist "sharks, as is the case in Algeria; and liberate themselves from "doing the same work as Europeans but receiving far less pay"(Volume I, p 216).

He charted the course by which our people and the peoples of the other colonies could win back the independence and freedom they had lost. It was the course of revolution. He said: "With a revolution, we shall survive; without a revolution, we shall die"(Volume I, p 306). And, he also said that, in order to carry out a revolution, it is necessary to establish unity, unity among the colonies, unity between the colonies and the oppressed workers and laboring people in the mother country.

Closely linking the independence and freedom of Vietnam to the independence and freedom of the other nations, President Ho always gave our people a clear understanding of the broad significance of their struggle. He said: "Our people are fighting and dying not only for their own freedom and independence, but also for the freedom and independence of other nations and for world peace"(Volume II, p 367).

Illuminated by Marxism-Leninism, President Ho's thinking "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" is extremely profound and broad in content.

In the past, our nation experienced long periods of living as an independent Vietnam. However, that independence was constantly threatened and periodically violated. Even when our nation lived in independence, the vast majority of our people still did not enjoy true freedom. The feudal system only gave a stratum of very few persons who had special rights and privileges the freedom to oppress and exploit the mass of working people, who were robbed of every freedom.

President Ho spent days and nights thinking about how to achieve total, true and everlasting independence and freedom. Neither the path of Japanese style modernism, the Chinese Tan Hoi style of revolution nor the bourgeois, democratic

revolution in Europe brought independence and freedom to nations. In the course of searching for the path of national salvation, he encountered Leninism and found in it the only correct answer: to achieve total, true and everlasting independence and freedom, national independence must be closely linked to socialism. He said: "At first, it was patriotism, not communism, that led me to believe in Lenin, to believe in the 3rd International. Gradually, while studying Marxist-Leninist theory and performing practical work in the struggle, I came to understand that only socialism, communism can liberate the oppressed nations and the working people of the world from the yoke of slavery"(Volume II, p 176).

President Ho found the answer for which he was searching not only in theory, but in practice as well. At that time, socialism had become reality in the Soviet Union, thus making him even more aware of how to thoroughly resolve the national and colonial questions. He said: "Lenin laid the foundation for a new and thoroughly revolutionary era in the colonies"(Volume I, p 76) and "Lenin's solving of the very complicated national question in Soviet Russia is a strong weapon of propaganda for the colonies"(Volume I, p 77).

President Ho concretized Lenin's arguments concerning the colonial question in the image of a leech with two suckers, describing imperialism as the common enemy of the working class and laboring people in the "mother country" and of the colonial peoples. He appealed to the working class and laboring people in the "mother country" and the oppressed peoples to unite in keeping with Lenin's slogan: "Proletariat of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite" because "in the face of capitalism and imperialism, our interests are the same"(Volume I, p 217). Whereas the colonial peoples must unite with the proletariat and the laboring people in the mother country in the struggle to liberate their nations, the working class and laboring people in the "mother country" also must unite with the colonial peoples in order to overthrow the bourgeoisie, liberate society and usher in an era of freedom in their country.

The truth of the age, that national independence is closely linked to socialism, was presented by President Ho in a very moving and creative formula: "Only by liberating the proletariat is it possible to liberate the nation; both of these liberations can only be the work of communism and the world revolution"(Volume I, p 223).

Having discovered the course for winning true independence and freedom and elevating the truth "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" to the level of the age, President Ho set forth the correct line for the Vietnamese revolution. It was the line of brandishing the two banners of national independence and socialism and correctly and smoothly coordinating these two banners throughout the process of the revolution in our country, a process divided into two organically related stages: the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution.

President Ho pointed out that the first prerequisite determining the successful implementation of this line is the leadership of the vanguard party of the working class, a political party that has Marxism-Leninism as its ideological foundation. He raised the question: "What is the first thing that a revolution must have?"

His response was: "It must first have a revolutionary party to mobilize and organize the masses at home and establish liaison with the oppressed peoples and the proletariat everywhere"(Volume I, p 240). The backbone of this party must be Leninism. Because, "there are many theories and philosophies, but the most genuine, surest and most revolutionary philosophy is Leninism"(Volume I, p 240).

After our party was founded, President Ho and our party consistently led our country's revolution in accordance with the line that had been adopted and on the basis of strategic guidelines, tactics and revolutionary methods suited to the requirements and goals of each stage and period of the revolution.

The thinking "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" guided the entirety of the strategy, tactics and revolutionary methods of our party and President Ho. It reflected the principles and the thoroughness in the line and strategy and insured that this line would be flexibly applied through suitable tactics. Because "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," in principle, we had to insure the "success" of the revolution "everywhere," insure thorough success as was the case with the Russian Revolution, in the spirit of being "determined to win our independence even if it means burning the entire Truong Son Mountain Range"; insure leadership by the party; use "workers and farmers" as our foundation, that is, build a strong alliance of workers and farmers; and utilize the revolutionary force of the masses, that is, in summary, "follow Marxism-Leninism." At the same time, also because "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," we had to adopt flexible strategies during each period of time on the basis of the specific goals of the revolution and the specific comparison of forces in order to win gradual victory for the revolution and eventually win total victory.

When our country was still under the colonialist yoke of slavery, national independence was the highest priority. Firmly adhering to this goal of the revolution, President Ho and our party mobilized the patriotism of all our people, rallied every revolutionary force within the country to establish a broad national united front on the basis of the alliance of workers and farmers led by the working class and, in this manner, turned the slogan "unity, unity, broad unity, success, success, sweeping success" into reality.

Through the thinking "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," President Ho and our party mobilized every revolutionary force of our times, including sympathetic forces within the imperialist countries that invaded our country, thereby establishing a broad and powerful world revolutionary front supporting our country's revolution; at the same time, President Ho and our party pursued a policy to highly isolate the enemy at home and in the world, thereby causing them to lose all support and become weak.

The thinking "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" was truly the foundation upon which President Ho and our party built the powerful political forces of our country's revolution, achieved the combined strength of our nation and the strength of our times for our country's revolution and coordinated the military struggle with the political and diplomatic struggles in order to win victories over enemies many times larger than we.

The truth "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," which runs throughout the "Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh," is of universal significance in the past, the present and the future.

Today, under the leadership of the party and President Ho, our people have won true independence and freedom. However, enemies of all kinds--the imperialists led by the U.S. imperialists, whom we defeated, and the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles, with whom we are now struggling--are collaborating with one another in a vain attempt to once again steal this precious asset from us.

Imbued with President Ho's thinking "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," we are determined to make independence and freedom--the great fruits of our people's efforts--permanent reality in our country. This determination is evident in the tremendous efforts made by our people to successfully carry out the two basic tasks of the revolution at this time: successfully building socialism and firmly protecting our beloved socialist fatherland.

FOOTNOTE

- * The passages within quotation marks in this article are excerpts from: "Ho Chi Minh Tuyen Tap" [Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh], Volume I and II, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980.

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NGUYEN TRAI'S THOUGHT AGAINST CHINESE EXPANSIONISM AND HEGEMONISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 80 pp 31-34, 70

[Article by Luong Bich]

[Text] Nguyen Trai was a great national-salvation hero, a gifted military man, a poet, a major writer, and an outstanding thinker of our nation in the 15th Century. His thought, sentiment, and activities in all spheres were of a highly combative nature. His prose and poetry also served the fight against aggression. His great political and military thought and his brilliant literary talent made great contributions to the enterprise of defeating the aggressors in all spheres: economic, military, political, and diplomatic.

Nguyen Trai's great political thought in opposition to Chinese expansionism and hegemonism was a torch which illuminated all of his patriotic activities and was also a strong blow in the face of the warmongering aggressors of that time. In Nguyen Trai, that thought was manifested very clearly in literature as well as in action.

Throughout the period of war against the enemy, Nguyen Trai's thought against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists was a starting point for the lines, directions, and slogans for fighting the enemy in order to win complete victory. That thought was as strong as an army which directly attacked the enemy.

From the beginning of the war to its conclusion, Nguyen Trai continually and severely criticized China's war-loving expansionist policy, which he called "grandeur-loving" and merit-loving" or "grandeur-loving and merit-coveting." "Grandeur-loving" meant liking to be big, to expand one's territory, i.e. expansionism. "Merit-loving" or "merit-coveting" was coveting military exploits, that is, liking combat and loving war. China's evil of "grandeur-loving and merit-loving" which Nguyen Trai continually criticized was the evil of "war-loving expansionism."

Nguyen Trai not only criticized China's evil of "grandeur-loving and merit-loving" during the Ming period but also criticized that evil in the Qin, Han, Song, and Yuan periods. He regarded it as a traditional Chinese evil and severely criticized it.

He clearly demonstrated that although China's evil of "grandeur-loving and merit-loving" was traditional, it had always been defeated. Even when they were aggressive, war-loving, and continually attacking in all directions, as during the Qin, Han, and Tang periods, they were ultimately defeated. The same was true with regard to Vietnam: it was inevitable that the aggressors would be defeated. He told the Ming bandits, "In the past, during the Qin and Han dynasties, China invaded and occupied the land of the South. However, nature has separated the South from the North, which has high mountains, large rivers, and immense territory. But even if it is as strong as Qin or as rich as Sui, it cannot be infatuated with power." (1)

The enemy was defeated in all periods, as Nguyen Trai clearly pointed out:

"Liu Gong coveted merit but was defeated. Zhao Zhi (2) had grandiose designs but was undone.

The Ham Tu river mouth captured Toa Do, and the Bach Dang sea killed O Ma.

When the past is examined, the proof is still clear."

(Binh Ngo Dai Cao)

Nguyen Trai always affirmed that in war against the Chinese aggressors it was always the same: we were certain to be victorious, the enemy was certain to be defeated. He also pointed out that although China was large it was not strong, that even if it were aggressive and belligerent, and attacked east and west, it had many weaknesses it could not overcome, so it could not avoid defeat in its plots to invade other countries. It had been defeated in the previous periods, and it was certain to be defeated, even more heavily, during the Ming period. Nguyen Trai addressed the enemy directly: "In the past the Qin dynasty annexed six countries and dominated the four seas, but it did not mend its ways so it fell apart. Now the Wu dynasty (i.e. the Ming dynasty) is not as strong as the Qin but is too severe and in less than a year have lost many troops. That is the decree of heaven and is not up to man. At present, to the north it confronts the Tien Yuan, and within the country it is worried about San Zhou, a trans-riverine region over which it has not gained complete control, so how could it hope to take over other countries." (3)

He pointed out to them, "We see that in your country there is internal strife and, externally, there are enemies along the northern border. Furthermore, the court officials are contending for power; lower-ranking officials are dictatorial; there are drought and grasshoppers, and there have been natural calamities one year after another; and in all four directions rebels are swarming like bees. Everything is in disorder, is that not evident? Intelligent people are aware of problems before they arise. Why were you so late in realizing the situation and want to be so miserable?" (4)

He continually pointed out the enemy's peril of defeat:

"In your country kings die and are buried every year, and family members kill one another. Furthermore, the crops are a total loss, coffin-makers are busy, governmental decrees are harsh, and bandits are swarming like bees. Since the Hong Vu reign period many troops have been lost and the people are exhausted. Heaven has caused calamities during this period." (5)

Nguyen Trai paid much attention to exacerbate the enemy's weaknesses, while also stressing our strengths. Our fundamental strength was that our cause was just. And justice will certainly defeat cruelty. Nguyen Trai told the enemy, "Even a bee has a poisonous sting, so how could it be that in our country there is no one who is a skilled strategist? Do not disregard us because you see that there are few of us." (6)

Nguyen Trai stressed:

"Although our country is far beyond the Five Mountain Ranges, it is famous as a land of literati, resourceful talents who are present in all periods." (7)

Nguyen Trai analyzed for the enemy our strengths and why our people were certain to win victory in war against aggression.

First, "Our country has many troops, a unified will, a strong fighting spirit, strong morale, and resourceful people and brave generals, who are as thick as a dense jungle and intertwine with one another." (8)

Second, "We are united top to bottom and are extremely heroic; our troops are well trained and have good weapons, and they both till the fields and fight the enemy." (9)

Third, "We are tempered with benevolence, which causes everyone to be extremely loyal, close to those above, and willing to die for their leaders. When those troops oppose the enemy, anyone who does as we wish will live, while those who do not will die." (10)

And he was certain that "to obey that righteous army is to live but to oppose it is to die." (11)

Nguyen Trai, who thoroughly understood the enemy, had absolute confidence in our nation's victory. Even though their country was large, no matter how aggressive and belligerent they were, whether the Qin, Han, Tang, or Song of old, or the Ming of that period, they were certain to be defeated.

Nguyen Trai's resolute thought in opposition to the belligerent expansionists and his careful analyses of our strengths and the enemy's weaknesses contributed to improving our troops' morale and our people's determination to fight and win, and also shook the enemy's aggressive will and fighting spirit.

With regard to the relationship between Vietnam and China, Nguyen Trai always affirmed that Vietnam was an independent, sovereign country which had never been part of China, and he often told the aggressors that:

"In ancient times your king ruled only nine prefectures, and Giao Chi lay beyond those nine prefectures. So it is clear that Giao Chi has never been part of China." (12)

He rejected the wily hegemonistic schemes of China, which regarded the "four seas as one house," which meant that the whole world was one country -- China. He said, "The territory of Giao Nam (i.e. Vietnam) is truly beyond the four seas." (13)

Nguyen Trai not only affirmed the long-standing independence of the homeland and also affirmed the complete independence of the culture and customs of the Vietnamese nation. He said directly to the Chinese rulers of the Ming period: "Our country is located in a distant area, far from the customs of China." (14)

He did not recognize any dependence on foreign countries: our people were not dependent, our territory was not dependent, and our culture and customs were not dependent. That lack of dependence could never result in our country being inferior to other countries. On the contrary, the independent development of our country, of the noble culture of the homeland, and of the nation's heroic traditions was a great source of pride for Nguyen Trai and our people in all areas. In the letters he sent to the aggressors, he always stressed those basic factors: our independent tradition, our civilized tradition, and our tradition of heroism. Those were three factors which created our people's enduring strength, a peerless strength with which to build and defend the nation. After the defeat of the Ming, Nguyen Trai was even more confident in our people's great strength, and he stressed the factors which created that strength in the first sentences of his "Binh Ngo Dai Cao": "Our country of Dai Viet is truly a civilized country. Our territory is separate, and the customs of China and of our country also differ. In the Trieu, Dinh, Ly, and Tran we established our nation. Like the Han, Tang, Song, and Yuan dynasties, we were our own masters. Although we have alternately strong and weak, we have never lacked for heroes."

On the basis of his views regarding national independence, Nguyen Trai vehemently rejected China's policy of great-nation hegemonism. He pointed out that the relationships between nations are equal, and that relationships between large nations and small nations are also equal and harmonious. He regarded that as a diplomatic principle. He told the enemy, "The way to conduct relations with neighboring nations is the way of pleasing heaven and respecting heaven." (15)

He analyzed more specifically the meaning of the expression "please heaven and respect heaven.": "A big nation which has good relations with small nations knows how to please heaven, and a small nation which has good relations with large nations knows how to respect the decree of heaven."

If a big nation is arrogant and commits aggression against and attacks other nations there will be continuous warfare and the people of both sides will be miserable, and many lives and much property will be wasted, because of warfare. Not only will small nations be devastated but often small nations will put up a strong resistance against the big nations, which will have to surrender disgracefully. China has tasted such disastrous defeats. Nguyen Trai gave specific proof: "Emperor Tai Wang of the Zhou Dynasty worshiped the country of Xun Yu, and Wu Ti of the Han Dynasty made peace with the Xiong Nu," i.e. the Son of Heaven of China's Zhou Dynasty had to pay tribute to Xun Yu, a small nation that was part of the Xiong Nu, while Emperor Wu Ti of the Han Dynasty surrendered to the Xiong Nu, a small nation to the north which China reared as "barbarian" and "savage." Here, Nguyen Trai pointed out some examples from ancient China, so that the enemy generals would not be very embarrassed when they read his letters. In fact, there have been many instances in which expansionist, belligerent China has had to surrender to small countries. Emperor Yuan Ti of the Han had to give one of his prettiest wives -- Zhao Jun Wang Xiang -- to the Xiong Nu king as a peace settlement. The Sons of Heaven of the Tang Dynasty twice had to present princesses, their children, to King

Tu Fen. The first time, they presented Princess Wen Cheng, and several decades later they presented Princess Jin Cheng. During the Song Dynasty, China was still belligerent, but was very weak and was continually threatened and attacked by small nations to the north -- Liao and Xia -- which forced it to turn over to them land, people, and tribute.

Those historical truths clearly show us that although China is a large country it is not strong, and that its expansionist and hegemonist aspirations are truly insane. There have been no periods in which the Chinese ruling class has not committed aggression. When China has been strong it has committed aggression and when China has been weak it has committed aggression. Even when the country has been in a state of chaos, with people killing one another like crazy, such as during the Three Kingdoms, the Sixteen Kingdoms, and the Five Dynasties periods, it has continued to commit aggression. Sometimes it has been invaded and has not been able to resist, so they have been ready to surrender and to cede land to the invaders, but they have continued to commit aggression against other countries and other peoples. During the Song Dynasty they ceded land to the country of Liao to the north, while committing aggression against our country to the south. But the famous general Ly Thuong Kiet and our soldiers and people of the Ly Dynasty inflicted a heavy defeat on the invading Song army. About 50 years later the Song were attacked by a small country -- Nu Zhen -- which occupied the northern half of China to the north and established the country of Jin. From then on, Song China consisted only of the southern half of the country. In the 13th Century, another small nation, the Mongols, arose, took all of China, and set up the Yuan Dynasty, which ruled China for more than a century. Yuan armies also invaded Vietnam, but three times they were expelled from our country by the soldiers and people of the Tran Dynasty. As soon as the Ming Dynasty replaced the Yuan Dynasty it aggressively plotted to expand and invade other countries. Immediately after he ascended to the throne, the Ming emperor Zhou Yuan Zhang styled his rule the "heavenly Dynasty and Superior Kingdom," and arrogantly proclaimed, "Since ancient times the Emperor has ruled all under heaven; within, China has ruled the barbarians, and without the barbarians have worshipped China. And as we all know, in 1406 the Ming Dynasty sent 800,000 troops to invade Vietnam. But the invading Ming armies became bogged down in their war of aggression in Vietnam. During a continuous period of more than 10 years, the people of Vietnam arose and fought them everywhere. They were unable to establish a protectorate. Ultimately, the patriotic troops of Lam Son, under the leadership of Le Loi and Nguyen Trai, routed the aggressor armies. The enemy troops "pathetically pleaded for mercy and prostrated themselves" (from the "Binh Ngo Dai Cao"), surrendered, and asked to be spared execution so that they could return to their homes.

Nguyen Trai's thoughts against Chinese expansionism and hegemonism were representative of our people's determination to oppose aggressive expansionism during all previous periods. Those thoughts were manifested in very correct evaluation of the enemy, who were numerous but not strong, and of the aggressor armies, which were cruel and unjust. They were also manifested in the strong, resolute acts of our soldiers and people, who fought very strongly and fiercely, fought the enemy to the end, fought very strongly, and defended every inch of our homeland's land.

Nguyen Trai's thought against Chinese expansionism and hegemonism, and the excellent experiences of our forefathers of the era of Nguyen Trai and of all periods of the past in fighting the expansionists are very valuable lessons for us. Today, under

the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, those lessons have become sharp weapons with which to smash all expansionist, aggressive plots of any enemy when they approach to our beloved homeland.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nguyen Trai, "Quan Trung Tu Minh Tap" (Admonitions to the Righteous Army). Social Science Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p.122.
2. The person in question here must be Emperor Song Jen Zong Zhao Xu, whose name was miscopied as "Zhao Zhi," a general in the Song army which invaded our country in the time of Ly Thuong Kiet.
3. "Quan Trung Tu Minh Tap," p. 133
4. Op. Cit. , pp. 127-128.
5. Op. Cit., p. 139
6. Nguyen Trai, "Quoc Trieu Du Minh Nhan Vang Phuc Thu Tap" (Court Relations With the Ming), in "Nguyen Trai Danh Giac Cuu Nuoc" (Nguyen Trai Fights the Enemy to Save the Nation), People's Army Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p. 415.
7. "Nguyen Trai Danh Giac Cuu Nuoc," p. 483.
8. Op. Cit., p. 338.
9. Op. Cit., p. 374.
10. Op. Cit., p. 347.
11. Op. Cit., p. 380.
12. "Hoang Le Hoang Cac Di Van" (Testaments of the Le Kings), in "Nguyen Trai Danh Giac Cuu Nuoc," p. 456.
13. "Quan Trung Tu Minh Tap," p. 187.
14. Op. Cit., p. 146.
15. "Hoang Le Hoang Cac Di Van," Chinese-language version of the Social Science Information Institute.

A NEW STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT FOR VINH LAC DISTRICT IN THE PROCESS OF REORGANIZING PRODUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 80 pp 35-39 and 59

[Article by Hoang Ham, secretary of the Vinh Lac District Party Committee, Vinh Phu Province]

[Text] Reorganizing Production and Developing the Potentials Lying in Cropland and Labor

In past years in Vinh Lac, although it underwent changes as a result of reorganizing its production, the results it achieved were limited and it did not truly move forward on the basis of developing the potentials lying in its arable land and labor well. Land continued to lie fallow, crop yields were declining and the habits of planting companion crops, overlapping catch crops and subsidiary food crops were slowly disappearing. Livestock production was developing slowly and the traditional handicraft trades and many skilled handicraftsmen were not being developed or utilized well; consequently, the results of production were low and the people within the district were encountering difficulties in their everyday lives. Immediately after the merger of the districts, Vinh Lac turned its efforts toward inspecting its arable land and clearly analyzing the amount, quality and characteristics of each type of soil at each place while beginning to formulate economic development planning for the district and establishing an allocation of crops and livestock suited to each area.

Once its planning had been completed, Vinh Lac had three economic zones. Each zone has its own strongpoints and the three zones supplement and support one another, creating common strengths for the entire district.

On the basis of the district's planning and establishment of zones, each cooperative inspected and reassessed its arable land, formulated general planning, established an allocation of varieties and specific planting formulas suited to each season and each type of soil, revised its economic plan, adopted a plan for investing in the construction of material-technical bases and established intensive cultivation measures for each type crop and each different type of soil.

Developing the production of grain and food products is the primary task of Vinh Lac District. This task is being carried out by means of the intensive cultivation

of rice, the development of the production of subsidiary food crops, especially winter subsidiary food crops, and the development of livestock production, particularly hog production. At the same time, Vinh Lac has attached importance to developing the artisan and handicraft trades and the other trades within agriculture and accelerating the planting of industrial crops in order to create local sources of raw materials for the various trades, gradually establish an agro-industrial structure and closely link industry to agriculture on the basic level.

To carry out the tasks mentioned above, it was first of all necessary to concentrate our efforts on successfully building water conservancy projects and fields. During the 2 years 1978 and 1979, millions of mandays and millions of dong in self-acquired capital were invested in the repair of the system of irrigation and drainage canals and ditches, the construction of three electric pump stations and the equipping with a number of additional diesel pumps. As a result, we increased the amount of area irrigated to 80 percent, thereby creating the conditions for gradually initiating intensive cultivation and gradually overcoming drought and waterlogging. Together with investing in material-technical bases for production, we have implemented various measures related to intensive cultivation, focusing our efforts on resolving the problems related to fertilizer, the preparation of fields, seeds, the seasons and planting density. In order to develop the potentials that lie in arable land, establishing a suitable allocation of crops is the factor of foremost importance, consequently, we have given much attention to crop varieties, taking determined steps to replace all old varieties that have declined in vigor, varieties of poor quality and impure varieties with new varieties suited to each place. In technical management, we consider the guidance of planting seasons to be the work of foremost importance, work which requires that a combination of measures be taken to insure that each crop is planted in exact accordance with the planting schedule.

These jobs have helped to bring about a new change in crop yields. Compared to 1977, the rice yield increased 12.7 percent, the sweet potato yield increased 33 percent and the western potato yield increased 40 percent in 1979. The 1979-1980 5th month-spring rice yield was an average 28.25 quintals per hectare, a 25 percent increase over the 1978-1979 5th month-spring season.

In the effort to develop the potentials of our arable land, Vinh Lac has restored the movement to raise companion crops and overlapping catch crops; full use is being made of arable land and the coefficient of cropland use increased from 1.7 in 1977 to 1.92 in 1979. In particular, the winter season has become a main season; the amount of area under cultivation during the winter season increased from 2,560 hectares in 1977-1978 to 3,080 hectares in 1978-1979 and 4,813 hectares in 1979-1980, which is the equivalent of 40 percent of the amount of land under the cultivation of 10th month rice; each household raises an average of 3 sao of winter crops and the output of subsidiary crops, in paddy equivalent, reached 10,800 tons this winter.

The results achieved in the effort to develop the potentials lying in our arable land have been closely linked to raising labor productivity. In 1977, the average farm worker only worked 0.47 cultivated hectare but, in 1979, the average farm worker worked 0.645 cultivated hectare. Labor within agriculture has been redistributed, with the number of laborers in livestock production and the trades

increasing. Labor has been reorganized along the lines of specialization and cooperation. In addition to strengthening the basic production units, specialized units have gradually been established.

Industry and the artisan and handicraft trades have developed rapidly; output value increased from 5.7 million dong in 1977 to 8 million dong in 1978 and 10.5 million dong in 1979, an 84 percent increase compared to 1977. The traditional trades of the locality have gradually been restored; a number of new production installations in such trades as embroidery, rug weaving, the extraction of essential peppermint oil, the raising of snakes and so forth are being established. Of importance is the fact that, in the development of the artisan and handicraft trades, better use is being made of the subsidiary products, discarded materials and surplus labor within agriculture, thereby helping to increase the income of cooperatives and raise the value of the manday. As of 1979, the district had 20 agricultural cooperatives that had achieved an output value of 1 million to 1.8 million dong and 6 cooperatives at which the average laborer produces from 800 to 1,000 dong worth of product each year.

Improving the Organization of Labor and the Contract System Within the Cooperative

In the past, the organizing of specialized units directly subordinate to the cooperative and the shifting from the three contracts for basic production units to bonuses and penalties for each job had the following consequence: specialized units were not closely linked to the basic production units, thereby weakening the basic production units and no one was responsible for the final product. The distribution of products was based on averages and did not provide incentive for every laborer.

In late 1977 and early 1978, we consolidated the basic production units and changed the method of contracting to be consistent with the level of management of installations and the characteristics of each type of crop. During the 1978 winter season and the 1978-1979 winter-spring season, this method of contracting was expanded to the entire district. As regards rice, the provincial party committee agreed to allow Vinh Lac to conduct pilot projects at three places in the use of output contracts for production units with bonuses and penalties in product. During the 1978-1979 winter-spring season and the 1979 10th month season, this method of contracting for rice was expanded to the entire district.

In guiding the implementation of the various forms of contracts, the following principles must be respected:

--Not disrupting the production plan of the cooperative or production regulations within each zone or those that apply to each crop in fields;

--Instruments of production, such as cropland, implements and draft power must be under unified management;

--The collective of the cooperative must control the product that is produced and distribute it in a unified manner.

The specific methods of contracting are:

1. For rice and corn crops, there are output contracts, cost contracts, economic-technical quotas and bonuses and penalties based on the product produced for production units (a bonus of 80 percent of the product produced over the quota, and a penalty of 80 percent for any shortfall).
2. For such tuberous subsidiary food crops as sweet potatoes, western potatoes, peanuts and legumes, there are output contracts, cost ceilings and product bonuses and penalties for production units (100 percent bonus and penalty). The production unit can carry out the contract as a whole unit or can contract with cooperative members and their families for fertilizing and harvesting; however, the collective must undertake the preparation of fields and assume the costs of seed, fertilizer, irrigation, the prevention and control of insects and diseases and crop protection and cannot leave them up to cooperative member families.
3. In hog production, depending upon the size of the collective hog herd and the results of production during each season, the cooperatives are allowed to allocate from 7 to 12 percent of their grain for livestock production. After grain has been allocated for collective livestock production, the remaining grain is used by the cooperative to contract with cooperative members for the raising of livestock under one of two forms of contracting, either a contract to raise livestock from birth or a contract to fatten livestock, with the latter being considered the principal form of contract (4 kilograms of grain to produce 1 kilogram of hog, live weight). This method makes it possible for every cooperative member family to raise livestock, thereby increasing the size of the hog herd, increasing the market weight of hogs, increasing the output of meat products and providing much fertilizer for intensive cultivation to raise crop yields.
4. As regards pisciculture, the cooperatives only deposit fish in large bodies of water. With regard to the small ponds within the hamlets, the cooperatives contract with each production unit for the raising of fish, assigning them an output contract and a costs contract based on ceilings with appended bonuses and penalties based on the quantity of products produced. This method causes the production units to exercise their right of collective ownership, improve their management, make effective use of existing lakes and ponds to produce new products for the cooperative and correct the problem of lakes and ponds lying fallow.

The contracting methods presented above are consistent with the realities of production, yield good economic returns and have a practical impact in many areas:

--To begin with, these contracting methods have the effect of encouraging the laborer to produce with enthusiasm and absorb every source of labor in production. The quantity and quality of labor have increased markedly, laborers display diligence and industry and invest additional time in fertilizing and intensively cultivating crops.

--These methods of contracting have the effect of stimulating the effort to make full use of the potentials of arable land and develop the practices of rotation cultivation and the cultivation of companion crops and overlapping catch crops. Fallow land,

ponds and lakes are put into effective use. The amount of area under cultivation has constantly been increasing. During the recent winter-spring season, a season during which more than a few difficulties were encountered, the total amount of area under cultivation still increased by 6.3 percent compared to the previous season.

--Under these methods of contracting the principal instruments of production, such as cropland, tools, draft power and the other instruments, are more tightly managed, the work of the production unit, of each laborer and of each cooperative member family is more closely linked to the results of production, to the products that are produced and the pilfering and theft of various types of products have declined significantly. These contracting methods do not disrupt plans, planning or production regulations, rather, they have the effect of strengthening the production relations within agriculture, cause production to truly develop, increase the social product, improve the standard of living of the people and increase the contributions made to the state.

Strengthening Weak and Deficient Cooperatives

Following the merger, Vinh Lac District had 47 agricultural cooperatives, 15 of which were classified as weak and deficient, several of which had been weak and deficient for many years.

These weak and deficient cooperatives were generally places that had much undeveloped potential; the total amount of farmland at these places equalled 37 percent of the farmland of the entire district, their population constituted 31 percent of the district's population and their labor force equalled 35 percent of the district's labor force; however, their total output of grain each year only equalled 24 to 26 percent of the district's total output. The annual rice yields at these 15 cooperatives was roughly 1 ton per hectare, less than the average yield of the district. The standard of living of the people was not being maintained, contributions to the state were not large and the capital being accumulated by cooperatives was insignificant or non-existent.

At the weak and deficient cooperatives, production conditions posed many difficulties, fields were uneven and bumpy, the soil was depleted, drought and waterlogging had occurred for many years without being resolved, material bases were very few in number and the lack of liquid capital prevented cooperatives from building projects supporting production. This was the situation at 7 of the 15 weak and deficient cooperatives.

The places at which the movement was weak and deficient lacked a corps of strong cadres who dared to take action and knew how to perform their jobs and the contingent of core cadres was unstable, was constantly being reassigned; in addition, the corps of party members was weak, internal factions had developed and there was a prolonged lack of unity. As a result, the fighting strength of the party organization was very limited, the activities of the mass organizations were weak, the government was rightist in nature, many negative phenomena had developed, etc.

The district itself had also committed shortcomings. The guidance being provided by the district was inconsistent in nature and did not correct the weaknesses of each installation, consequently, the situation changed slowly or not at all.

On the basis of the situation presented above, our district party committee decided that the strengthening of weak and deficient installations is the responsibility of the district party committee and the district people's committee, primarily the standing committee of the district party committee, with the greatest responsibility being born by the secretary and deputy secretary of the district party committee. We realized that there were many major problems that had to be resolved, problems that could not simply be resolved by sending a few cadres to installations to provide guidance, cadres who would not have all the authority needed to resolve these problems, would not have all the authority needed to mobilize the various sectors within the district to participate in this effort. On the other hand, it was necessary to mobilize the various sectors of the district to concentrate their efforts on helping to consolidate weak and deficient cooperatives in a manner consistent with the function of each sector, thereby avoiding the previous practice of doing that which was easy while avoiding that which was difficult. At the same time, we had to mobilize the various villages within the district, especially the well developed villages, to lead the weak and deficient cooperatives in a number of areas, such as seed, capital, manpower, draft power and supplies in order to maintain their season schedules, help them with management and production experience, etc.

--The first job that had to be performed was to help the weak and deficient cooperatives re-establish their production guidelines and determine directions and stages of development and methods of working suited to the conditions and capabilities of each place. The district intensified its guidance and sent cadres to help weak and deficient places formulate yearly and seasonal production plans, gradually rearrange their allocation of varieties and crops, develop efficient planting formulas, make full use of arable land and increase the amount of area under the cultivation of rice, subsidiary food crops and industrial crops.

--Efforts were concentrated on helping the weak and deficient places gradually build material-technical bases, primarily the bases needed to restore production, such as water conservancy projects, fertilizer, seed, draft power, tools and so forth. As a result, we constructed three electric pump stations (two irrigation and one drainage station) in the space of 2 years. In addition to the capital supplied by the state for the construction of pump stations, the district gave priority to and created the conditions for these places to borrow capital during these 2 years in order to meet the requirements of production by constructing drying yards and warehouses, seed facilities and manure processing plants, purchasing tractors, draft buffalo and cattle, tools and so forth. The capital loaned to these places in 1978 and 1979 equalled 58 percent and 51 percent respectively of the total capital loaned within the district. These places were also given priority in the plowing and harrowing of fields by machine; in 1979, the amount of area plowed and harrowed by tractors at these places constituted 50.3 percent of the farmland plowed and harrowed by tractors throughout the district. The materials that have been provided on a priority basis, such as inorganic fertilizer, have constituted from 30 to 34 percent, draft buffalo 45 percent, machine spare parts 44 percent, small tractors 32 percent and so forth of the total amounts supplied to the villages within the district.

--Efforts were concentrated on strengthening the organization of the party and training cadres. First, we concentrated on educating, training and improving the quality of party members and heightening their revolutionary zeal, spirit of

responsibility, sense of organization and discipline and sense of partyhood because, at these places, sloppy work, a lack of zeal, a lack of responsibility, a lack of organization and discipline and a lack of the exemplary-vanguard spirit were rather widespread. Efforts were focused on eliminating the thinking of localism, eliminating the loss of unity within the party committee echelon and between the party committee echelon and party members and eliminating the suspicion that existed among units. Over the past 2 years, the district has mobilized party members to struggle against negative phenomena within the party and resolutely deal with a number of party members who were not fully qualified, had become deviant, had violated the right of collective ownership of the masses, etc. In the 15 weak and deficient units, disciplinary action was taken against 340 party members. Some places took disciplinary action against 50 to 60 percent of their party members. On the other hand, we provided the cadres at these places with relatively well coordinated training, sending 42 comrades who are village party committee chairmen, cooperative heads and assistant heads, chief accountants and technical cadres of cooperatives to the management school of the province for 1 to 4 months of training. Then, in the training of core cadres, our district concentrated on training practically all unit chiefs, accountants and cadres of the planning and quota sections, thereby helping these places to begin to develop a corps of cadres that is relatively well coordinated from top to bottom. As a result, gradual improvements have been made in the leadership and guidance of production, management and technology at these cooperatives.

--On the basis of redefining production guidelines and providing well coordinated training to cadres, the district re-evaluated its management apparatus on the basic level, reducing the amount of indirect labor on the village level, eliminating the specialized manure processing and plowing units and organizing basic production units consistent with the management skills of unit cadres; at the same time, we helped these places to apply modes of contracting for and managing crops that are suited to their land and the management capabilities of cadres and that comply with the general guidelines of the district.

As a result of the 2 years spent strengthening them, the 15 weak and deficient cooperatives overcame their sluggishness and underwent a stage of development, with some places making marked progress: production has developed, contributions have increased, the accumulation of capital for the cooperative has increased and the standard of living of the masses has gradually been stabilized. Comparing 1979 to 1977, the specific results achieved at these 15 cooperatives are as follows: grain output increased from 12,000 to 14,000 tons, a 16 percent increase; output value increased from 7 million to 13 million dong, an 85 percent increase; obligations fulfilled for the state increased from 647,000 to 1,200,000 dong, an 85 percent increase; cooperative income increased from 440,000 to 1,000,000 dong, a 127 percent increase; and the income distributed to cooperative members increased from 2.5 million to 6.5 million dong, a 160 percent increase. As regards the grain and food product obligation, paddy contributions increased from 1,898 to 3,518 tons, an 85 percent increase and the equivalent of 35 percent of the contributions made by the entire district; pork contributions increased from 296 to 341 tons, the equivalent of 29 percent of the contribution made by the entire district.

Much progress has been made in the performance of tasks and the fulfillment of other obligations at these places; several places have been commended for part or all of

their operations. As a result of the 1979 classification of cooperatives, of these 15 weak and deficient cooperatives, only 1 is weak and deficient now, 3 are advanced, 8 are above average and 3 are average. As regards the party organization, 8 party organizations are above average, 6 are weak and 1 is deficient.

The initial results in the effort to strengthen the weak and deficient cooperatives have helped to bring about a new stage of development in the movement throughout the district.

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INVESTIGATION: JUTE PLANTING CONTRACTS IN HAI HUNG PROVINCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 80 pp 40-41

[Article by Huu Hanh]

[Text] Over the past several years, several cooperatives in the centralized jute growing area of Hai Hung Province have been assigning contracts for a number of jobs to cooperative members, contracts that are closely linked to their responsibility for the final product.

The Phung Hung Cooperative in Chau Giang District is the model in this method of contracting for the planting of jute. Each year, this cooperative plants roughly 200 hectares of jute.

The cooperative undertakes the jobs of plowing and harrowing fields by machine, providing irrigation, controlling insects and supplying fertilizer and seed. The production units make furrows and irrigation trenches (using buffalo and cattle).

On the basis of delineating and classifying fields, the cooperative assigns the following output contracts: 100 kilograms of jute fibers per sao of grade 1 fields, 90 kilograms of jute fibers per sao of grade 2 fields and 80 kilograms of jute fibers per sao of grade 3 fields. The units contract with cooperative members; each group of families(1) draws lots to determine which furrows they will work and each family undertakes the jobs of planting, thinning, replanting, weeding, fertilizing, cutting and stripping jute, soaking the jute and processing the green jute fibers into finished jute, drying and packaging it and delivering it to the purchasing station of the state. The jobs for which contracts are assigned to cooperative members and families are performed under an order from the cooperative. For example, when the cooperative issues the order for the jute planting season to begin (which lasts from 25 March to 5 April), the cooperative distributes seed to the units and the units redistribute the seed to the cooperative members who have accepted planting contracts. The same practice is followed during the harvest season; the persons who accepted contracts must harvest fields in the order stipulated by the cooperative.

The quantity and quality of the product delivered by each cooperative member family are verified on the basis of the invoice of the jute purchasing station; on this basis, the cooperative carries out distribution to each laborer, awards bonuses and levies penalties.

In the case that the contract output is not fulfilled or the quality of the product does not meet specifications, the cooperative takes one of two types of action: if the weather and changes in material supply ceilings affected output and product quality, the cooperative waives all penalties; if the shortfall and poor quality were caused by the labor and technical skills of the person who accepted the contract, this person must pay a penalty equal to 100 percent of the shortfall in product (converted into paddy sold by the state at the rate of 1 kilogram of jute equalling 1 kilogram of paddy). At the Phung Hung Cooperative, only about 5 percent of the persons who accepted contracts have experienced shortfalls (the majority because of legitimate reasons), 20 percent have met the contract output quotas of the cooperative and 75 percent have exceeded these quotas (by roughly 20 percent). The cooperative awards a bonus in product of 80 percent of the output exceeding the contract quota; a bonus of 112 kilograms of paddy is awarded for 100 kilograms of finished, grade 1 jute produced over and above the contract quota, 102 kilograms of paddy are awarded for 100 kilograms of grade 2 finished jute and 96 kilograms of paddy are awarded for 100 kilograms of grade 3 finished jute; in addition, some broken rice is sold as a bonus.

The contract output quotas of the cooperative are exceeded as a result of the following factors: first, families work harder (making full use of time outside their jobs and full use of the labor within the household) and apply additional fertilizer (stove ashes, urine, mud and green manure), as a result of which they achieve yields higher than the contract quota; secondly, they thin out plants, select plants of uniform height, plant in "alligator teeth" rows in order to increase the density along the furrow and weed and loosen the soil many times (four to five times), as a result of which they achieve a higher output at harvest; thirdly, they cut the jute plants very close to the ground and cause them to thicken⁽²⁾, as a result of which the quantity of jute fibers harvested is increased, and soak jute at the proper point of maturity and promptly rinse it⁽³⁾, as a result of which they increase their output of jute fibers by roughly 30 percent and improve the quality of these fibers; fourthly, they brush and shine the jute, package it carefully, store it well and, in terms of both quantity and quality, deliver more to the purchasing station than required by their contract.

In 1979, the product contract quota of the Phung Hung Cooperative was 348 tons of finished jute fiber. The total shortfall amounted to no more than 4 tons while the amount of output in excess of contract quotas amounted to 51 tons. As a result, the total output of jute fibers of the cooperative was 395 tons (47 tons above the initial contract quota). The state purchased the entire quantity, the majority of which was grade 1 jute. During the 3 years they have been using this method of raising jute under contracts, the Phung Hung Cooperative, although its jute only amounts to one-twentieth of the jute being raised in Chau Giang District, has annually sold the state on-eleventh of the jute output of the entire district (619 of 6,800 tons of jute fiber in 1979), with grade 1 jute constituting 91 to 97 percent of its output (only about 60 percent was grade 1 in previous years).

The method of contracting presented above is a form of collective labor that coordinates the labor of the cooperative and production unit with the labor of the individual cooperative members and their families. This method of contracting will never weaken the collective economy in the process of jute production at Phung

Hung; to the contrary, it has had the effect of developing the strength of collective labor in conjunction with tapping the sources of capital and labor of cooperative members, developing the potentials of cropland and producing many products (controlled by the cooperative) in order to increase the income of the collective and cooperative members and have many products to sell to the state. Thus, the assigning of contracts to laborers for a number of jobs that are closely linked to the responsibility for providing final products to the cooperative in the raising of jute at the Phung Hung Cooperative is an acceptable practice.

However, in the contracting for the raising of jute here, the cooperative is not managing the byproducts of jute, namely, the stalks of the jute plant, but leaving them to be used by cooperative members. Therefore, the Phung Hung Cooperative as well as many other jute growing cooperatives in Chau Giang have not fully mobilized the output of the jute plant for supply to other factories in accordance with the plan of the state. The Phung Hung Cooperative as well as the other jute growing cooperatives in Chau Giang must recalculate these contracts in order to develop a truly satisfactory contract that satisfies the interests of the state, the cooperative and the cooperative member.

FOOTNOTES

1. Each group consists of three or four that live near one another; this enables them to help one another watch over their fields, care for crops and harvest their crops.
2. Before the contract method was in use, cooperative members cut the jute being harvested 20 centimeters above the ground to avoid getting mud on themselves. Very long tops were cut from the plants to be used as green manure. As a result, a section of jute measuring 30 to 40 centimeters was lost per plant.
3. Before the contracting method was in use, cooperative members soaked the jute until it was very mature so that it could be washed easily, but this caused many of the jute fibers to break and be lost and resulted in poor quality jute.

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MILITARY GEOGRAPHY IN THE PEOPLE'S WAR

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 80 pp 42-46

[Article by Hai Son]

[text] The people's war emerged very early in our country's history. Our nation has a tradition of creatively using the geographical conditions of the country in the armed struggle to protect the country. Many methods of fighting suited to geographical conditions have been applied in the various wars to liberate the nation from the ruling yoke of the Chinese feudalists and the wars to defend the country against their aggression. Trieu Quang Phuc withdrew to the Da Trach swamp, where he established a base that enabled him to fight the enemy for a long time and ultimately drive them from the country. Our nation has used the tides as an effective weapon to annihilate the enemy on the Bach Dang River. Our people used the treacherous terrain at Chi Lang to win victory over the aggressors from the north. The bases in the resistance against the French in the 19th Century, such as Go Cong, Dong Thap Muoi, Ba Dinh, Bai Say, Ngan Truoi, Yen The and so forth, the guerrilla areas in the war of resistance against the French such as Chay Market in Ha Dong, Nguyen Village in Thai Binh and so forth, and the guerrilla areas in the war of resistance against the United States, such as Cu Chi in Saigon, Bac Ai in Thuan Hai and so forth, were typical examples of using geographical conditions to attack the enemy in the people's war. In particular, in the two wars of resistance against France and the United States, under the leadership of the party, the coordination of the nation's tradition of unyielding struggle and the brave spirit and cleverness of the people with knowledge of the geographical conditions and economic circumstances of each locality in order to create a combined strength with which to annihilate the enemy was a unique characteristic of our military art.

Researching the geographical environment(1) in order to support military objectives is an objective requirement, one which both sides in a war must carry out by all means possible. Evaluating the significance of the geographical factor in the armed struggle, Engels deeply analyzed the situation surrounding military geography in the countries of Germany, Italy and France in the article "The Po River and the Rhine River."(2) Our books on geography, which date back to the times of Le Quy Don, Nguyen Trai, Tay Son, Tu Duc and so forth and include "Dai Nam nhat thong chi," which was the most complete book on the geography of Vietnam during the feudal period, indicate the importance that contemporaries placed upon the impact of the geography

on both economic and military activities. Let us examine one of the paragraphs on the terrain of Ninh Binh Province in the book "Dai Nam nhât thong chi": "To the southeast lies the ocean, to the northwest lie the mountains; the terrain is partly treacherous and partly flat... At the southern entrance to Thanh Hoa, lies Tam Diep Mountain, which must be crossed and actually forms the throat between the South and the North. Nho Quan District in the midlands, which adjoins the borders of the four provinces of Thanh Hoa, Hanoi, Son Tay and Hung Hoa and is characterized by dense mountainous jungles and treacherous roads, occupies a very vital position. The Thanh Quyet River...which flows past Gian Khau to the edge of the mountains and then down into the lowlands, flows directly into the two districts of Yen Khanh and Nho Quan where there are row upon row of mountains; to the west, it runs along the territory of Son Tay and Hanoi; when the House of Le attacks the House of Mac, it must follow this course."(3)

Our party has also evaluated the impact of geography in the armed struggle. In many military resolutions, the party has set forth the jobs that must be performed and the shortcomings with regard to geography. "In areas which have all the necessary terrain conditions..., we must establish bases to resist the Japanese. These areas include, for example, the crescent shape mountains around central Bac Ky, the Truong Son Mountain Range and the swamps in Nam Ky."(4) Talking about military experience, this resolution also states: "There is no all-encompassing strategy (lacking knowledge of geography) for guarding against a pre-deployed attack plan of the enemy."(5) In both the resistance against the French and the resistance against the United States, we had to take geographical factors into consideration in each battle and each campaign, such as determining egress routes, and take the terrain, weather and hydrology into consideration in order to determine the influence of these factors upon the mobility of forces and equipment, insure the feasibility of combat projects, etc. In particular, the launching of projects to describe the natural, economic, political and social situations in localities as they relate to military activities in the war of resistance against the United States indicated our concern for studying military geography. During the years and months of the war of resistance, our party, upholding the nation's tradition of struggling against foreign aggression, smoothly combined the spirit of unity and closeness of old and young, men and women bound together through the feelings and duties of neighbors with their buildings, ponds, caves and streams and, depending upon the terrain, organized combat and created combat villages with strong economic and military potential within the overall battlefield deployment of the entire country.

Although geographical factors have a major influence upon the armed struggle, they never play the decisive role in war because the decisive role is played by the political and economic factors. The aggressors from the north frequently met with defeat on our soil even though our country is near China (the slopes of our country's northern mountains adjoin the slopes of the southern mountains in China and many of the rivers and streams in the northern part of our country originate in China) because these geographical conditions could not save the aggressors from their fate: they could not measure the tremendous strength of our nation, could not understand the treachery of the terrain and did not know our jungle mountains, rivers, streams, skies and offshore waters. To us, these geographical conditions can only become a strength with which to annihilate the enemy when we have a full

understanding of them and know how to utilize them creatively. As a result of knowing our geographical conditions and knowing how to apply them in each specific set of circumstances, our nation inflicted a heavy defeat upon the aggressor army from the north each of the three times it reached the Bach Dang River and annihilated the aggressors each of the three times they passed Chi Lang. Many guerrilla areas in the wars of resistance against the French and the United States, even though they were located immediately next to enemy controlled areas, continued to exist and launch attacks against the enemy because we had a full knowledge of geographical conditions and improved them to our advantage. In the war of aggression in South Vietnam, the U.S. army could not make widespread use of tanks in our treacherous mountainous jungle terrain (three-fourths of our territory) which contain many swamps and flooded areas.

Thus, favorable geographic conditions only give an advantage to those who understand and know how to use them correctly; for example, those who do not know the flow of the tides in a locality might be blocked by a high tide attempting to cross a stretch of water; landing troops at such a place when the tide is out is the same as sinking one's forces and equipment in the mud; underwater obstacles that are put into position when the tide is in can easily be detected and destroyed by the enemy; a fog that conceals the activity of one side must be used at the right time; rain can be a comrade-in-arms to those who are on the offensive if they know what kind of rain it is; and large-scale operations during the rainy, flood season when the ability to overcome the effects of the weather is limited will lead to immeasurable consequences. It is not surprising that the majority of our major battles and campaigns of a decisive nature were fought during the dry season; this was a characteristic controlled by the climate, the weather. Organizing transport operations during both of these seasons along the eastern and western Truong Son military routes was an example of using climatic and weather conditions to create an advantage for ourselves in combat.

The correct viewpoint concerning the geographical factor in military activities is to not overemphasize or place sole emphasis upon geographical conditions in every set of circumstances nor to underestimate and show little regard for this factor. Both of these mistakes can have harmful consequences in the buildup of the armed forces and the conduct of the armed struggle, especially in modern warfare.

The geography usually has an influence on military activities. The extent of this influence is dependent upon the level of development of science and technology. In the initial period of the resistance against the French, our army, which consisted only of infantry troops and soldiers, could cross all kinds of difficult terrain in all kinds of weather (with the exception of typhoons and major floods), consequently, the impact of geography upon military activities was still at a low level; however, the impact was greater when we acquired modern equipment and developed additional branches and services. The geographical factor is, as everyone knows, one of the factors (the others are the political factor, the economic factor, the ideological factor, the population and so forth) that must be taken into consideration when formulating plans for waging the armed struggle, planning combat operations against aggressors and preparing battlefields for future wars; on the other hand, the possibility that a war might be widened demands that we fully assess the military geography in specific regions and different battlefields; therefore,

researching military geography in the present stage becomes an even more pressing requirement. This research involves researching the influence of the geography upon the preparations for and actual conduct of the armed struggle and upon the utilization of the various branches and services; researching the geographical position and strategic position of the country, natural conditions and natural resources, the social system and the state system, the structure and level of development of production, the composition and distribution of the population, the military strength of the country and the shortcomings and the level of preparation of economic activity to support the war; researching the influence of the geography on the various battlefields upon the conduct of campaigns, upon the combat operations of the army, etc.

The results of this research on military geography, which take the form of descriptive, analytical and integrated documents, the evaluation of the influence of the geography upon military operations, investigative reports, military maps and so forth, will have a major impact upon the performance of the new tasks and the effort to meet the new requirements of a people's war to protect the fatherland.

Research on military geography must first of all competently support the armed forces fighting within the locality and the mobile, main force military corps operating within the locality because, in every form of warfare, it is impossible to avoid at least some kind of influence exerted by the geography.

As regards protecting the land, air space and offshore waters (if any) of a locality, protecting the life and property of the people and protecting economic installations, information on military geography, the terrain, the soil, the climate, the hydrology, plant and animal life, the level of economic development, socio-political circumstances and so forth, is one of the bases used to formulate a defense plan.

In the implementation of plans for the building of battle positions of the people's war in each locality, knowledge of the geography is one of the bases for tapping the strength of natural surroundings and improving them to form an effective battle position. To build the battle position of each locality, it is first of all necessary to become the master of everything within the locality, which includes the geography. For example, in order to take advantage of the terrain and improve it to benefit ourselves, we must research and fully assess the special characteristics of each type of terrain (the mountainous jungles, the midlands, the lowlands, the seacoast and so forth); to make use of each natural resource of the country so that we can take the initiative in attacking the enemy, we must know exactly what these resources are. The purpose of fully assessing the geography is not only to take advantage of treacherous terrain and create an effective battle position from which we can annihilate the enemy, but also to improve terrains which are not treacherous in ways which insure that we can implement the principle of always creating the most effective battle position possible. Nguyen Trai was a person who understood geography and knew how to make appropriate use of the geographical conditions within each locality to win military victory. "To the general who knows how to use troops skillfully, no terrain is treacherous or difficult. Victory or defeat depend upon the general, not upon whether the terrain is treacherous. Combat on a piece of treacherous terrain is no different than two tigers fighting in a valley, the one that fights well wins, the one that does not loses..."(6) These words of a letter sent by Nguyen Trai to Phuong Chinh, a provocative Chinese pirate, showed that Nguyen Trai understood the impact of the geography and could skillfully utilize it in every circumstance.

To build a strong, solid rear area that meets the requirements of combat and production, helps to strengthen the national defense system within the locality and prepares the base for the local people's war, it is necessary to protect the rear area well. In formulating plans to protect the rear area against air attacks, amphibious landings, artillery or tank attacks, atomic weapons, chemical weapons, biological weapons and so forth, it is also necessary to rely upon data on military geography regarding the characteristics of the climate, weather and hydrology, the shape of the coastline, beaches for amphibious landings, the mobility of the various types of equipment on main roads and secondary roads, the surface of the terrain, the mechanical structure of the soil, soil chemistry, etc.

The coordination of the economy with the national defense system and the national defense system with the economy in the process of building the new economy within the locality, especially in the development of systems of roads and river routes, the information system and the public health network, must make use of information on military geography because research on military geography assesses these systems in order to, on the one hand, examine the possibilities for maintaining the mobility of forces and means, the ability to command combat operations and the ability to conduct rescue operations in war and, on the other hand, examine the possibility for guiding the activities of the national economy within the locality when war touches the fields of communications, information and public health.

In addition, research on military geography has, to a certain extent, an impact upon the other efforts to build the locality, such as the deployment of the workforce, the establishment of population centers, the construction of combat clusters, the construction of district military fortresses, the construction of production installations, etc. Because, this work not only involves researching the present impact of geography upon military activities, but must also predict its impact in the future through the unceasing changes of the natural world together with the activities of society. For example, at some places along our beaches, the mainland is being increased through deposits (Kia Son, Phat Dien and Ca Mau) and the people are looking for ways to reclaim land from the sea, consequently, the land of the fatherland is increasing; at other places, land is being claimed by the sea (Van Ly) and the people must build dikes to retain their land; these actions cause our country's diverse shoreline to become increasingly complex and have a significant impact upon both economic and military activities within the locality.

However, research on military geography in the recent past has only been designed to meet the immediate requirements of individual battles and campaigns and has only been primarily concerned with the impact of the weather and the terrain upon military activities instead of fully researching the various factors of geography. This is because in the war of liberation, we had to fight an enemy that was already in our country in order to win back our entire territory; our forces developed from large to small, from weak to strong and we had to build our forces while fighting, consequently, we were unable to fully research military geography. Today, in the war to protect the fatherland, we must fight a foreign enemy under circumstances in which we have control of the entire country, have the strength of socialism and have the time needed to prepare our forces and build battle positions, consequently, we are able to research military geography in a comprehensive manner from the very outset. At present, research on military geography is even more necessary because:

Our organization and equipment have undergone many changes and our technical elements are growing by leaps and bounds in both quantity and quality; therefore, the impact of the geography upon armed activities within each locality as well as throughout the country will be greater and much more complex.

The Chinese expansionary reactionaries are our immediate and extremely dangerous enemy; their mainland and offshore waters adjoin ours and they have long been scheming to sabotage and commit aggression against our country; in the recent past, they were able to learn something about our military geography, consequently, research on military geography also has the purpose of finding ways to prevent the enemy from using this knowledge to harm us.

FOOTNOTES

1. The natural environment (the land, sea and air) includes the mountains, rivers, streams, ocean, forests, climate and so forth together with cropland, roads, bridges, canals, ditches, architectural projects, population centers and so forth and is called the geographical environment (also called natural conditions--N.S.).
2. Engels: "Selected Military Theses," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, 1961, Book III, p 53.
3. "Dai Nam nhat thong chi," Social Sciences Publishing House, 1971, Book XIV, Volume III, p 230.
4. "The Military Resolutions of the Party, 1930-1960," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, 1959, p 49.
5. Ibid., p 67.
6. Nguyen Trai: "Complete works," Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, p 93.

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IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES: FLATTERY

Hanoi HAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 80 pp 51-53

[Article by Nguyen Trung Thuc]

[Text] Elenora, Marx's favorite daughter, once asked him: "Father, what is the most abhorrent habit?" Without a moment's hesitation, Marx replied: "The habit of flattering others." Marx was not alone in this view, it has been shared by every genuine person since antiquity. Czar Peter the First of Russia often said: "I would rather have a brazen enemy than some deceitful flatterer." The democrat August Bebel called flatterers "persons who only know how to wave their tails at their masters."

Why is the habit of flattering others so despised by people?

The manifestations of this habit are very numerous. The one that is most universal and most commonly encountered is to give a person verbal praise in an excessive and sometimes demeaning manner for the purpose of seeking personal gain. In old societies, the persons whom flatterers praised to excess were the wealthy and the powerful in society. In our society, this flattery is directed toward those who hold positions and have authority. Are you the manager in charge of someone who is a flatterer? If so, you immediately become a "perfect, faultless" person. Your every word and action becomes a model. If you are long-winded in the speeches you make, if these speeches are devoid of information, the flatterer will tell you you were profound and interesting, that the ideas you presented were scientific, were instructive and caused everyone to "see the light." If you speak in an unclear fashion, mumble and hesitate so that no one understands what you are saying, the flatterer will tell you that you spoke in a concise, interesting and easily understood manner. If you are rude, the flatterer will tell you that you are stern as a leader should be. If you are weak and hesitating, he will say that you are subtle and generous. If you dress in an elegant and refined fashion, he will say that you are dressed neatly; if you are slovenly and untidy, he will say that you are simple, frugal... There are all sorts of flattery. Your strongpoints and strengths will be inflated by the flatterer to the "nth" degree; your shortcomings and weaknesses are "magically" turned by the flatterer into things that are right and good.

Another type of flattery consists of the flatterer making use of accepted behavior and actions in addition to words. Ordinarily, the flatterer is humble before and

kowtows to the person whom he feels the need to flatter. Are you the manager in charge of such a person? If so, when he needs you and you indifferently extend your hand to shake his, the flatterer will grasp your right hand in both of his, his eyes will sparkle, he will bow his head and shoulders slightly, slightly bend his knees and greet you and then proceed to deceive you with flattering words. The behavior and actions of the flatterer are sometimes open and bold and sometimes secretive and sophisticated; you must closely observe and analyze his behavior and actions in order to perceive their full meaning.

But these are not the only forms of flattery, there is another and even more subtle form. The persons who practice this form of flattery do not use words, behavior or actions, but material things to win the favor of the persons whom they feel they must flatter. If you are the target of a flatterer's attention, you will somehow receive "special gifts" from him; sometimes they might be several kilograms of glutinous rice or a few kilograms of fragrant rice; sometimes they might be a kilogram of Hung Yen longen or a dozen Nam Bo mangoes... There is a gift for every season. If the flatterer is under your authority and also holds a small amount of authority himself--as an office chief or department head, for example--his actions become much more diverse. He will offer money belonging to the state or the collective to flatter you. He will know your desires and tastes very well. He will also know to which standard you are entitled and what you want over and above this standard. He will give you that for which you yearn. Do you want to have your house painted or build a kitchen? Do you want your eldest son to work in Hanoi after he graduates or your youngest child to attend a nearby school? Simply say what you want. The flatterer will try to meet your need, even if it means violating principles. Why does he flatter you in the first place? He does so to win your favor. He does so to insure that you will "take care of" him. He does so to insure that you will quickly promote him, raise his salary or do him another kind of "favor." Flattery is nothing more than the pursuit of illegitimate personal interests.

Flatterers usually are persons who often flatter one person while speaking poorly of others. For this reason, an ancient folk proverb calls them: "Those who toady to some and revile others." Once they have flattered you, they look for persons whom you do not like and speak poorly of them. One must employ the "art of divination" and make the comparison between what they say about you and those whom you do not like in order for their flattery to be of value. They will call you intelligent, urbane, generous and so forth and call those whom you do not like stupid, uncultured and narrowminded.

It is insufficient to state that flatterers only flatter their superiors. They frequently flatter persons on their own level or levels below them. They do this shortly before it is time to evaluate persons for raises, elect a new party committee, obtain the opinions of the masses on the promotion of cadres and so forth. All of these are important matters. Flatterers have a very keen sense that opportunities await them at such times. They know full well that in order to be elected to the party committee they must have the confidence of the majority of party members, that in order to receive a salary increase quickly, they must have the support of the masses. Winning the confidence of the upper echelon is not enough. So, they "launch a campaign" to win the confidence of everyone and look for every way to win the support of the masses.

it is necessary to distinguish flattery from respect. We cannot deny that true respect is frequently seen in the relationships between persons. Not all forms of praise, respect, gifts or help are forms of flattery. We cannot be so indiscriminate or shallow. In life, genuine respect for one another, love and support for one another, concern, gifts and help for one another are ordinary and necessary. These are expressions of true respect, are very beautiful aspects of our nation's ethical tradition. We only criticize flattery that hides behind respect and love. Because, such flattery is deception. In actuality, flatterers usually hide behind the label of respect and love when flattering others; therefore, they easily deceive many people. They do not flatter you because they respect or love you. Once you have ceased to be important to them or if you lose your position, they will immediately become indifferent toward you; their attitude toward you might even take a 180 degree turn.

Flattery causes more than a small amount of harm and has even led to serious consequences. To begin with, it causes the flatterer to lose all his good qualities, all his dignity and become a deviant, degenerate person who is held in contempt by everyone. It causes the person being flattered to not evaluate himself correctly, become subjective and self-satisfied and easily make mistakes and commit shortcomings. It distorts the awareness of the person being flattered. If this person being flattered is a leadership or management cadre, the flattery might have a harmful effect upon work involving others. For example, the failure to properly evaluate the corps of cadres under one's management, the failure to utilize good persons, allowing bad persons to abuse their authority, the failure to uphold the cadre policy... Flattery is one of the causes of the loss of internal unity, creates divisions and factions and weakens the organization.

Flattering others and liking to be flattered are two sides of the same coin. Flatterers and those who like to be flattered exist side by side. People flatter others because there are persons who like to be flattered. Persons like to be flattered because there are flatterers. The existence of the two phenomena of flattering others and liking to be flattered prove that we have not done a good job of improving ourselves, that the practice of self-criticism and criticism has not been intensified within the organizations of the party, government and the masses or within the economic organizations and other mass organizations. Everyone will admit to one shortcoming or another, but few persons are brave enough to admit to being a flatterer or liking to be flattered. The same holds true when criticizing others, as if we find it difficult to say, when criticizing a comrade or friend, that he or she is a flatterer or likes to be flattered.

To limit the habit of flattery, we must further intensify the practice of self-criticism and criticism; we must generate widespread public opinion to denounce the habits of being a flatterer and liking to be flattered. The organizations of the party and the government, the mass organizations, the economic organizations and the other organizations of the masses must take appropriate disciplinary action against flatterers and those who like to be flattered.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE "POST-VIETNAM" WORLD SITUATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 80 pp 54-59

[Article by Van Quang]

[Text] In the decisive test of strength between the people of Vietnam and the U.S. imperialists, the total victory won by our people further weakened the position of U.S. imperialism at home and throughout the world and worsened the general crisis of capitalism, thereby creating favorable conditions for the socialist countries and the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world to develop strongly. Le Duan said: "Together with the rapid and comprehensive growth of the Soviet Union and the socialist system, of the national independence movement and the world workers' movement, the victory of Vietnam has changed the balance of power and ushered in a new stage in the world situation." (1) World opinion calls this new stage the "post-Vietnam period" and maintains that this period is continuing, that it has not, as the U.S. imperialists have proclaimed, ended. Since the mid-1970's, many profound, unprecedented changes have rapidly and continuously occurred in the world, thereby proving that the world has entered the "post-Vietnam period," a period that differs from the post-World War II period.

In recent years, the three revolutionary currents in the world have developed more uniformly and strongly than at any time since World War II. The world socialist system has rapidly grown in every respect. Its base has been strengthened and widened to four continents: Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. Together with the emergence of many more countries that are following the socialist path, the building of the material and technical bases of communism in the Soviet Union has been accelerated and the building of socialism and developed socialism in many other socialist countries has recorded numerous achievements.

The strengthening of the militant solidarity and the comprehensive cooperation among the socialist countries is a firm guarantee of the comprehensive development of each country and of the entire socialist system. Applying the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and perfecting the socialist production relations, the socialist countries have developed their economies in a stable manner and at a more rapid rate than the imperialist countries, thereby creating the capability to overcome difficulties and resolve major problems faced in the course of their development. The superior nature of the socialist economy shines ever more brightly against the background of the serious economic crisis of the capitalist world. (2) In terms of national defense, the socialist countries have strengthened their superiority in conventional forces and achieved a balance in strategic forces with the imperialist countries. The influence of socialism has

been expanded by the socialist community's adoption of a correct policy of supporting and assisting the struggle by the peoples of all countries for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

With a combined strength far superior to the powers of imperialism, the world socialist system is having a strong and decisive impact upon the development of mankind. The Soviet Union is stronger than the United States and has put an end to U.S. superiority in many areas, thereby showing itself even more to be the pillar of the world revolution and world peace. The Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union has increasingly pursued an offensive strategy in the interests of the world revolution and world peace. Over the past 5 years, the victory of the revolution in many countries, especially in countries struggling against the cruelest intervention by the imperialist and international reactionary powers (such as the three countries in Indochina, Afghanistan and so forth) has been closely linked to the tremendous support and assistance of the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Soviet Union has made important contributions to the maintenance of peace and the relaxation of international tensions.

Inspired by the victory of the Vietnamese in their war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, the national independence and national liberation movement has entered a new stage of development. It has continuously won many large victories, even in strategic areas of "vital" importance and in the "backyard" of the U.S. imperialists (such as Iran, Nicaragua and so forth). With the victory of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies in South Africa, old style colonialism virtually collapsed. Neo-colonialism--the final form of domination by imperialism over the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America--entered a crisis in the 1950's and is now seriously bankrupt.

The victories of the people of the Seychelles and Grenada prove that nations enslaved by imperialism, even sparsely populated island nations, are fully capable today of winning and protecting their independence and freedom.

The heavy exploitation by imperialism, the action taken by the imperialist countries to place the consequences of their economic crisis upon the heads of the developing countries and the failure of the negotiations between these countries and the imperialist countries are strongly stimulating the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and neo-colonialism to protect and consolidate their political independence, win economic independence, establish a new world economic order of equality and mutual benefit and protect world peace. In keeping with these guidelines, the movement of non-aligned countries has constantly made steady progress from the Colombo High Level Conference in 1976 to the Havana High Level Conference in 1979, despite encountering numerous difficulties and complications.

On the other hand, with socialism having grown and become a strong system, many independent nationalist countries have selected the path of advancing to socialism. Today, national independence is closely linked to socialism, this is the inevitable trend of development of history.

In the "post-Vietnam" period, the struggle of the working class and laboring people in the capitalist countries has developed with increasing strength and unprecedented

intensity. The present serious economic crisis of the capitalist system put an end to the stage in which the monopolistic capitalists used their high rate of economic growth to suppress the class struggle at home. Both manual and mental laborers alike are rallying increasingly widespread forces and struggling on a large scale and in a variety of ways against the policy of the ruling circles to put the burden of the economic crisis, inflation and unemployment upon the working people, intensify the arms race and threaten the peace and independence of all nations. This struggle led to the collapse of long-standing fascist regimes in a number of countries (such as Portugal and Spain) and to the crisis of the bourgeois governments in many countries. In the face of the tremendous victories of the world revolution and the sharp social antagonisms within the capitalist countries, democratic socialism and the other reformist trends have become further bankrupt and many communist parties have strengthened their political position, thereby showing themselves to be the leaders and to be in the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle within the stronghold of imperialist capitalism.

Imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, is mired in a comprehensive, profound and inescapable crisis. In the 1950's and the 1960's, the economy of the imperialist countries reached its highest stage of development; industrial production had increased four-fold compared to previous years. This was due to the following factors: the scientific-technological revolution, the rapid shift to state monopolistic capitalism and the plundering, at cheap prices, of four times as much fuel and raw materials within the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In the 1970's, imperialism no longer enjoyed this temporary prosperity. The U.S. imperialists and the other imperialist countries fell into a state of comprehensive weakness, both at home and abroad. The weakness and crisis of the United States, the ringleader of the imperialists, is one of the characteristics of the "post-Vietnam period." In the capitalist world, the 1973-1974 oil crisis rapidly led to the 1974-1975 economic crisis, the largest crisis since World War II. This economic crisis, which was serious in nature, marked a new, structural crisis of imperialism for which there are no remedies. The production of the imperialist countries, which had developed to such a large scale in the 1950's and 1960's, has fallen into very sharp antagonism with the increasingly limited purchasing power of the working people at home. At the same time, a new and sharp antagonism has emerged between very large-scale production and sources of raw materials and fuel that are constantly declining and difficult to obtain. The manifestations of these antagonisms are the "surplus" production crisis in conjunction with serious inflation and unemployment and the energy and raw materials crisis, which is occurring at the same time as the market and financial crisis. These crises have worsened the political, social and ideological crises within the imperialist countries.

The scientific-technological revolution and the intervention in and regulation of the economy by the monopolistic capitalist state are no longer as effective as they once were and cannot rescue imperialism from its present quagmire. The struggle of the developing countries to produce and export petroleum and the surging movement against U.S. imperialism in Iran, the Persian Gulf and the Middle East have worsened the energy crisis in the capitalist countries. At present, at the start of the 1980's

the U.S. economy is in another "decline" and western economists predict that the new economic crisis of the developed capitalist countries will be worse than the 1974-1975 crisis.

The antagonisms among the imperialist countries have become deeper compared to the stage during which the U.S. imperialists were stronger than all of the other imperialist countries combined, stronger economically, financially and militarily and occupied the position as the only center within the world capitalist economy. When the United States became bogged down and defeated in the war of aggression in Vietnam, it created the opportunity for the countries of western Europe and Japan to strongly compete with the United States. At present, although the U.S. imperialists are stronger militarily, they are weakened economically and financially than all of the other imperialist countries combined. In the 1970's, three imperialist economic and financial centers formed; the United States, western Europe and Japan, and competition among them has become increasingly sharp. The imperialist countries are looking for ways to reconcile the antagonisms that exist among themselves in order to work together to overcome the mounting difficulties they face in every area and counter-attack the world revolutionary movement. However, they continue to wage commercial, monetary and investment "wars" against one another and continue to have disputes over sources of raw materials and fuel.

Imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, and the reactionary clique within Chinese ruling circles are collaborating to oppose the revolutionary movement and world peace, but they have become increasingly weak and stalemated. Following their defeat in Vietnam and in the face of towering difficulties at home and the strong development of and repeated attacks by the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world, the U.S. imperialists are making every effort to rally the imperialist and reactionary forces and stage counter-attacks in a vain attempt to maintain their remaining positions.

They are trying to strengthen the U.S.-western Europe-Japan alliance, especially strengthen their collaboration in every area, including military collaboration, with the reactionary clique within Chinese ruling circles. They have intensified the arms race and pursued a policy of deviousness and deception in conjunction with subversive activities, threatening war and unleashing wars. They have persuaded the countries of western Europe and Japan to increase their military expenditures and have exerted pressure upon the countries of NATO through the decision to deploy the first medium-range missile with a nuclear warhead in western Europe. They have used the Afghanistan issue to resurrect the "cold war" with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, strengthen their military forces in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf and oppose the movement for national independence and progress in southern Asia, western Asia and the Middle East. They have made every effort to build the U.S.-Japan-China alliance and persuaded the countries of ASEAN to oppose the revolution in the three countries of Indochina. They have stiffened their opposition to Cuba and the revolutionary movement in Central America and the Caribbean.

The reactionary clique in Beijing has long had the ambition of expanding into Southeast Asia and becoming the ruler of the world. Their desire for hegemony is

very large but their capabilities are limited and they have run up against the strong development of the world revolution. They are collaborating with the imperialist countries to oppose the world revolutionary movement and world peace in the hope that the imperialist countries will help them achieve the "four modernizations" in a vain attempt to rapidly become a first-rate super power and carry out great nation expansionism and big country hegemony.

The assembling of forces between the Beijing reactionary clique and imperialism is becoming a major threat to the people of the world. It has been and might continue to pose difficulties and problems to the forces of revolution and progress at one place or another. However, it is an alliance of forces that are in a weak and stagnated position. The U.S. imperialists were unable to use their military forces to rescue the shah in Iran or the dictator Somoza in Nicaragua; their military adventure to rescue the "hostages" in Iran met with shameful defeat. The Beijing reactionaries were unable to rescue Pol Pot in Kampuchea and met with heavy defeat in the war of aggression against Vietnam. Neither Washington nor Beijing have been able to prevent the development of the Afghanistan revolution. The separate Egyptian-Israeli solution has not divided or weakened the struggle of the Palestinian Arabs and the people of the Middle East against the U.S. imperialists. Since the end of the 1973-1974 petroleum crisis, the economy has no longer been an exclusive weapon in the hands of the imperialist countries and they can no longer effectively use their economic weapon as they once did to oppose the USSR, Vietnam, Iran and so forth.

The Beijing reactionary clique has revealed itself to be a traitor to the revolutionary cause of the people of China as well as the peoples of all countries. As a result, they face tremendous economic, political and social difficulties at home. They cannot reconcile the antagonisms between the masses and themselves and continue to experience internal power struggles. In the world, they cannot disguise themselves as revolutionaries in order to deceive and divide the revolutionary movement as they did in the 1950's and 1960's.

The collaboration between U.S. imperialism and Chinese expansionism is collaboration between forces that have many opposite ambitions. Both sides want to be the ruler of the world and although their strategic interests converge at points, they are increasingly in conflict with each other. They are united in their opposition against the Soviet Union and the world revolution but each side wants to have the other side oppose the Soviet Union in a vain attempt to stand outside and benefit from this struggle. They might intensify their collaboration but this collaboration has its limits and cannot impede the development of the world revolutionary movement.

The U.S. imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries are collaborating with one another with a view toward undermining the process of relaxing international tensions and opposing the peace and security of other nations. However, in view of the fact that the balance of power in the world today is increasingly in the favor of the three revolutionary currents and not in the favor of the imperialists and reactionaries, the forces of revolution and peace are becoming increasingly able to limit and defeat the bellicose policy of the imperialist powers and the international reactionaries and repulse the threat of a new world war. The U.S. imperialists cannot revive the "cold war" to the level of the 1950's when the United States was still the strongest imperialist and had a superiority in nuclear

forces over the USSR. During those years, the United States pursued the arms race and waged the "cold war" with a view toward weakening the USSR and the newly established world socialist system, opposing the strongly surging national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, winning over the colonies of Great Britain and France and establishing its control over western Europe and Japan; however, the United States failed to block the growth of the USSR and the world socialist system. At present, because it is weaker than the USSR, the United States is reviving the "cold war" against the Soviet Union but must still maintain detente with the Soviet Union to a certain degree; at the same time, the policy of the U.S. imperialists of opposing the national independence movement has exacerbated the antagonisms between themselves and the independent nationalist countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The policy of the United States to create tensions in the world and re-establish U.S. control over western Europe and Japan has exacerbated the antagonisms between the United States and western Europe and Japan.(3)

Over the past 5 years, the strength and the offensive position of the three revolutionary currents and the forces struggling for peace have grown rapidly. The trend toward socialism has been strengthened, thereby strongly stimulating the struggle to determine "who defeats whom" between socialism and capitalism on a worldwide scale. Imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, is deeply mired in a comprehensive, pervasive and deep crisis. The collaboration between imperialism and the Beijing reactionary clique has caused the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, between the forces of peace and warmongering powers to be a very violent struggle. However, the strong trend of development of the revolutionary and peace movement of the world in the "post-Vietnam period" is irreversible. The struggle of the peoples of all countries for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism might encounter many difficulties and problems but will surely win larger victories. Unable to change the iron law of our times, imperialism and Chinese expansionism have suffered heavy defeats and cannot avoid total defeat.

FOOTNOTES

1. Address by Le Duan, general secretary of the Party Central Committee, at the ceremony to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnam Communist Party (3 February 1980).
2. During the period from 1976 to 1979, the annual rate of industrial development of the socialist countries that are members of CEMA was nearly 6 percent, double the rate of the developed capitalist countries. The percentage of world industrial output produced by the socialist countries within CEMA increased from 18 percent in 1950 to its present level of 34 percent.
3. Recently, many countries in the West only gave limited support to "punitive" measures against the Soviet Union and Iran; France and West Germany reopened their dialogue with the Soviet Union.

U.S.-CHINESE COLLUSION, A THREAT TO PEACE AND SECURITY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

OW081355 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 5,8,9 Nov 80

[Article by Minh Quang in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 80 pp 60-65--translation of Hanoi Domestic version previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 220, 12 Nov 80 pp K1-K6]

[Text] The imperialists and international reactionaries are seeking every method to counterattack, create tension and oppose socialism, national independence, revolution, peace and detente all over the world, especially in Southeast Asia, South Asia, the Near and Middle East. Due to this very dangerous counterattack, the world is now facing the threat of cold and hot war from the Washington warmongers and Chinese reactionaries.

The U.S. imperialist chieftain and Chinese chauvinist reactionary clique are coordinating their efforts to oppose the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other socialist countries as well as the world revolutionary movement. The collusion between the United States, China, Western Europe and Japan, and particularly between the United States and the PRC, is threatening world peace and security. This collusion is aimed at weakening the three revolutionary currents and restoring the position and balance that the imperialists lost after the U.S. debacle in Vietnam and Indochina and after the repeated successes of the revolutions in Ethiopia, Angola, Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Indochina.

Political collusions: With the 1972 Shanghai joint communique between the United States and China, the two countries reached an agreement on the Vietnam issue. China recognized U.S. presence in Vietnam in exchange for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Taiwan, acknowledged the Japan-U.S. military alliance, and so forth. This means that China recognized a U.S. military presence in Asia.

Since then, the imperialist forces and world capitalism have regarded China not only as their customer but also as belonging to their political camp. They have all stood even closer on international problems of primary importance, harmoniously coordinated their actions at the United Nations and acting unanimously against the Soviet Union and the socialist system. China has recognized the expanded solution for Egypt and Israel. China and the United States have the same views on undermining the solidarity and friendship of the three Indo-chinese countries and sabotaging the Afghan revolution and so forth.

In his visit to China in August 1979, U.S. Vice President Mondale stated: Any country that wants to weaken or isolate China runs counter to U.S. interests. Washington is resolutely united with the PRC in developing mutual strategic interests.

China Vice Foreign Minister Zhang Wenjin's recent U.S. visit reveals that the United States and China have the same viewpoint on urgent international problems, including those of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Indochina and the 1980 Moscow Olympics. The atmosphere of the Sino-U.S. talks during this visit was described as the most friendly, cooperative, sincere, agreeable and informal talks between Chinese and U.S. leaders in the past decade. Both sides held that their unity of views was very meaningful and satisfactory.

Economic relations: Since early 1972, the Chinese leaders have visited more than 50 countries and met with the heads of nearly 40 states. Economic relations between China and the capitalist imperialist states have developed remarkably. According to official figures, China's foreign trade value in 1978 increased by 30 percent, reaching RMB 35.5 billion and increased by 3.2 percent in the first 6 months of 1979 as compared with the same period the previous year.

China has signed agreements or is negotiating with other countries on borrowing nearly \$30 billion with which to purchase industrial equipment and patterns. The U.S. monopolists and Western states are making every effort to infiltrate China economically, even to building joint enterprises with the participation of foreign capitalists.

China has colluded with U.S. businessmen and approved bills aimed at encouraging foreign capitalists to invest, insuring important profits for them.

The United States has made some concessions in economy and trade to provide conditions for China to receive U.S. industrial equipment. It has also granted economic favors to China, signed documents with China which place it under U.S. laws regarding U.S. assistance to foreign countries, ranked China among its friendly countries and permitted the export of technical specifications and paramilitary equipment to it.

In August 1979, Chinese Vice Premier Yu Qiuli told Japan's representative in Beijing that China welcomes all investments by foreign capitalists in its industrial enterprises.

Economic cooperation between China and Western Europe has also developed. China will sign contracts with 18 French banks to borrow money in the form of goods amounting to \$7 billion. Italy is ready to lend \$1 billion to China and Britain \$1.2 billion.

It is clear that the Beijing rulers have made frantic efforts to expand China's economic and commercial cooperation with the capitalist countries, hoping that their technical and financial aid will help consolidate China's military and economic potential in order to turn comprehensively underdeveloped China into a country with a developed economy and national defense and to make their hegemonistic dream come true.

The political and economic collusion between China and capitalist countries has, of course, led to military collusion between them. Although there have been no official treaties or documents, this military collusion really exists and has gone through two stages:

1. Before 1980, China made frantic efforts to look for allies, calling for the setting up of an alliance against the Soviet Union and the socialist system. Before visiting the United States, Japan and Western Europe, Beijing's top leaders, including Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, shouted for the establishment of the Washington-Tokyo-Beijing-Western Europe axis to oppose the Soviet Union and the socialist system, making a fuss about the so-called Soviet threat and creating tension between the NATO and Warsaw blocs. Hua Guofeng has striven to persuade Western states to believe that a war between the West and the East is inevitable and can be postponed only if there is a coordinated political, economic and ideological struggle against the Soviet Union; and he has stressed the need to take expanded preventive measures in the military field and so forth.

The United States and China have coordinated their military actions in Southeast Asia. China has made extensive efforts to supply the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique with equipment and weapons to oppose and undermine the Kampuchean revolution. Meanwhile, Americans have continued to enter Thailand. They include officers and troops of the U.S. land, air and naval forces in civilian clothes and a large number of CIA experts, such as (Rosenberst) and Col (Allen Williamson). The Utapao and Sattahip airbases in southern Thailand have received logistics and combat support experts from the U.S. Air Force to prepare for the reception of a B-52 wing.

China has coordinated with the United States to fabricate the so-called Vietnamese threat against Thailand in order to send weapons en masse to this country and prepare a military intervention in Kampuchea. Meanwhile, the imperialist capitalist countries have used the humanitarian aid label to give supplies to the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary remnant troops and other Khmer reactionaries on the Thai-Kampuchean border.

China's aggression against Vietnam's northern border provinces was started only after the United States had given the green light. During this aggression, China received U.S. intelligence information through a U.S. monitoring satellite over Vietnam.

In South Asia, the United States and China have acted unanimously against the Soviet Union and on the Afghan problem. They have poured weapons into Pakistan and trained rebels on Pakistani soil to infiltrate Afghanistan and undermine its revolution.

In other areas, the United States and China have joined in giving military aid to the UNITA clique in opposing the Angolan revolution and in assisting Somalia in opposing the Ethiopian revolution. In addition, with U.S. assistance, the wellknown reactionaries, such as Pinochet in Chile, Mobutu and others have established diplomatic relations with China.

In 1978 and 1979, relying on the imperialist states to modernize its equipment, China invited many high-ranking officers from Japan and West Germany for a visit. China also sent many military delegations to Western Europe and Japan to place goods' orders and purchase weapons.

Encouraged by the United States, Western countries have sold to China the technical plans for the British B aircraft engine, Japanese sea rescue and patrol planes, US-1 and Super Frelon helicopters; permitted China to produce French Mirage aircraft and signed a contract with it to manufacture West German S-105 helicopters [names, designations as heard].

In 1978, China purchased \$5 billion worth of weapons. It is estimated that by 1985, the volume of goods purchased by China from foreign countries will reach \$20 billion.

In his European tour in late 1978, Hua Guofeng requested industrial military organizations in Western Europe to participate in modernizing China's armed forces. The United States has agreed to cooperate with China in the fields of space technology and national information and liaison, in building plants for assembling military equipment and machines and in developing China's military industries.

The program for increasing China's economic and national defense potentialities has been mapped out for the 1978-1985 initial period. Since U.S. Vice President Mondale's China visit in June 1979, China has purchased U.S. paramilitary equipment.

2. The stage after January 1980: After U.S. Defense Secretary Brown's China visit in January 1980, the United States unexpectedly shifted from a prudent policy in its relations with China to a true collusion with it. Brown avoided speaking of an alliance with China but mentioned only common interests and bilateral actions. Nevertheless, the United States has really colluded with China, not only politically and economically but also militarily to oppose the Soviet Union and the socialist community. During his visit to China, Brown met with all the Chinese high-ranking cadres, attended military exercises and visited China's air and naval bases. This visit has paved the way for the establishment of Sino-U.S. technical relations. Brown reaffirmed U.S. readiness to supply China with sophisticated technology necessary for its economic modernization.

The United States has lent \$2 billion to China and allowed it to use the Landsat satellite for the drawing of agrohydrographic maps and land management. This is also closely related to China's national defense technology.

The United States has agreed to supply China with C-130 cargo planes, armed helicopters, military vehicles, radar, military information means and so forth. This clearly reveals U.S. designs as noted by former Secretary of State Vance in his April 1980 report to the U.S. Congress on the Carter administration's foreign policy: Our objective in this arms supply is to maintain our security and not to seek profits. Of course, this objective is related both to the so-called security and seeking of profits.

At present, more than 60 Chinese delegations are sent to the United States every month. Vice Premier Gong Biao, in charge of inspecting China's armed forces and arms production, signed many new agreements with the United States during his U.S. visit in June 1980. Most recently, Carter and Hua Guofeng met in Japan and reached a secret agreement on strengthening China militarily, as revealed in the following statement: There is a basic agreement between the United States and China on strategic prospects.

In brief, U.S.-PRC collusion has been substantially expanded and there is truly an alliance against the Soviet Union, Vietnam, other socialist countries, the progressive regimes in developing countries and world peace and detente.

The military collusion between China and the United States has really existed for a long time. U.S. Assistant Secretary Hulbrooke admitted: First of all, there is always the aspect of security in our relations with China. After Kissinger's first trip to Beijing in July 1971, the security problem has continually been the substance of our conversation with China.

Since the normalization of the Sino-U.S. relations, along with the development of their political relations and economic cooperation, their joint military actions have also developed in scope and quality, from the point of being cautious to a true military cooperation in the full meaning of the term. Their collusion is not limited to a technical exchange and the supply of military and paramilitary means. It is also related to both countries' national defense as admitted by Brown: Now, we have expanded normalization to relations between the two countries' national defense organs.

In an interview with an AFP correspondent on 14 April 1980, Deng Xiaoping said: The normalization of relations with the United States is an important strategic decision. It is neither a tactical action nor an interest-seeking, limited maneuver.

The Beijing leaders' line clearly reveals their perfidious scheme to depend on their anti-Soviet policy to stand closer to the United States and other imperialist states, in the hope of winning U.S. assistance in turning China into a power and of realizing their hegemonist ambitions. The United States has decided to play the China card in order to safeguard its influence and interests in Asia, which it describes as the most vital economic area in the world, and to weaken the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the world revolutionary movement.

The imperialist and capitalist forces have fervidly played the China card in an attempt to draw China, with its nearly one billion population, into the capitalist economic orbit and create a world balance of forces favorable to them. Japanese Foreign Minister Sonoda stressed this in July 1979: Western states should concretely assist China in its modernization program to draw it into the capitalist economic orbit and rule out the possibility of a Soviet-Chinese rapprochement.

Obviously, it is not for profit seeking purposes that capitalist states have lent \$30 billion to China. Here, Lenin's saying on the consequences of chauvinistic socialism has a greater meaning: Social chauvinism is perfect opportunism. It is mature to openly and deliberately ally with the bourgeoisie and its staff network.

In their collusion, both the United States and China are unanimously seeking to restrict the influence of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the world. They want to set up a U.S.-Western Europe-Japan-China axis to counterattack the world's revolutionary and peace forces.

U.S.-PRC collusion, a true alliance, has been gradually formed since the 1972 Shanghai meeting. It can further develop in the 80's and constitutes a dangerous threat to the world people, even the American and Chinese peoples.

First of all, the United States and China can draw on the experience of the events in Kampuchea and Afghanistan to rope with revolutionary movements in other areas. They can even take joint action and counterattack in areas that are advantageous to them.

The United States and other imperialist countries can sell more arms and technical equipment to China and supply it with experts, advisors and trainers. Regarding intelligence matters, they can supply information, trade information and coordinate with it in communications operations. They can also coordinate with it in military exercises and may sign a number of official or secret agreements.

After weighing the pros and cons, the U.S. imperialists have stepped up their collusion with China for the sake of their interests. However, the speed and efficiency of this collusion still depend on many factors, such as the Chinese people's struggle, the Beijing rulers' position and the opposition by the revolutionary and peace forces in the world. This collusion is, by nature, unsteady because both the aggressors and expansionists unanimously oppose the Soviet Union and the socialist system while taking advantage of each other to achieve their own designs. In fact, the United States wants to turn China into a regional power, one of its accomplices to protect its interests, a colossal and uncompromising assault soldier, a country economically weak but having a vast army. Meanwhile, Beijing wants the United States to oppose the Soviet Union so that it can reap some benefits. Beijing also wants to shift the main material burden of opposing the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the United States and other capitalist countries.

Still underdeveloped and economically and militarily weak, China is compelled to stand in an unequal position, in the rank of an inferior and a henchman of the imperialists. It must make concessions to them in every respect, thus hurting the Chinese people's self-respect. As a result, the Beijing leaders have to face more internal difficulties.

Despite its collusion with China, the United States does not want it to become a dangerous adversary. It has to weigh the pros and cons before pouring money into a big country like China where the political situation is unstable. As observed by Kissinger, there will be a day when China betrays the United States easily because it can stand firm on its own feet. This is a collusion between hegemonists in their dispute for interests. They are taking advantage of each other and cooperating with each other while standing on guard. They are colluding with each other while opposing each other. This is a periodic alliance, a type of alliance between the nationalists and communists against Japan in World War II. This is a pragmatic, traditional alliance in ancient China, an alliance with the distant enemy to hit the near enemy.

The U.S.-PRC collusion and the alliance between China and other reactionary imperialists are very dangerous. This is a great danger to the world nations. This devilish alliance may lead to a war, conflict and to a gross interference in other countries' internal affairs.

Although they are allied and colluding with each other in the political, economic and military sphere, they are striving to deceive others by covering up their collusion under an antihegemonist slogan and under the label of mutual cooperation. Taking joint actions when their interests are not contradictory, they are seeking all ways to undermine the solidarity of socialist countries, the national liberation movement and the unity of nonaligned states, to oppose the detente between the West and the East and to threaten world peace. Therefore, the peace-loving people in the world must resolutely oppose this devilish alliance, expose the bellicose, reactionary and ambitious nature of the reactionaries in the Beijing ruling circles and of the U.S. imperialists and foil all their schemes and moves.

U.S. IMPERIALISM IN A NEW STAGE OF STRATEGIC DECLINE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 80 pp 66-70

[Article by Thanh Tin]

[Text] Imperialism enters the new decade facing towering difficulties, frustrations and heavy defeats.

The new strategic decline of U.S. imperialism, the stronghold of all the imperialist forces and international reactionaries, is the most significant characteristic of the present world situation.

Too Many Flashing Signals!

In the first year of the new decade, a year in which a U.S. presidential election will be held, the Carter administration finds itself mired in crisis. Under the title "The Decline of the Giant," issue number 33 of the German Federal Republic Journal THE MIRROR, reflecting the opinions of the important daily newspapers of the United States in July 1980, discussed the decline of the U.S. economy. "While the entire nation is agitated over the Billy-gate affair and the ineffectiveness of President Carter, the key industrial sectors of the United States have collapsed and the entire U.S. economy has fallen into a decline that is difficult to control... Most serious has been the collapse of the automobile industry, which has put some 300,000 workers out of work and closed nearly 30 factories..."

To the Americans, the highly developed society and the prosperity of the last several decades have become a dim past. Now, they must accept reductions in their real incomes year after year. Month after month they feel frustration over new news of inflation (which now stands at 14.3 percent) or unemployment (8.2 million). Unemployment has forced many persons to seek humanitarian aid in the streets: they are begging to support themselves and their families. Henry Ro-so-xki [Vietnamese phonetics], a professor of economics at Harvard University, said: "At the start of this century, the United States, which met all the highest standards of comparison 10 or 20 years ago, has become a country of irreconcilable antagonisms."

The White House has also been powerless and defeated in the field of foreign affairs. The "punitive" measures loudly announced by President Carter concerning the Afghanistan issue punished the very ones who proposed them, as the Afghanistan revolution continued to move steadily forward. Carter met with bitter defeat in the

military scheme to free the Americans being held in Teheran, thereby intensifying the anti-U.S. movement of Iran and the entire Islamic world. Despite the two-sided tricks of the United States to win it over while threatening it, the revolutionary movement in Central America and South America has developed very strongly; Nicaragua has firmly protected the historic victory won in the past year, determined to follow the trend of our times by maintaining close ties with the genuine socialist countries. The patriotic movement in Salvador against the reactionary authorities supported by the United States is a very strong movement and is in a period of direct revolution filled with prospects. The revolutionary and progressive forces in Bolivia drew together and established an opposition government at a location within Bolivia itself immediately following the coup d'etat by the counter-revolutionaries. The revolutionary forces in Peru, Guatemala, Brazil and so forth are inspired by the intense revolutionary spirit on that continent. Many countries in the Caribbean have won their national independence under the strong impact of the Cuban revolution. In Africa, the United States has failed to stop the steady advance by countries toward socialism and met with heavy defeat in its attempt to use the traitorous authorities in Cairo to win the support of the Arab countries in a vain attempt to broaden the compromise with--actually the surrender to--the Israeli expansionist reactionaries. The waves of revolution sweeping into the South are shaking the entire African continent and putting the racist reactionaries in South Africa into a state of desperate resistance. This military, political and economic stronghold, which was once considered the solid foundation of the United States in Africa, is shaking in the face of the revolutionary storm and the powerlessness of the White House and the Pentagon.

In western Asia, the Republic of India, acquiring increasingly high political prestige in the world, especially among the ranks of the non-aligned countries, is pursuing a truly independent foreign policy of supporting the struggle for peace, national independence and social progress and opposing the policy of aggression and expansion of the United States and the reactionaries and traitors in Beijing. In Southeast Asia, the blind policy of the United States continues to be one of desperately supporting the evil powers that were totally toppled by the peoples of the three countries of Indochina.

The antagonisms between the United States and the other imperialists are becoming increasingly deep. The leadership role of the United States has been constantly declining. As reported in the German Federal Republic's THE MIRROR, U.S. business circles are very concerned about the "disintegration of the international economic might of the United States," "the trade deficits and rising inflation, which show that the wealthiest industrial nation in the West can only fall into second place as an economic power." "Of the 150 experts, not one doubts that the U.S. economy is gradually and uncontrollably declining in international competition and the countries defeated by the United States 35 years ago are becoming increasingly strong. (The U.S. share of international commerce declined from 18.2 percent in 1960 to 12.3 percent in 1979. Germany's share increased from 10.1 to 12 percent and Japan's share even increased from 3.6 to 7 percent during the same period of time) The leaders of the West are caught in a stage of transition filled with difficulties..." And, it is not surprising that the important daily newspapers in the United States urgently proclaimed in late July: "The position of the United States in world politics is being threatened!"

Crises exist in so many fields! So many positions of the United States and their lackeys are sending distress signals! In all strategic regions, U.S. imperialism is sounding the alarm. The picture of the world today is that of the revolution on the offensive in nearly all strategic areas. The U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries are dealing with this in a defensive and desperate manner.

Along With Their Loss of Spirit, Their Power Has Also Declined

In recent months, U.S. political circles have sounded like a flock of screaming, extremely bellicose hawks. They have demanded the use of military power in international relations, demanded punitive military, political and economic action against one place or another and demanded soaring increases in the military budget and preparations for world war. The White House has openly returned to the cold war, insanely screaming at the top of its voice against the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Cuba and all genuine revolutionary and progressive forces. Recently, the U.S. government presented a new nuclear strategy, one which calls for strengthening and using the strength of nuclear weapons; western public opinion considers this to be an insane policy of a suicidal nature adopted at a time when the United States has lost its superiority in strategic weapons.

The striking difference between the cold war policy of the U.S. imperialists during the Eisenhower-Dulles period and the present policy is that the position of U.S. imperialism has visibly declined. Although the military strength of the U.S. imperialists has been significantly increased in terms of both strategic weapons and conventional weapons, the military superiority which the United States once had over the Soviet Union is gone forever. During the more than 10 years that the United States was bogged down in the war of aggression in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, the military strength of the Soviet Union caught up to and surpassed the military strength of the United States in many areas.

The combat effectiveness and the prestige of the very large military forces and the wide variety of conventional weapons of the United States were buried in the Vietnam quagmire. The effect as a strategic deterrent of the American Air Force, American military technology, the U.S. Green Beret Special Forces, the U.S. Marines and so forth has greatly declined.

Because of the new historic circumstances of the U.S. imperialists in the "post-Vietnam" period, Washington's present cold war has become exceedingly outmoded and absurd!

The United States threatened to punish Iran by blockading the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz with warships and mines; to date, however, they have still not gone beyond threats and a display of military power in the form of more than 4 dozen U.S. warships. The United States thought about sending in troops to rescue the Salvador authorities but waived and took no action. In Afghanistan, in the face of the just cause and the fraternal militant unity between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, the United States, although it has ranted and raved about the issue, has done nothing more than go around in circles distorting the situation, suspending the sale of grain and secretly supplying weapons to a few unstable and desperate rebel bands.

The action that is considered to be the most decisive and strongest action taken by U.S. President Carter, an action considered to be a symbol of the "Carter doctrine" that was announced early this year, was his action of personally organizing and commanding a commando operation in a vain attempt to rescue the Americans being held in Teheran, an action that met with horrible defeat. The Pentagon is trying to play down the significance of the failure of this operation, an operation that was personally organized by U.S. Defense Secretary Brown and Four Star General David Jones, the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs-of-Staff, and which was personally controlled and launched by U.S. President Carter. However, the truth proves that this operation has had countless harmful strategic, political and military consequences for the U.S. imperialists.

The entire military strategy of the United States is based on strength and deterrence. However, the strategic position of the United States has visibly declined and the strength of the United States, while still very large, is very limited politically in the face of the offensive position of the three revolutionary currents of our times.

The cold war of the United States, which the Carter doctrine makes every effort to propose and carry out, is nothing more than a return to an outmoded past at a time when the balance of power has been and is changing; the arrogant threats and the rattling of weapons no longer strike fear in the hearts of persons as they once did. Because, all mankind has been awakened and clearly sees that the United States is bogged down in crisis, is much weaker and is dealing in a clumsy and ineffective manner with each challenge faced.

The Evil Alliance

World opinion has been discussing at great length the close collaboration between Washington and Beijing, especially since the visit to China by U.S. Defense Secretary Brown, the visit to the United States by Chinese Vice Premier Canh Tieu and the high level meeting between Carter and Hua Kuo-feng in Tokyo.

Actually, we cannot dismiss lightly nor lack vigilance in the face of this criminal bond between the ringleader of the imperialists and the greatest traitor of all times. Old man San married the old lady Tu Ba of Beijing when he was old and weak; the Beijing reactionaries, although they rule a country of 1 billion people, because they have pursued mistaken policies for decades, cannot easily help China avoid economic weakness, significant scientific and technological backwardness and political and social chaos. Moreover, these policies have been violently opposed both at home and abroad. Therefore, the Beijing reactionaries cannot create the combined strength needed to achieve their dreams of expansion and hegemony.

On the other hand, the Sino-American collaboration involves nothing more than these countries taking advantage of each other. The United States is collaborating with Beijing to find a way to control and stop their expansion and is supplying these reactionaries and traitors with a small amount of technical equipment and weapons while controlling the rate and scale of development of China, both economically and militarily. The "golden dream" of achieving the "four modernizations" at a rapid

rate by relying upon the United States and the western imperialists will not easily become reality. If it relies only upon itself, China's hope of taking the long march to the "four modernizations" are even dimmer because China lacks the hundreds of billions of dollars needed for initial investments, lacks a large-scale source of complete equipment sets and seriously lacks, in terms of numbers and quality, the scientific and technical cadres that are needed; the chaotic political situation in which various factions seek to overthrow and assassinate one another in order to grab political power still poses a major gap that cannot be bridged. China's frustration in its attempt to achieve the "four modernizations" is an inevitable frustration, is the frustration of shameful traitors whose intention it is to oppose the three great revolutionary currents of our times.

Washington and Beijing are nothing more than two strategically defeated countries that are conspiring with and taking advantage of each other in order to carry out their separate criminal schemes in the face of the vigilance and effective opposition of the progressive people of the entire world, vigilance and opposition that are closely linked to the unavoidable awakening of the people of the United States and the people of China.

Imperialism is deeply mired in an inescapable general crisis. Events in the world are developing at a rapid rate. The violent struggle between the revolution and counter-revolution is occurring in all strategic areas of the world and, in every area, the revolution is scoring victories. In this year of the U.S. presidential election, the internal political situation of the United States reveals nothing but corruption, chaos and weakness. The Democratic Party is being torn apart by internal fighting. The Republican Party has not proposed a platform that can stabilize the situation, resolve the pressing problems being faced at home or improve the image of the United States in the world. The U.S. imperialists are showing themselves to be completely powerless in both domestic and foreign affairs. In a weak position, they have returned to the cold war in a vain attempt to launch an insane counter-attack. Mankind must be very vigilant. However, the overall situation in the world is one that provides strategic opportunities for all three revolutionary currents of our times to join and cooperate closely together, intensify the offensive through suitable forms and measures, score new victories, accelerate the process of the inevitable death of the imperialists and the reactionaries and traitors and carry out the process of completely liberating all nations from the yoke of oppression and exploitation, from wars of aggression for the sake of the genuine right to live of all mankind.

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