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TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 6, 1981



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## VIETNAM REPORT

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

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IMPROVE DISTRIBUTION AND CIRCULATION IN ORDER TO ACCELERATE PRODUCTION AND STABILIZE LIFE

BK031500 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 1 Jun 81

[Article by Le Duan in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 81 pp 1-8 and 34--also carried in NHAN DAN issue of 1 Jun 81. Translation of Domestic Service version was previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 108, 5 Jun 81, pp K6-K12]

[Text] Production, distribution, circulation and consumption are links in the process of production and social reproduction, with production being a basic link. Production decides distribution, circulation and consumption.

As intermediary links between production and consumption, distribution and circulation play a very important role and have a direct effect on production and the people's life. Improving distribution and circulation and effecting a drastic and comprehensive change in this important area of activity are basic and pressing requirements.

1. Guiding concepts

Improving distribution and circulation should always be a part of all economic management activities. Distribution and circulation are aimed at meeting the consumer needs of society and, at the same time, stimulating the growth of production--especially the production of grain, foodstuffs and consumer goods; promoting exports and imports; and broadening the exchange of goods between our country and other countries. On this basis, it should contribute to stabilizing and gradually improving the livelihood of the people, especially workers and peasants. This is the basic target of the party's and state's current policies.

General guidelines for improving the task of distribution and circulation involve linking this task with economic management, eradicating the mode of management through bureaucratic administration and subsidization, adopting the mode of socialist trade that is based mainly on planning, making correct use of all material and monetary transactions and all economic levers, adopting the system of accountancy and opposing the system of indiscriminate subsidization. However, opposing the management mode of bureaucratic administration and subsidization and adopting the mode of socialist trade does not mean using market mechanisms in place of planning. It also does not mean blindly following the free market law of supply and demand. Firmly grasping planning work is a central task which requires us to use planning as a main tool to organize and manage production, distribution and circulation in a way suited to economic growth.

Distribution and circulation are areas of activity involving the close combination of materials in kind and the relationship between goods and currency. In this area, we must attach importance to the correct categorization of values and the satisfactory use of all market relations and economic levers such as prices, wages, finance, credits and profits, with the use-value being considered most basic. Distribution under the form of value can in no way decide or replace the distribution under the form of use-value.

All policies on distribution and circulation must correctly reflect agreement among the three interests--the interests of the entire society, the interests of the collective and the interests of individual laborers. With regard to the current situation, these policies must give due attention to the interests of laborers so as to make everyone more concerned about the need to increase his labor productivity and economic results. Correctly combining the three kinds of interests amounts precisely to contributing to exercising the system of socialist collective mastery on a society-wide scale, in each locality and at each establishment.

Distribution and circulation requires correct application of the three measures--economic, financial and education--with economic measures being regarded as the most basic. Educational measures must also be taken seriously, but simultaneous efforts must be made to develop the strength of the proletarian dictatorial state. To use administrative measures against profiteering and smuggling, to do away with all phenomena of negativism in society and to establish order in the economy and in the market.

Ideological indoctrination must be stepped up to make everyone more aware of the situation and tasks and to ensure that they are able to firmly grasp the party and state's line and policies, actively engage in productive and nonproductive work, practice thrift for the sake of national construction and remain vigilant against all enemy schemes.

To improve distribution and circulation, we must implement a series of uniform measures to fulfill the main objectives of promoting the development of production, gradually stabilizing and improving the people's livelihood and stabilizing the economic and financial situation.

We must firmly grasp the following immediate problems of distribution and circulation which involve support for production, concentrating the flow of goods into state hands, ensuring the supply of staple commodities to laborers--especially workers and civil servants, expanding state-run trade, intensifying market management, adjusting prices and wages, balancing the budget and regulating the circulation of currency. Among these issues, prices and wages are the two urgent ones.

## 2. Adjusting prices and wages

Prices constitute a major problem which has a comprehensive effect on the economic, political and social fields. This problem is very complicated, especially at a time when our economy is still in a troubled situation and the bases on which to determine prices have not been stabilized.

Prices have their roots in production. Prices and socialism are born out of production in a planned manner; they do not come spontaneously from trade in the marketplace. Therefore, the problem of prices must be resolved in a planned manner. Based on the demands of society and the laboring people's livelihood, we must arrange production plans to optimally use all economic potential, especially in terms of manpower and land, to produce much wealth for the society.

The problem of prices can be resolved satisfactorily only on the basis of developing production, increasing labor productivity, improving the quality of products, reducing production costs, increasing economic results, creating conditions for better capital accumulation for socialist industrialization and stabilizing and gradually improving the laboring people's livelihood.

Prices should contribute to the distribution and use of all sources of capital, both in kind and money in an effective and thrifty manner, correctly resolve the relationship between capital accumulation and consumption, between industry and agriculture and between workers and peasants; expand the division of labor and international cooperation, and satisfactorily meet the strategic requirements of the revolution. Prices should resolve well the problems of distributing and redistributing national income, balancing the income of people of all strata in the direction benefiting socialism and the laboring people--especially workers and civil servants who live on their wages--and regulating the irrationally high income of those who earn it through illegitimate ways.

The system of state-directed prices is established in accordance with the lines and policies of the party and on scientific and correct economic and technical bases. It does not allow the use of free market prices, which entail detrimental speculative factors.

The state system of prices must become a true tool of management if the national economy is to develop in a well-planned manner. Since the free market still exists in certain areas, when the relationship between supply and demand is unbalanced, the state must implement a flexible policy of directed prices to manage the market in order to struggle effectively against speculative activities and balance supply and demand to the advantage of socialism.

Under the aforementioned economic conditions, we must objectively establish two systems of prices: One is a relatively stabilized system of such prices as commercial prices, prices of obligatorily collected and purchased commodities, prices of production means sold according to two-way economic contracts; and supply prices; the other is the system of prices which has been applied in a relatively flexible manner to trade business.

For 20 years or more, due to the objective conditions of protracted wars, we had to abstain from making too many changes in the pricing system. The system is no longer suitable and must be adjusted in a relatively comprehensive manner to make prices relevant to the changed economic and social conditions, namely production costs, prices of imported goods, wages and the relationships between supply and demand and accumulation and consumption.

However, prices should be adjusted step by step in line with the actual situation. We must gradually advance toward determining a new pricing system to promote production, stimulate exports, create conditions for socialist trade to expand its business, overcome the situation in which the state has to suffer too heavy losses and rationally balance the income of people of all strata.

The primary purpose of price adjustment is to promote production and stabilize livelihood. As a result, the state must maintain stabilized supply prices for staple commodities to ensure the livelihood of workers and civil servants who live on their wages. At the same time, it must firmly maintain a rational rate of exchange between industrial goods and agricultural products in order to ensure a rational income for peasants and encourage peasants to accelerate production and sell more products and goods to the state.

Retail prices are always a matter of concern to the state and the people because they directly affect the livelihood of all people. Retail prices must stem from the party and state policies on consumption to ensure that trade and business organizations will not suffer losses. With the exception of state-supplied commodities, appropriate rates of accumulation will be determined for each group of commodities: little or no accumulation will be required from the sale of staple commodities, while we can get a larger accumulation from unnecessary luxury items.

The retail price policy must settle well the relationship between the state and the people of all strata in society, and must especially be tied to wages to ensure the livelihood of peasants and those engaged in handicrafts, forestry, fishery and salt work and so forth.

Our wage system was established long ago and is no longer suitable. During the years of war, we did not have conditions for improving our wage system. To ensure realistic wages, the state implements the system of supplying staple commodities to workers and civil servants at stable prices. However, due to limited supply funds, the amount of commodities supplied can meet only part of the daily consumption demands of workers and civil servants and their families. As a result, part of their wages is used to buy commodities on the free market at high prices, thus reducing their real income.

In the present situation, with supply and demand still unbalanced and the market and prices not yet stabilized, the problem of stabilizing and improving the livelihood of workers and civil servants cannot be resolved simply by nominally raising wages. It must be resolved by combining several methods, such as ensuring the supply of staple commodities at stable prices, establishing allowances developing production to create sufficient jobs for workers and correctly applying the systems of contractual and piece work pay.

Until we can carry out wage reform, the state establishes temporary allowances to workers and civil servants to compensate them for high living costs resulting from increased prices. This is a very important measure, the positive effects of which must be developed on the basis of ensuring the supply of material goods and struggling to stabilize market prices.

The fundamental measure for ensuring the livelihood of workers and civil servants is to make sure that staple goods in kind--especially grain and foodstuffs--are supplied at stable prices.

In the years ahead, we advocate a policy of maintaining the state supply method but not the widespread and ill-considered practice of subsidization. At the same time, supply procedures and organization must be improved in the direction of separating the supply system from the business system. We should intensively manage and control the issuing and recovery of rations cards, intensify internal management in the trade sector, ensure the distribution of rationed commodities as prescribed and overcome such negative phenomena as corruption, underhand transactions and authoritarianism. The supply procedures for commodities in kind are determined in a practical manner in general and in each locality throughout the country. State agencies are dutybound to struggle by all means to implement the published supply objectives.

The most important matter in the stabilization of the life of office and manual workers is to seek ways to create employment opportunities for workers and to encourage them to work with high productivity, to get higher pay and earn more income. Recent efforts to apply contract-based and product-based wages have produced good results. These wage forms have encouraged workers to actively engage in productive labor and to strive to increase their productivity, thus enabling enterprises and society to obtain more products and workers to earn more income. This is a progressive form of payment of wages which is compatible with the "each according to his work" system of socialism and which helps link the interests of workers with those of enterprises as well as with the collective interests of society.

3. Essential measures: Prices and wages are the most urgent matters in the current task of distribution and circulation. In order to satisfactorily deal with these matters, it is necessary to positively and effectively carry out various measures aimed at boosting production, increasing purchase activities and the control of all sources of goods, improving the people's livelihood and ensuring a sufficient supply of goods to meet the people's needs, broadening socialist trade activities, enhancing market management, stabilizing the country's financial system and improving the management of cash. These measures are also aimed at creating a precedent and conditions for positively and steadily solving the question of prices and wages.

A. In order to solve problems of distribution and circulation, the most basic prerequisites consist of boosting production, especially agricultural production and the manufacture of consumer goods and putting more goods under state control. All difficulties facing production must be solved first of all through planning, organization and management of production; and it is necessary to promptly remedy shortcomings inherent in the policy for distribution and circulation of goods, in order to encourage the development of production.

In the past, many new positive factors have emerged in various sectors and localities and at various establishments. In the north, despite heavy losses experienced in last year's 10th-month crop and the resulting difficulties affecting the people in certain areas, the application of the policy of giving contracts for products to groups of laborers and individual laborers in agriculture has been inspired a new momentum in production.

In the south, the agricultural sector has enjoyed bumper crops for several consecutive growing seasons. Recent changes in the pricing system and in the procedures governing the conduct of trade with peasants have been instrumental in promoting production and sales of products to the state. Despite numerous difficulties--mostly arising from a shortage of raw materials and energy--now confronting industrial production, efforts to improve planning work and adopt the forms of contract-based and product-based wages have enabled enterprises and localities to initially overcome certain difficulties in tapping the capabilities of their production establishments and in increasing labor productivity and the income of their workers.

Along with taking various steps to promote increased production, concentrating all sources of goods into the state's hand is a decisive factor for ensuring the success of various measures aimed at improving distribution and circulation activities. As for the collective and privately-run economic sectors, it is necessary to step up the purchase and collection of agricultural, forestry and marine products on the basis of promoting a high sense of responsibility among peasants toward fulfilling their duties of paying taxes and selling products to the state; to improve policies and procedures regarding collection and purchase activities; and to tighten the bonds of economic and political alliance between workers and peasants. With regard to the state-run economic sector, all sectors, localities and establishments must uphold a sense of responsibility and discipline in turning in products as planned and must do away with the willful practice by various state-run economic units of using and trading those products which are under uniform state management.

Problems concerning enterprise and industrial wholesale prices and concerning the financial collection system applied to various sectors and localities, especially to various establishments, must be solved in a rational and satisfactory manner so as to encourage and/or compel state-run economic units to turn in their products to the state in accordance with the law.

Along with stepping up the tasks of conducting collection and purchase activities and securing the sources of goods, it is necessary to take steps to satisfactorily organize and manage existing quantities of materials and goods, determined not to allow any loss and damage to occur; to avoid the distribution of goods to unauthorized recipients; to prevent and punish those government cadres and employees who have committed corrupt acts of stealing state goods or materials or who have given a helping hand to profiteers, smugglers and dishonest persons in infringing upon socialist property and disrupting the market.

B. It is important to expand socialist trade and intensify market management. Only by strongly developing the organization and activities of the state-run trade, can we closely control the market. Conversely, good market management will create conditions for the state to control the flow of goods and develop state-run trade.

If it wants to correctly play the role of housewife of society, state-run trade is duty-bound on the one hand to ensure the supply of staple commodities at stabilized prices to paid workers, and on the other, to expand its dealing in other commodities at commercial prices.

The state-run trade sector must use several fruitful methods to expand its business operations in all fields ranging from collection and purchase to wholesale and retailing activities and from food catering to other service operations in order to advance toward controlling large segments of the wholesale trade and most retail operations.

In order to vigorously accelerate socialist transformation and construction, promote the stabilization of production, consolidate our financial system and firmly maintain and gradually improve the people's livelihood, we must resolutely revamp and intensify market management, consolidate and expand the unified socialist market, constantly strengthen the trade forces of the state and collectives and develop a unified market throughout the country.

Along with expanding the organized market, we must strive even harder to organize and control rural markets, continue to transform privately owned trade and small merchants and producers, and oppose speculation, contraband and other operations disrupting the market.

Good results in intensifying market management can be obtained only if we know how to combine the three managerial measures, among which the economic measure--specifically, expanding the organization and operation of socialist trade--is the main one. Nevertheless, the administrative measure remains the most important. It includes registration of industrial and trade businesses, collection of industrial and trade taxes, implementation of the system for price postings and price control, punishment of speculators and smugglers and struggle against negativism in factories, agencies and society, and so forth.

The immediate requirement of market management is to use the integrated strength of the proletarian dictatorship in the struggle to restore order in the market, especially in major cities, in order to stabilize prices, strictly prevent private traders from abusing the situation to speculate in and deliberately increase prices, and prohibit all sectors, echelons and state-run trade organizations from raising prices against the pricing policy and the price control system of the state, thereby maintaining steady market prices.

C. At present, the important task in the field of distribution and circulation is to stabilize the country's financial system, balance the state budget, stabilize the value of currency, mobilize all the sources of financial revenue to meet the requirements of production, life and national defense and strictly practice thrift in spending. The financial plan must be established in close coordination with the production and business plan by all echelons. The financial plan norms must be assigned simultaneously with the production and business plan norms to all sectors, localities and primary production units.

Revenues from the state economy constitute the main source of revenue in the state budget. As a result, they must be paid due attention and correctly acquired on the basis of vigorously accelerating production and intensifying collection and purchasing activities to control the flow of commodities.

As regards collective and individual economies, taxes constitute an important form of contribution to the state. The policy of agricultural taxes must be unified, just and simple, based on the area and fertility of the soil. It must be aimed at strengthening management, encouraging the use of land and ricefields and promoting intensive cultivation and multicropping and the expansion of the cultivated area.

Industrial and trade taxes must play the role of bringing about more development and must be aimed at promoting the development of handicraft and artisan production, expanding the circulation of goods and regulating the irrationally high income of some units.

Tax collection must be intensified and closely combined with the strengthening of market management and price control. It must effectively help the state-run trade sector better collect and purchase commodities.

In order to overcome difficulties and imbalances in the economy, it is necessary to strictly practice thrift in production, distribution, circulation and consumption. In the field of finance, thrift must be scrupulously taken into account and resolutely adopted. Banking operations must be intensified. The circulation of currency must be expanded to mobilize all sources of idle capital while developing credits and intensifying cash management. Economic results must be considered as a basic standard for banking operations to give priority to the use of additional manpower and land and to turn out more products.

The task of keeping saving accounts should be improved in the direction of making the account owners see the profit from depositing money in their accounts and of sparing them any trouble when withdrawing their money. Methods of payment without using cash should be expanded. Those economic units run by collectives and private business units must open accounts with the state bank and they must settle their payments mainly by charging them to their accounts.

The system of banking finances must be improved to allow the monetary control of all production and business operations in the area of state, collective and individual economies, and to closely control and supervise the thrifty and effective use of manpower, equipment, materials and capital in all sectors, localities and primary production installations.

D. Along with extending financial autonomy to production and business units in order to eliminate the bureaucratic method of centralized management, it is necessary to enhance and strengthen the uniformity of the systems of banking finances, prices and wages, and state discipline in the management of distribution and circulation.

The division of labor and the assignment of management authority in the fields of distribution and circulation must be redetermined to cope with the new situation and the new management system in order to ensure unified and centralized managerial control over fundamental and vital factors while flexibly enabling all sectors, localities and primary production installations to develop their dynamism and creativity.

All sectors, localities and primary production units are forbidden from establishing policies and systems which conflict with general state regulations on the delivery of products, the receipt of cash, and prices and wages. All violations must be promptly overcome and severely dealt with in accordance with party discipline and the state law.

The improvement of distribution and circulation constitutes a difficult struggle. If we want to attain our goal, there must be some real improvements from the central down to local grassroots-level units, especially in the distribution and circulation sectors. All cadres and party members, depending on their positions, must strive to fulfill their duties and make practical contributions to the common struggle for the victory of socialism.

All of us are dutybound to defend production units, warehouses, ports and all economic operations by constantly remaining vigilant against enemy plots of sabotage and by correctly implementing all party and state regulations on distribution and circulation.

THE FINE SUCCESS OF THE 4TH CONGRESS OF THE KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 81 pp 9-11, 70

[Unattributed article]

[Text] During the final days of May, the communists of Kampuchea successfully held their 4th congress. This was an event of extremely important significance, one that marked a turning point in the history of the Kampuchean revolution.

The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, a brother of our party, was also born in the Indochina Communist Party of past years. Inheriting the tradition of unyielding struggle of the heroic people of Kampuchea, the party has led the working class and people of Kampuchea in a long, arduous and glorious struggle, a struggle in which they have won victory after victory. The French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists were driven from the country one after the other and then the genocidal regime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan, a lackey of Chinese expansionism and hegemony, was also crushed.

During the past 2 years and more, the people of Kampuchea have recorded tremendous achievements in every area of endeavor. They crushed the scheme of intervention and sabotage of the Chinese expansionists acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists; the remnants of the Pol Pot army have been virtually annihilated. Famine has been virtually eliminated and the economy and culture have begun to be restored. Every normal activity of society has been restored. Human rights are being guaranteed by the new society. And, from the pile of ashes of genocide, the country of Kampuchea has arisen in a rapid and remarkable fashion and is overflowing with vitality. With the recent truly free and democratic general election, the first one held in their several thousand year history, the people of Kampuchea became the collective masters of the country. These tremendous victories have caused the prestige and the international position of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to constantly be heightened.

The brilliant victory of the Kampuchean revolution is primarily the victory of the correct line of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. Loyal to the lofty ideals of national independence and socialism, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party has always brandished the banners of patriotism and proletarian internationalism, consequently, it has succeeded in mobilizing the strength of all of the people of its

country in coordination with the strength of the Vietnamese, the strength of the people of Laos and the strength of the three revolutionary currents of our times, primarily of the socialist community, of which the Soviet Union is the pillar, and has, on this basis, created a tremendous combined strength insuring victory over every cruel enemy.

It is also the victory of the patriotism and the unyielding will to struggle of the people of Kampuchea for their independence, freedom and happiness; the victory of the brave, undaunted spirit of the communists of Kampuchea, who have united as one within the party and are closely linked to the flesh and blood of the people of their country.

On the basis of the present domestic and world situations, the 4th Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party set forth the general line for the present stage of the revolution as firmly protecting national independence, building the fatherland and gradually advancing to socialism.

The general line of the party encompasses the following several important matters:

- Brandishing the banners of patriotism and proletarian international solidarity;
- Protecting the fatherland, which is the foremost and sacred task of all the people of Kampuchea;
- Restoring and developing the economy, culture, education and public health and gradually making the transition to socialism in order to build a life of comfort and happiness;
- Uniting all the people and employing the strength of all the people in order to protect and build the fatherland.

The congress expressed a deep realization that the patriotism of the people of Kampuchea is an extremely strong factor, one that has been and will continue to be a very important guarantee of every victory of the Kampuchean revolution. However, this patriotism must be closely combined with proletarian internationalism, especially with the militant solidarity of the three countries of Indochina. The history of the Kampuchean revolution over the past half century and more has proven that whenever this militant solidarity is maintained, the Kampuchean revolution develops brilliantly; whenever this solidarity is broken by insidious schemes and actions of the enemy, the Kampuchean revolution suffers a setback and even suffers serious defeats. On the basis of this reality, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party reached the following conclusion: strengthening the solidarity of the three countries of Indochina "is a law of development of the Kampuchean revolution as well as each revolution in Indochina." This correct conclusion is a clear truth that has been proven by the revolutionary history of the countries in Indochina over the past several decades.

In the face of the insidious scheme of the Chinese expansionists of collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and making every effort to rally the various types of lackey reactionaries in order to oppose and undermine the Kampuchean revolution, the congress

decided that protecting the fatherland is the foremost and sacred task of all of the people of Kampuchea.

The congress set forth suitable policies for building and developing the economy and developing the culture and emphasized the need to "experience a period of transition to socialism on the basis of agriculture, consequently, the nucleus of the development of our economy can only be agriculture." And, of the various forms of economic transition, the congress maintained that production solidarity teams within agriculture are a very reasonable form of organization in the present stage.

The congress asserted that building a strong and solid Marxist-Leninist party is a foremost strategic task of the Kampuchean revolution at present and in the years to come.

Concerning immediate work tasks and the work tasks of upcoming years, the congress pointed out: "Our revolutionary tasks...are accelerating production and developing the three segments of the economy, especially developing the state-operated segment of the economy, so that agriculture becomes a decisive factor that is fully capable of resolving the food, clothing and housing problems so that the people are not hungry or cold. We must strengthen our security, firmly protect the people, defeat the clever schemes of the enemy, firmly protect the fatherland and strengthen the revolutionary governments on all levels in the spirit of the Constitution that will be ratified by the National Assembly in the near future. We must also strengthen the unity of all the people, broaden the Front, strengthen the mass organizations and develop international solidarity, consequently, we must develop the Kampuchean revolution so that it wins new victories in each and every field."

The historic resolutions of the congress reflect the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Kampuchea and are a bright beacon leading the people of Kampuchea in their work of protecting and building the fatherland.

Our party and our people are extremely happy over the fine success of the recent congress of the Kampuchean communists. We warmly congratulate the people of Kampuchea for the brilliant victories they have won. We are extremely proud of our steadfast, loyal comrades-in-arms, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party.

At present, in the course of their development, the people of Kampuchea as well as the people of Vietnam still face many large difficulties caused by the common enemy of the countries of Indochina. Acting in collusion with and with the support of the U.S. imperialists, the Chinese expansionists, refusing to admit defeat, are waging a comprehensive war of sabotage against Vietnam while persuading international reactionary powers to oppose the revolutions of the three countries of Indochina. Recently, together with intensifying their acts of armed provocation against our country, they frantically assembled traitors in exile in a reactionary front to oppose the Kampuchean revolution; at the same time, they have urged the convening of a so called "International Conference on Kampuchea" in a vain attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

However, each of their decadent schemes and actions will surely meet with tragic defeat. The Kampuchean revolution will surely advance steadily forward along the path charted

by the People's Revolutionary Party. Because, the people of Kampuchea, as a result of their own experiences, clearly realize who the genuine representative of their basic and long-range interests is. Under the banner of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, they have acquired extremely powerful strength. This strength has been multiplied many times by the spirit of international solidarity and the especially close solidarity with the fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Laos. Tempered in one-half century of struggle against the common enemy and built upon the flesh and blood of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Lao soldiers, this solidarity of the three countries of Indochina has become a powerful material strength insuring the successful development of the revolution of each country.

As do the fraternal party and people of Kampuchea, the communist party and people of Vietnam greatly treasure the sacred solidarity of the countries of Indochina. Expressing this noble feeling of our people, Le Duan, in his greetings to the 4th Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, formally declared: "The unswerving policy of the Vietnam Communist Party is to make every effort to protect and develop the especially close relationship between the people of Vietnam and the people of Kampuchea as well as the people of Laos and strengthening the militant solidarity, trust, long-range cooperation and mutual help in every respect among the three countries on the basis of the principles of equality, respecting one another's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and respecting the legitimate interests of one another so that the three countries, which were close to one another in the struggle for national liberation, will always be close to one another in the work of building and protecting the country for the sake of the independence, freedom and prosperity of each country."

With the warm feelings of comrades-in-arms who are fighting on the same front against the common enemy, our people sincerely wish the fraternal people of Kampuchea, under the leadership of their vanguard revolutionary party, increasingly large victories in the work of protecting and building the beloved Kampuchean fatherland and hope that they make positive contributions to the cause of revolution and peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the entire world.

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## THE ENTIRE PEOPLE SAFEGUARD POLITICAL SECURITY AND SOCIAL ORDER

BK110517 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 81 pp 12-19

[Article by Pham Hung--passages in capitals were published in italics in the original. This translation previously appeared in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 156, 13 Aug 81, pp K9-K15]

[Text] In its new stage, the Vietnamese revolution is coping with a new enemy which pursues heinously wicked schemes of aggression. The new struggle requires that we further strengthen our political security and public order.

### I

After the great victory in 1975, which completely liberated the south, unified our entire country and placed it on the path to socialism, the Vietnamese revolution defeated the Chinese reactionaries in the war waged by their henchmen--the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique--on the southwestern border. We then helped the Kampuchean people overthrow the genocidal regime, rebuild their country and normalize their lives. Later, we again won the war of aggression directly waged by the Chinese reactionaries on our northern border. We also caused the U.S. imperialists to suffer a major setback in their "postwar plan" which was aimed at disrupting our people's peaceful construction.

Despite the heavy defeat administered by our people, the Chinese reactionary rulers still have not abandoned their scheme of aggression against our country. They are seeking alliance with imperialism and colluding with the U.S. imperialists in rallying the most malignant reactionary forces to jointly oppose the Vietnamese revolution and the revolution in the two fraternal countries on the Indochinese peninsula and to intensively sabotage our people's cause of socialist construction. They are resorting to all types of tricks--political, military, economic and diplomatic--in an attempt to weaken and then annex and use our country and the rest of Indochina as a springboard for their aggression against Southeast Asia.

At present, the Chinese reactionaries are amassing their troops close to our northern border to carry out provocations and cause armed conflicts regularly. At the same time, they are trying to distort various economic policies adopted by our party and government and sabotage production, **THUS DESTABILIZING OUR ECONOMY** and causing even greater difficulties to our people's livelihood.

They are establishing contacts with their long-implanted henchmen and dispatching additional spies, intelligence agents and commandos to our country in order to grasp the situation and carry out sabotage activities. In addition, they are taking advantage of all types of reactionaries among the Hoa population and various ethnic minority and religious groups as well as among a number of bad elements in certain organs and units to find new reactionaries for the formation of an underground force.

They are cunningly conducting psychological warfare by spreading rumors, criticizing our party's policies and leading party and state cadres, arousing skepticism and inciting the people to flee from the country in an attempt to paralyze our people's revolutionary will, create AN UNSTABLE POLITICAL SITUATION and create favorable conditions for violent disorders on our land.

They are making every effort to UNDERMINE THE NATIONAL SOLIDARITY BLOC, sow dissension between our people and our party, between our state and the Soviet Union as well as other socialist countries, and slander, carry out an economic blockade against and isolate our country from other countries in the world.

Meanwhile, the U.S. imperialists, though having been weakened repeatedly following their tragic defeat in Vietnam, have yet to resign themselves to giving up their perfidious designs against Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists and the Chinese hegemonist reactionaries are colluding with each other against the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other socialist countries as well as against national revolutionary movements and world peace. **THUS, THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS ARE THE ENEMY OF THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION; AND THE CHINESE EXPANSIONISTS AND HEGEMONISTS ARE THE DIRECT AND DANGEROUS ENEMY OF THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION AND ARE DANGEROUS SABOTEURS OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION.**

Moreover, in the north, after some decades of socialist transformation and construction, public order and safety has improved. However, there continue to be numerous and serious criminal cases. In the south, the vestiges of neocolonialism remain very serious. According to incomplete statistics, before liberation, more than 7,000 notorious robbers were released by the enemy from Chi Hoa prison. These robbers have returned to their business, causing losses in property and human lives. In addition, the former regime left behind 270,000 wounded and disabled soldiers with many of them originally professional rascals or aggressive hooligans who are now engaging in dishonest business. Some of them are working clandestinely as henchmen for imperialist-run espionage organizations.

Propagated, incited and directed by the imperialist-run espionage organizations, various reactionary organizations--including those reactionaries and tyrants in the former puppet army and administration refusing to repent for what they have done, those reactionaries belonging to defunct exploitative classes trying to raise their heads again, and those reactionaries playing off the ethnic minority people or working under the cloak of religion to oppose the administration--are taking advantage of the carelessness and unawareness of cadres and public organs to oppose and sabotage our people's revolutionary struggle.

In addition, those deviant and debauched people opposing the revolution, those undermining the economy and infringing upon socialist property, those engaging in speculation and blackmarketeering, those rigging the socialist market and those professional rascals and aggressive hooligans engaging in robbery-manslaughter activities or in forgery and fraud-related activities are undermining public order and safety.

The imperialists' and the reactionaries' many perfidious and crafty schemes, in addition to the annexationist designs of the Chinese expansionists, their threats of aggression and their espionage and psychological warfare; the difficulties confronting our people's economic life; and the activities of the reactionaries and antisocialist elements at home **ARE TROUBLING POLITICAL SECURITY AND PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY IN OUR COUNTRY.**

We must realize that in the past, our entire party, people and army were thoroughly aware of the spirit of the resolution of the fourth party congress: "Maintaining political security and public order and safety is an extremely important task" of our party and state. On the political security and public order and safety front, led by the party, our entire people, with the people's public security force as a backbone, have foiled many enemy espionage and psychological warfare schemes and actions; they have successfully prevented sabotage and rebellious activities, have timely suppressed many reactionary organizations; have annihilated or broken up an important part of the reactionary FULRO organization; have rounded up and re-educated dangerous political activists and criminal elements; have captured many enemy weapons and operational means; have actively wiped out reactionary cultural works and done away with social vices and so forth. The political security situation has been firmly safeguarded and public order, in general, has been stabilized.

However, there are many loopholes in the struggle against the schemes and espionage and psychological warfare activities conducted by the Chinese expansionists and the U.S. imperialists. The economy and socialist property have not been properly and fully protected. Corruption and theft, which damages socialist property, are still prevalent and are becoming very serious in some localities. Hooligans, who rob, murder and create social disturbances damaging to the people's lives and property, have not been scrupulously suppressed. The political security and public order and safety situation in a number of localities are complex and becoming serious in some places, especially in densely populated areas with weak bases and numerous state properties.

After implementing the sixth party Central Committee plenum resolution, our entire party and people are striving to fulfill triumphantly various basic tasks of the future plans and the 1981 plan as set forth in the ninth party Central Committee plenum resolution which include:

--Accelerate production, improve distribution and circulation to stabilize and develop the economy, overcome difficulties and gradually improve the people's daily life.

--Strengthen and consolidate national defense, firmly maintain political security and public order and safety, stand ready for combat and fight to defend the fatherland triumphantly.

--Accelerate socialist transformation in the south, consolidate and perfect socialist production relations in the north, vigorously develop the economic managerial task and strive to oppose negative phenomena.

--Continue to build key material and technical bases of socialism.

--Consolidate the special relations with Laos and Kampuchea, accelerate the comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and strengthen economic collaboration with socialist countries in CEMA and expand economic relations with other countries.

In this context, we must realize that the maintenance of political security and public order is the most important and urgent task of our party and state. To carry out this task satisfactorily, we must OFFENSIVELY AND RESOLUTELY STRUGGLE TO FOIL ALL SCHEMES AND ACTIVITIES OF THE CHINESE SPIES, THE IMPERIALISTS AND CAPITALISTS; PROMPTLY AND RESOLUTELY SUPPRESS THE EXISTING SABOTEURS; SMASH THE EXPLOITING AND REACTIONARY CLASSES' ATTEMPTS TO RAISE THEIR HEADS; STRIVE TO OPPOSE ALL OTHER CRIMES; POSITIVELY ERADICATE SOCIAL VICE AND MINIMIZE SOCIAL VICTIMS.

OBVIOUSLY THE ESPIONAGE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AND THE WAR TO UNDERMINE OUR ECONOMY WAGED BY THE CHINESE EXPANSIONISTS AND HEGEMONISTS IN COLLUSION WITH THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL REACTIONARIES, IN REALITY IS A WAR OF TOTAL DESTRUCTION AND HATE AGAINST OUR NATION IN ALL FIELDS--POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND DIPLOMATIC. IT IS AIMED AT DESTABILIZING OUR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION, AT WEAKENING US AND CREATING REBELLION IN ORDER TO CREATE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THEM TO WAGE A WAR OF AGGRESSION AGAINST OUR NATION.

For our part, the struggle to safeguard political security and social order and safety constitutes a fierce class struggle for national independence and socialism. In this struggle, our people must fight the enemy face to face as well as on the silent front, and endure a tense test of both strength and will against an enemy who resorts to aggressive actions at one time and subtle and cunning maneuvers at another. We must carry out this struggle with determination and flexibility and with persistence and sharpness. We must rally the forces of all the people and launch a vigorous movement alongside the silent activities professionally conducted by the cadres and combatants of the security forces in order to set up a tight dragnet with which to ensure the people's surveillance of enemy activities. [paragraph continues]

The history of our national struggle to safeguard political security and public order and safety for more than 35 years that we must not only be clearly aware of our main enemy and its henchmen but must also firmly grasp and correctly apply the guiding principles that have been proven correct and effective by reality. These principles consist of ENHANCING THE PARTY'S ABSOLUTE, DIRECT AND COMPREHENSIVE LEADERSHIP OVER THE STRUGGLE TO SAFEGUARD POLITICAL SECURITY AND SOCIAL ORDER AND SAFETY. This is the most important and fundamental guiding principle for the struggle to safeguard security and order. For only the party is capable of mobilizing the combined strength of the entire system of proletarian dictatorship for SETTING UP A FRONT OF COMPREHENSIVE STRUGGLE to resolutely smash all the schemes and acts of intelligence agents and spies of imperialism and capitalism, especially China and the United States, reactionaries of various stripes and other criminal elements, in order to safeguard political security and public order and safety. Reality has shown that we can achieve success only if the party committee echelons closely monitor the situation regarding political security and public order and safety, pay attention to leading the security forces, hear periodic reports on their work, study and apply the party line and policies to meet specific requirements of the situation and set forth appropriate viewpoints, programs and measures; combine the struggle to safeguard political security and public order and safety with the major basic and regular tasks of the party; link the implementation of the viewpoints and policies concerning the struggle to safeguard political security and public order and safety with other viewpoints and policies of the party; combine the mass movement to safeguard political security and public order and safety with the broad mass movements on the production, combat, economic construction and cultural fronts; motivate cadres, party members and the people of all strata to satisfactorily carry out their duty to safeguard political security and public order and safety; regularly enforce control and supervision, remedy shortcomings and mistakes and promptly draw upon and review experience so as to further reinforce and perfect the party's line and struggle methods with the aim of constantly advancing by longer and firmer strides the establishment and maintenance of socialist order.

The struggle for the maintenance of political security and public order and safety is THE TASK OF THE MASSES. It is both the right and duty of the masses toward the country's interests and their own. We must disseminate widespread and profound propaganda among the masses, making them comply with the party's policies and line and the state law voluntarily and scrupulously and prepare and carry out their own preventive measures against unlawful acts and social vices. We must motivate the masses to exercise their right to collective mastery over the maintenance of political security and public order and safety. As trade unions, youth union organizations and women's associations are component members of the system of proletarian dictatorship and are representatives of the masses' collective mastery, they should have a great responsibility for this work. We must carry out the indoctrination task satisfactorily if the masses are to be self-motivated to report to the public security organs concerned about what they suspect to be counterrevolutionary or criminal activities; to participate actively and resolutely in the struggle for the suppression of counterrevolutionary and criminal activities; to actively educate and re-educate counterrevolutionaries, criminals and backward people; to condemn and struggle to do away with negative and backward phenomena in the ideological, political, economic, cultural and social life and to positively wipe out social vices; to control and supervise cadres and office and manual workers of various state organs; to criticize cadres and combatants of the people's public security force; and to make those mass organizations responsible for maintaining political security and public order and safety stronger and more stable.

Increasing the party leadership also means UPHOLDING THE MANAGERIAL EFFECTIVENESS OF THE STATE in the field of political security and public order and safety. The managerial effectiveness of the state in this field is reflected through the organization and systematic operation of the society's activities. The state is strengthening socialist legislation, gradually supplementing and perfecting the legal system, establishing a series of systems, stipulations and procedures for the management of political security and public order and safety in keeping with the new situation; increasing various effective administrative managerial measures in the maintenance of political security and public order and safety; and disseminating and teaching law to the people. The enemy is very crafty in its activities, increasingly using sophisticated and modern scientific and technical means. Fostering its function of exercising management over society, the state is COMBINING THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY OF THE MASSES WITH THE WORK OF VARIOUS PROFESSIONAL ORGANS such as the people's public security force, the people's organs of control and the people's courts. They are the tools of force of the proletarian dictatorial state, the backbone shock forces of the party and the state and the devoted and loyal servants of the people in establishing and managing socialist social order. The combination of the masses' strength and great capabilities with the scientific and technical services of various professional sectors will be instrumental in obtaining mutual support and will ensure a firmer and more effective struggle.

In our country, CLOSELY COMBINING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION WITH THE DEFENSE OF PRODUCTION AND THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM WITH THE DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIST REGIME AND THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND is an objective law of the socialist revolution. This is because one of the most important objectives of the espionage and psychological war waged by Chinese spies in collusion with U.S. spies ... is to sabotage the economy, production and the building of socialism of our country. Therefore, combining production with its defense and building with the defense of its achievements is an important principle of the present struggle. This principle must be understood and applied nationwide as well as in each locality, each installation, each unit and each specific task. The more the building of socialism (including both socialist transformation and the building of socialism) is developed, the further its defense must be strengthened. We must oppose the idea of separating building from defense or even contrasting them. On the other hand, we must press on with the struggle against the concept that defending production is an exclusive responsibility of the public security sector. All sectors and localities, in accordance with their functions and duties, have the responsibility to defend production and the building of socialism; to struggle against enemy sabotage against the economic line and policy of the party and the material and technical bases of socialism; and to oppose the thieves of socialist property. We must clearly define the responsibilities of the organs which are in charge of construction projects and which are owners of state property, and the responsibilities of the organs specializing in protecting political security and public order. Only in this way can we achieve high efficiency in the defense of production and in building.

THE PROTECTION OF POLITICAL SECURITY MUST BE CLOSELY COMBINED WITH THE MAINTENANCE OF PUBLIC ORDER AND SAFETY (including the protection of socialist property) because they are just two aspects of a single task in the proletarian dictatorial state's management of public order and security. These two aspects are closely related, with THE PROTECTION OF POLITICAL SECURITY BEING THE MOST BASIC AND DECISIVE OBJECTIVE. Political security is closely linked with the dictatorship of the proletariat and with the survival of our party, our state, our regime and our nation in both the immediate and distant future.

In our country, like any other country, when our people began to build socialism, the activities of other criminals, especially the violators of socialist property, often increased to a serious level, especially during the early stage of the postwar period of transition to socialism. For this reason, in certain places, the struggle to maintain public order sometimes exerted a very important impact on political security.

In our country, there are at present quite a large number of cadres, party members and people who have not yet fully understood the essential relations between these two aspects. Therefore, they have sometimes emphasized political security while making light of public order or, conversely, they have at times neglected the protection of political security when they saw public order deteriorating. We must realize that the enemy is trying to sabotage us in all fields; for this reason, protecting political security is still our most important task at present. At the same time, we must absolutely not disregard the maintenance of public order. If political security is not firmly protected, there will be no favorable conditions for us to satisfactorily safeguard socialist property and to effectively maintain public order and safety. On the contrary, if public order and safety are not satisfactorily maintained, the enemy and other criminals will take advantage of such a situation, the law will be flouted and the property of the state, the collectives and citizens will be violated. Such a state of affairs will seriously affect political security.

Realities of the struggle in our country have shown that the counterrevolutionaries have often taken advantage of our momentary difficulties and our shortcomings in implementing the party's policies and the state's law to incite bad elements to disturb public order and safety, to steal socialist property and, eventually, to sabotage political security. If public order and safety are seriously violated, or if we fail to skillfully resolve the public order and safety problem, political security will be adversely affected or, worse still, the public order and safety problem may turn into a political security problem. Therefore, in evaluating the situation as well as in resolving the problems of political security and public order and safety, we must always remain alert and take into consideration the relations between the two problems so as to adopt appropriate policies and measures to satisfactorily resolve one problem while effectively attending to the other. This is to avoid developing shortcomings in our efforts to resolve one problem and allowing the enemy to take advantage of them to sabotage our efforts in tackling the other problem.

WE MUST BRING INTO PLAY THE AGGREGATE STRENGTH OF ALL FORCES, AND APPLY ALL NECESSARY MEASURES IN A WELL-COORDINATED MANNER SO AS TO ACTIVELY BUILD UP OUR FORCES. WE MUST TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN GUARDING AGAINST AND CONTINUOUSLY ATTACKING THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES AND OTHER CRIMINALS. WE MUST ATTACK THEM AND HAVE FIRM CONTROL OF THE SECURITY SITUATION AND VICE VERSA, IN ORDER TO DESTROY AND BREAK UP THESE ELEMENTS. This is our party's highly creative method of making revolution; it is also the guiding principle enabling us to bring into play the aggregate strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our struggle against the counterrevolutionaries and other criminals and for satisfactorily protecting political security and public order and safety. This aggregate strength is the strength of our party's correct line and policies combined with the strength of tens of millions of people enlightened by the party. It is an aggregation of political strength and military, economic, cultural and social strength and a combination of the strength derived from the management system based on legal and administrative measures and the strength of public opinion.

This principle reflects an extremely important strategic concept of our party; the concept of the initiative, or the sense of responsibility which calls for efforts to ensure the highest safety for the revolution and to promptly check dangerous schemes and acts of the counterrevolutionaries and other criminals, thereby preventing them from jeopardizing the country's political security and violating the people's property and lives.

Therefore, we must grasp and closely combine the two tasks of actively taking preventive measures to defend ourselves and actively launching attacks to destroy and break up the enemy. We must take all preventive measures for self-defense. In terms of our basic and long-term interests, the most active and effective preventive measure is for us to victoriously carry out the three revolutions and to successfully build socialism in our country. Viewed from the angle of protecting political security and public order and safety, to be active means to take very strict and absolute preventive measures. These measures may even include, initially, the suppression and reduction of social vices to the minimum and, eventually, the elimination of social conditions which breed crimes and the prevention of shortcomings which facilitate the activities of old counter-revolutionaries and criminals and breed new ones.

Act: s prevention also means actively and continuously attacking the counterrevolutionaries and other criminals politically, ideologically and organizationally. We must attack them any time, in war as well as in peace, anywhere, in all fields, in different forms and by different measures. The building and defense of socialism does not allow us to cope with the enemy in a passive manner. It requires us to have a firm knowledge of his schemes and activities and to firmly maintain the initiative in public order and security. The present situation calls for us to be active in gaining a comprehensive knowledge of the security conditions, in building our forces, in combat, in implementing general positions and policies, and in handling each specific court case. In doing this, we must consider building as a basic and highly decisive factor. By building we mean developing mass movements for the protection of political security and public order and safety; building an honest and strong public security service; building reconnaissance organizations and formulating reconnaissance plans for key areas and principal targets [doois tuovung]]; formulating plans for our self-defense and for enemy suppression; developing scientific theories for the Vietnamese people's public security work; building the material and technical bases necessary for the public security forces in maintaining public order and security; and developing strong, effective, creative and timely party leadership in this struggle.

**BUILDING, PREVENTION, ATTACK AND MASTERY**--these four aspects are closely related, with building being the basis. As such, they help create an aggregate strength in our struggle against the enemy. This is a very important principle in the task of guiding the struggle to protect political security and public order and safety.

The struggle to protect political security and to maintain public order and safety is an extremely complex, difficult and fierce struggle. Under the party leadership, our entire armed forces and people are always alert for the scheme of the Chinese expansionists and reactionaries in collusion with the U.S. imperialists to sabotage our country, and are determined to firmly protect political security, to satisfactorily maintain public order and safety and to successfully implement the resolution of the ninth plenum of the party Central Committee, thereby contributing to fulfilling the task of building socialism and defending our beloved socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

CSO: 4209/440

**THE ROAD THAT LEADS TO PEACE, INDEPENDENCE, FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION AMONG THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS**

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[Text] Forty Years of No Peace and Drastic Changes

In the past 40 years Southeast Asia has been one of the most volatile regions and the only place in the world where there has been no peace. Wars and crises have repeatedly broken out year after year, rendering the situation in Southeast Asia unstable and volatile. It was here that the bloodiest and most protracted wars, more fierce than World War II in certain respects, were fought.

World War II began in Southeast Asia almost at the same time as in Europe. Taking advantage of the defeat of the imperialist West European countries by German fascism, Japan jumped into Southeast Asia--driving off France, Britain and Holland--and enforced the Greater East Asia Doctrine, turning Southeast Asia into a new-style Japanese colony. Japan's thrust into Southeast Asia broke the imperialist West European countries' colonialism and destroyed the social basis of their rule. At that time Japan's neocolonialist rule had just begun and had yet to be consolidated. Seizing this opportunity, many Southeast Asian nations rose up and, in coordination with the democratic and anti-fascist forces in the world, launched their struggle for self-liberation. The victory of the Soviet Red Army that destroyed German fascism and routed the most powerful armies of Japan, which led to the unconditional surrender of Japanese fascism, created a very favorable historic opportunity for the world revolutionary movement, especially the movement for national liberation in Southeast Asia, to develop and achieve success in a number of countries--the three Indochinese countries, Indonesia and Burma.

However, not long after the Japanese surrender, the West European colonialists renewed their aggression against various countries in the region and started bloody colonial wars such as the Dutch war in Indonesia, the British war in Malaysia and Singapore, the French war in Indochina and so forth. Except in the case of Indochina, most of the colonial wars in Southeast Asia soon ended with a political reconciliation between the West European colonialists and the bourgeoisie of the Southeast Asian countries. From 1950 onward, there remained in Southeast Asia only the war conducted by French colonialism against the independence of the nations on the Indochinese peninsula. This war only ended following the heavy defeat of the French expeditionary army at Dien Bien Phu, which forced France to sign the 1954 Geneva agreements and recognize the independence, unification, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

The decline and crisis of the Western European imperialist countries' colonialism in Southeast Asia paved the way for the U.S. imperialists to expand their role of international gendarme in this region. Simultaneously with reoccupying the colonies lost to Japan, the U.S. imperialists sought to gradually drive the Western European countries out of their Southeast Asian colonies including Indochina, which they considered an important target.

Along with waging war in Korea, the U.S. imperialists actively gave aid to the French colonialists so as to gradually take over the conduct of the French war of aggression in Indochina and to direct it according to U.S. strategic aims. France's defeat in Indochina precipitated direct U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia with the founding of the aggressive bloc SEATO in September 1954 and France's ouster from South Vietnam. The intervention of U.S. imperialism, the leading imperialist power, in Southeast Asia this time plunged the region into a crisis of a far larger scale and a totally different nature from the previous ones. To support their war of aggression against Vietnam and other countries on the Indochina peninsula, the biggest aggressive war in the history of the United States, the U.S. imperialists mobilized almost a'l their war machine, put into use not only the system of their military and logistics bases in the Asia-Pacific region but part of their facilities in Western Europe and other parts of the world, and attracted the involvement of many of

their allied and satellite countries. This crisis was also deeper because it was triggered by the biggest neocolonialist power, whose defeat would entail not only the crisis of U.S. imperialism but the bankruptcy of neocolonialism throughout the world. Therefore, the U.S. debacle in Vietnam was the most serious crisis of imperialism since World War II. Just as in earlier cases, the victory of the Southeast Asian nations' struggle for self-liberation which culminated in the victory of our people and other Indochinese nations in their anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation, put an end to the longest and most bitter crisis in Southeast Asia.

We will not include all the complexity and turbulence of the past situation in Southeast Asia if we do not mention the criminal plans which the Chinese authorities have carried out against the Southeast Asian peoples throughout the past 30 years, ever since Maoism came to power in China. A characteristic of the undeclared war waged by the Beijing authorities in Southeast Asia is that the war provoker always covers his face and fights through surrogates. This kind of war, however, can do extremely serious harm. It constitutes a latent menace to the independence of every nation; it sows division and stirs up confrontation among the countries in the region. Prior to 1973, Beijing's scheme was carried out mainly in the form of civil wars provoked in various Southeast Asian countries by Maoist forces fostered and abetted by Beijing. These wars at times heatedly flared up and at times temporarily cooled off on Beijing's orders to serve China's expansionist and hegemonist designs and to suit its strategic aims in each specific period. From 1973 onward, after the United States, in the wake of its Vietnam debacle, was forced to withdraw its troops from Indochina and continental Southeast Asia, Beijing increasingly revealed its reactionary colors and blatantly opposed the independence of the Southeast Asian nations. This policy culminated in the war of aggression directly launched by more than 600,000 Chinese troops against Vietnam in February 1979. Although the Beijing authorities were forced to withdraw their troops as a result of the fierce counterblows dealt by our armed forces and people, the undeclared war started by the reactionary forces among the Maoist ruling circles in China against the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean peoples and other Southeast Asian nations has not ended. It is being waged under a new form and by a combination of various measures, including the use of military forces to constantly carry out armed provocations and to threaten invasion in coordination with intensified psychological warfare, infiltration, sabotage and subversive activities coupled with economic sabotage and blockade. At the same time, Beijing has stepped up its diplomatic campaign aimed at isolating Vietnam in the international arena and dividing the Southeast Asian nations, especially, to stir up confrontation between the Indochinese and Asean countries.

The situation in Southeast Asia over the past 40 years has clearly shown that the cause of the unending state of war and crisis in this region is the policy of aggression and interference pursued by the colonialist and imperialist powers and the expansionism and hegemonism embraced by the Beijing ruling circles. The situation in Southeast Asia over the past 40 years, however, has not been marked solely by war and crisis. This has also been one of the regions of the world in which most far-reaching and radical changes have taken place.

First, the national liberation movement of the Southeast Asian countries has ended the rule of more than 3 centuries by the West European colonialist regimes in Southeast Asia. In particular, the victory of the Vietnamese people's resistance struggle against the French colonialists went beyond their national boundaries, contributed to the collapse of the French colonialists' age-old colonialist system and marked the beginning of the complete collapse of colonialism throughout the world. With the collapse of colonialism, the trend of peace, national independence and nonalignment developed among the nascent countries. The Afro-Asian conference held in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955 marked a new development step of the national independence movement, greatly contributing to the birth of the nonaligned countries' movement 6 years later.

Second, the victory of the Vietnamese people and other peoples in Indochina in their anti-U.S. national salvation resistance is of epochal character and assumes an international importance. Following the total U.S. defeat in Vietnam, for the first time in 30 years foreign aggressor troops are no longer seen on the Southeast Asian continent. The trend of peace, neutrality and national independence has developed in the Southeast Asian countries, including those which used to side with the United States in its war of aggression against Vietnam.

This change also bears further international significance because it has ushered in a new era in international relations: the post-Vietnam era, the main characteristics of which are the decline of U.S. imperialism, the crisis of the entire imperialist system and the tremendous growth of the era's three revolutionary turrents.

Third, the Beijing leadership's expansionism and hegemonism in Southeast Asia has met with grievous failure, especially during the past 5 years. Parallel with the collapse in Kampuchea of the genocidal regime of Pol Pot, the most capable lackey of Maoism in Southeast Asia, was the total failure of the Chinese expansionist and hegemonist scheme in Indochina. This scheme has been gradually exposed in the Southeast Asian region.

Fourth, following the victory of the Kampuchean people in overthrowing the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary genocidal regime, since 1979 there have developed two types of nations in Southeast Asia with different social, political and economic regimes. Following the chasing out of the French from Vietnam, a mere 25 years ago, socialism was initially built in only half of Vietnam. Today socialism has been chosen as the path of development for their countries by the Indochinese peoples.

Fifth, the profound change in the balance of forces in Southeast Asia has created a totally new situation in this region, thus contributing to changing the world balance of forces which is beneficial to peace and revolution. Forty years ago, colonialism covered the whole of Southeast Asia, and the reactionary forces were obviously stronger than the progressive forces. Today the peoples of the Southeast Asian countries have risen up and become masters of their own destinies.

The imperialist and international reactionary forces' attempts to use military power to impose their will on the Indochinese peoples and to repress the national independence- and peace-loving forces in Southeast Asia have been foiled and frustrated. This has forced them to change their tactics. They are now resorting to political and economic measures as a means to maintain their interest in Southeast Asia and to change the situation in Indochina. They have, especially, colluded with one another in an attempt to sow division between the ASEAN countries and the Indochinese countries. Although this situation has created more complex phenomena in the region's international relations, the tendency toward peace, national independence and nonalignment in Southeast Asia has become irreversible.

Looking back to the situation in Southeast Asia 40 years ago, one can see that this is a region where the era's two opponent forces struggled violently against each other. Why was it that in Southeast Asia--a region which though strategically significant and rich in natural resources, is not a leading zone compared with the Middle East, Europe and other regions of the world--the struggle was so violent and changes in the region over the past 40 years were so profound and radical? There are many factors:

Firstly, Southeast Asia is a sole region in the world that witnessed the partition efforts of the four largest imperialist and expansionist forces--Japan, the United States, China and Western Europe. Conflicts therefore occurred between the "old" and the "nascent" imperialists, between old and neo-colonialism, between Western imperialism and Chinese expansionism. This contest gradually became acute because it happened against the background in which the world and Southeast Asian revolutionary movements were embarking on a new, developing era.

Secondly, the most important factor for change in Southeast Asia in the past 40 years was that, of all the regions oppressed and exploited by imperialism, Southeast Asia achieved revolutionary enlightenment early. The influence of the October Revolution also reached this region in no time. As early as in the 1920's, a number of communist parties were founded here. This is the only region in the world where all the countries have their communist parties, many of which have, since the early days of their founding, wielded the banner of leadership over the revolution. Under the leadership of genuine revolutionary leaders, the national liberation movement in Southeast Asia bore the most marked revolutionary character. This was most clearly reflected in the revolutionary movement of the Indochinese nations. The Indochinese revolution has not stopped with the national democratic revolution but advanced directly to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development; and it has resolutely opposed opportunism in all forms, especially Maoism. The Indochinese revolutionary movement has closely linked national independence with socialism and this has served as a source of strength to make this movement invincible and a factor deciding the development of the Southeast Asian situation in the past 4 decades. The imperialist and international reactionary forces have, in the past 40 years, mobilized the greatest military forces and resorted to the most cunning maneuvers to make our struggle against them extremely fierce; but in the end, they have courted the most ignominious defeats. SEATO, one of the biggest military alliances set up by U.S. imperialism after World War II, collapsed as a result of the revolutionary movement in Southeast Asia. Southeast Asia is also the only region in the world where U.S. imperialism was forced, for the first time in history, to dismantle a number of its military bases and withdraw its troops home after having been defeated in aggression. The success and growth of the revolutionary movement in Southeast Asia have transformed this region in the post-Vietnam period into one of the weakest links of the world imperialist system.

Thirdly, the resolute and victorious struggle of the three Indochinese countries has not only challenged the interests of colonialism, imperialism and expansionism in Southeast Asia but also threatened their illegitimate interests elsewhere in the world. French colonialism considered the Indochinese war a gamble that would decide its colonial rule in the world. This was the reason why France threw all its forces into this war. And true enough, the Dien Bien Phu victory not only heralded the collapse of French colonialism, but contributed to bringing down colonialism all over the world. For U.S. imperialism, South Vietnam was the site for the most complete and comprehensive experimentation of its neocolonialism. The defeat sustained by the United States in its war of aggression against Vietnam meant total bankruptcy for U.S. neocolonialism; it threatened the very rule of the United States over the capitalist world. As a consequence, the victory won by Vietnam and the defeat sustained by the United States in Vietnam have opened up the post-Vietnam period in the world. The Beijing reactionaries consider Southeast Asia their main target for expansion and the most important instrument in their strategy to achieve world hegemony and their relations with world powers. Their failure in Southeast Asia meant bankruptcy for their counterrevolutionary strategy in a region where Beijing enjoyed the most favorable conditions, and bankruptcy for Maoism in Southeast Asia.

For the reasons mentioned above, the events that have taken place in Southeast Asia in the past 40 years, especially the successes of the revolutionary forces in Indochina, have had a tremendous impact that reaches beyond regional boundaries and has transformed Southeast Asia into the region of greatest strategic importance in the world.

## Maoism and Southeast Asia

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China 30 years ago, the Southeast Asian people have had to cope with the danger resulting from the Beijing powerholders' expansionism and hegemonist policy.

This danger is very great and long-lasting, particularly because of the strategic position of the region which is located close to the southern border of China. The territorial waters of various countries in the region are also close to China's. China has long continued to regard Southeast Asia as a traditional and priority target for its expansionism. From the earliest days when Mao was still in power, he regarded Southeast Asia as part of Chinese territory which was seized by the West and which was to be taken back by the new Chinese state. That is why the danger of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism facing Southeast Asia is great, direct and long-lasting. Though the danger of imperialism--which remains unchanged in nature--continues to exist, it has been limited following its defeat and withdrawal from the region. Meanwhile, the danger of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism facing Southeast Asia will continue to exist as long as the Beijing powerholders adhere to a reactionary policy. This danger has become more and more serious because the influence of Maoism has long infiltrated quite deep into the revolutionary movements of the region through various pro-Maoist forces and through tens of millions of Chinese nationals and people of Chinese descent.

We would not be able to realize the dangerous nature of Maoism if we failed to realize the important position of Southeast Asia in Beijing's global strategy. The reasons for Beijing to pay attention to Southeast Asia are that:

First, Southeast Asia is a region made up of small countries, the largest of which has a population only one-tenth that of China. The divide-and-rule policy of the colonialists created national discrimination, conflicts and disagreements among the various nations in the region. This situation has created an opportunity for China to "fish in troubled waters," especially when the region has many groups ready to assist China's intervention.

Second, Southeast Asia is a region in which the strategic interests of various imperialist forces have always been in conflict. This region is fraught with disagreements which China can play off. China tried to take advantage of the disagreements among the imperialists themselves to secure a temporary compromise with the French at the Geneva conference on Indochina in 1954 in order to prevent U.S. influence from spreading to China's southern border. China also took advantage of the disagreements among various Southeast Asian nations over imperialism in order to develop its influence in the region, just as it took advantage of the disagreements among various forces, especially the disagreements between the antigovernment pro-Maoist forces and the governments of various countries in the region, in order to exercise pressure on these countries.

Third, Southeast Asia is a region where there are many highly dynamic and thorough revolutionary movements which, however, have had to cope constantly with enemies 10 times bigger than themselves which possess enormous economic and military potential. To become victorious, these movements must rely on support and assistance from the outside. This factor has been fully exploited by the Chinese powerholders. They have used their economic and military assistance as a means to get hold of these movements so that they can employ them as a tool to bargain with the imperialists, thus using the blood and bones of the Southeast Asian peoples as a stepping stone to climb to a position of a great power in the world.

Over the past 30 years, China's Southeast Asia policy has changed many times, with only one strategic aim--serving China's hegemonist ambition in Southeast Asia and in the world as a whole.

From 1949, when Mao Zedong took over the administration, to 1958, China's general strategy was to quickly restore its war-devastated economy and cope with the two hotbeds of war caused by the imperialists on its northern and southern borders (the Korean war and the Indochina war) while countering the U.S. policy of blockade and military threat. That was the time when the global cold war was at its peak. Faced with this situation, the Beijing rulers were compelled to rely totally on the Soviet Union as China signed a treaty of alliance and mutual assistance with that country and looked upon it as the leadership center of the world revolution. This was aimed at soliciting Soviet economic aid and assistance and using the Soviet-Chinese alliance to warn and threaten the United States. At this time China also sent its troops to help the Korean people fight the Americans and lent its support to national liberation movements in Southeast Asia. During this period, particularly from the end of the Korean war, China intensively took advantage of the struggle for national liberation by the peoples of the Southeast Asian countries, especially the Indochinese people, to advance itself to the position of a world power and serve as an instrument for bargaining and reaching agreements with the French colonialists. At the 1954 Geneva conference on Indochina, China was given equal footing with the other four big powers--the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France--while China's permanent seat on the UN Security Council was retained by the Chiang Kai-shek regime. Concerned over the possibility of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, China sought to help the French and the Indochina war by dividing Vietnam into two parts and maintaining the French presence and influence in the southern part of that country and in Laos and Kampuchea so as to check the Americans and keep the Vietnamese revolution under control, and thereby pressure Vietnam into depending on Beijing.

Meanwhile, the Beijing rulers joined the countries of Southeast Asia in signing a statement on the five principles of peaceful coexistence and ordered all pro-Chinese "communist parties" to suspend the armed struggle and begin negotiations with the Southeast Asian governments. They also protested against the armed struggle for national liberation waged by Vietnam and Laos.

These acts by Beijing were aimed at preventing the United States from interfering directly in Southeast Asia while serving as indications of detente toward that country. Contacts between China and the United States began at Panmunjom (Korea) and continued at the 1954 Geneva conference. Official talks at ambassadorial level between the two countries finally began in Geneva in mid-1955 (and later in Warsaw).

Between 1950 and 1969, the balance of power began to change in a manner favorable to the Soviet Union and revolutionary forces. The achievements of the Soviet Union in the fields of strategic weaponry and space conquest led to the establishment of the U.S.-Soviet strategic balance while the vigorous development of the struggle for national liberation following the Dien Bien Phu victory compelled the United States to consider detente with the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, in China, as a consequence of the "Great Leap Forward," the economy was devastated and famine and unemployment were rampant. The prestige of Mao and the pro-Mao ruling clique declined seriously. A decisive power struggle then took place within the pro-Mao clique, which led to the civil war known as the so-called "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in the last half of the 1960's.

During this time, China worked actively to sow dissension within the international communist movement. Along with working out a "25-point platform" for this movement, China also made every effort to cause a split among the world communist and worker parties by urging the setting up of Maoist groups under the label "genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties" throughout the world and intensively campaigning for the convening of a conference of 11 communist parties in Southeast Asia, in a bid to set up a China-led world communist movement.

To cause further trouble for the Soviet Union and the United States, the Beijing reactionary clique created disputes at the Soviet-Chinese border and conducted large-scale anti-Soviet and anti-U.S. campaigns in the world. It ordered the Maoist groups in Southeast Asia to initiate armed struggles against the United States and other governments in this region under the slogan "Power emanates from the barrel of a gun."

At that time, the United States was waging its war of aggression against Vietnam and other Indochinese countries. Beijing sent word that if the United States did not lay a hand on China, China would reciprocate toward the United States. Meanwhile, Beijing rejected the setting up of a world people's front with the participation of the Soviet Union to support Vietnam, while urging the latter not to accept Soviet aid. Moreover, the Chinese authorities encouraged Vietnam to fight to the end, and protested against the negotiations between Vietnam and the United States. As M. Taylor observed, Beijing was determined to "oppose the United States" to the last Vietnamese. Beijing's scheme was to monopolize our people's resistance struggle as a trump card for reconciliation with the United States.

From the 1970's onward we have had the post-Vietnam period. The U.S. defeat in Vietnam and the economic and political crises in the United States have weakened it, thus dragging the entire world capitalist system into a crisis. The tremendous growth of the Soviet Union and the three revolutionary currents of the era has tipped the balance of power in favor of the forces of peace, national independence and socialism. In the meantime, China, which has experienced many troubled years, is faced with the danger of political and economic collapse. The Chinese authorities' primary strategic tasks in this period are to stabilize internal order and modernize the country in order to quickly become a world power. China wants to place the United States in opposition to the Soviet Union in order to fish in troubled waters. In other words, it wants to take advantage of U.S. weakness and the U.S. policy of coping with the Soviet growth and the developing of the world revolutionary movement. On the one hand, China has advanced the three-worlds theory, calling for opposition to the two superpowers, opposing and undermining Soviet-U.S. detente and pitting the United States against the Soviet Union. On the other hand, it has formed a front with the imperialists and world reactionaries against the Soviet Union and called on the United States and other imperialist powers to help it build a powerful China as the 16th member of the North Atlantic military bloc--NATO--to defend the wealth of imperialism in the Orient. The Chinese ruling clique has completely cast away its fake revolutionary face and openly colluded with imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism.

The Chinese powerholders' apostasy began and has reached its peak in Southeast Asia. The United States, defeated in Vietnam, was forced to implement the Nixon doctrine and the policy of Vietnamization of the war, which were aimed at withdrawing U.S. troops from South Vietnam while being able to maintain the Saigon puppet clique, and also at withdrawing U.S. troops from mainland Southeast Asia while being able to maintain U.S. interests there. The Chinese powerholders' apostasy helped the Nixon administration achieve these objectives. China agreed to help the puppet regime in South Vietnam in exchange for U.S. withdrawal from Taiwan. Moreover, the United States would not prevent China from being admitted to the United Nations organization and becoming the third pole in the U.S. "triangular" strategy. [paragraph continues]

Meanwhile, China has colluded with the United States and the ASEAN states in controlling the Vietnamese and Indochinese revolution and stemming Soviet influence in Southeast Asia. To support this strategy, China has ordered the "Maoist" rebel groups in the Southeast Asian countries to end their armed struggle and cooperate with the governments of these countries.

The total victory of our people in their anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation and unification together with the victory of the Lao revolution and especially the victory of the Kampuchean people--which led to the overthrow of the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique--dealt a deadly blow to China's sinister designs, causing major setbacks to China's strategy of seeking collusion with the imperialists and reactionaries. With these victories, the trend towards peace and independence has developed ever more vigorously in Southeast Asia. Faced with this situation, the Beijing reactionaries have made every effort to distort the truth about our armed forces' coming to help the Kampuchean people track down the remnant Pol Pot forces at the request of the KPRC. They have slanderously charged that "Vietnam invaded Kampuchea," have invented the so-called "Vietnamese threat" and have created confrontation between Vietnam, or the Indochinese countries as a whole, and the ASEAN states. They are plunging deeper and deeper along the path of hostility against the peoples of the Indochinese countries and are creating confrontation between the ASEAN states and the Indochinese countries.

China employed the Pol Pot clique to create a hotbed of war in Southeast Asia and utilized more than 600,000 troops to mount a military offensive against Vietnam in February 1979 primarily to invade and weaken Vietnam. It also intended to create a major crisis in Southeast Asia and sabotage the trend towards peace and friendly cooperation which has developed among the Southeast Asian nations following the victories of the Indochinese countries. This crisis has resulted in a new regrouping of forces in Southeast Asia into two blocs, with China, the United States, Japan and the ASEAN states against the Indochinese countries. This crisis contributed to pushing Sino-U.S. collusion to its height during the years 1979 and 1980. At present, the Beijing reactionaries are very aggressive in trying to oppose the dismissal of Pol Pot and the trend towards dialogue in Southeast Asia. Though defeated by our army and people and forced to withdraw its troops, China has not given up its aggressive schemes. Instead, the Chinese reactionaries are trying to combine the use of its military pressure against Vietnam and Laos at its borders with these two countries with the use of the so-called "Kampuchean issue" as a means to maintain the state of confrontation in Southeast Asia. Regarding the ASEAN states, the Chinese reactionaries are, on the one hand, trying to court and woo these countries with the purpose of sabotaging these countries' desire to have a dialogue with the Indochinese countries; and are, on the other, continuing to use their economic assistance and rebellious Maoist groups as a means to pressure the governments of the ASEAN states into following the Chinese orbit against the Soviet Union and Vietnam. The rebellious Maoist groups in Southeast Asia have become the tools of Beijing against the Indochinese revolution and against the interests of the peoples in their own countries.

The Chinese authorities' expansionist schemes against Southeast Asia have also been reflected in their designs and ambitions for the Eastern Sea--a sea area which is very important for the interests of the Southeast Asian countries. China wants to monopolize this sea area of approximately 4 million square kms and turn it into its own backyard waters. A map published by China depicts China's southern territorial waters with its boundaries overlapping the entire exclusive economic zones and the continental shelves of "Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines and others." To control this sea area means to control Southeast Asia in terms of the sea, monopolizing the exploitation of underwater resources and commanding the international shipping routes which run through the area.

At present, there are major differences between the blocs in Southeast Asia with the reactionary forces in the Beijing leadership--which are colluding with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary elements in the ruling circles of certain ASEAN states-- on the one side; and with the peoples of three Indochinese countries, the Southeast Asian people as a whole and other forces of peace and national independence in the region on the other. The current struggle of the various Southeast Asian nations is a struggle for peace and national independence.

In summation, facts over the past 30 years show that Southeast Asia is a main target for the Beijing reactionaries' expansionism and that they regard this as the main tool to carry out their global counterrevolutionary strategy. They can profit from Southeast Asia only when peace and stability are absent there. But Southeast Asia is also a place where China has suffered the most tragic setbacks.

The struggle for peace and national independence in Southeast Asia in the past as well as at present has been a struggle between the imperialists and the Beijing reactionaries on the one hand, and the forces of peace and independence in the region on the other. It is also the struggle between two tendencies in the region--the Maoist path and the path of independence and sovereignty. The activities of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and the pro-Maoist rebel groups in Southeast Asia show that the Maoist path is one of serving as lackeys of Beijing, against their own national interests. It has only led to crises and renegade acts. The experiences of the peoples of the Indochinese and other Southeast Asian countries in their struggle show that only by advancing along the path of independence and sovereignty and uniting with all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world against imperialism and the Beijing reactionaries can their struggle be successful, their national independence consolidated and peace and security in the region ensured.

#### Peace and Stability in Southeast Asia on the Basis of Peaceful Coexistence Between Indochina and ASEAN

The imperialist and expansionist powers' aggressive and interventionist policy has, over the past 40 years, not only plunged Southeast Asia into wars, but has caused the countries of this region to be constantly opposed to each other. The U.S. intervention, particularly the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, caused considerable dissension among the Southeast Asian countries. Immediately after World War II, a number of countries became U.S. neocolonies. The Philippines and Thailand became official members of the U.S.-led Southeast Asian aggressor bloc--SEATO. In 1967 ASEAN was established to cope with the victory of the revolution in Indochina and the U.S. defeat.

After the United States was forced to end the war and withdraw its troops from Vietnam and the Southeast Asian mainland, the relationship between ASEAN and the Indochinese countries entered a new era. Military opposition has basically ended, and normal diplomatic relations have gradually been established or restored. Particularly between 1976 and 1978, encouraging progress was made in the relations between Vietnam and Laos and the ASEAN states. This was a period during which the atmosphere of peace, friendship and cooperation between the countries in the region was better than ever before, promising well for the transformation of Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability.

However, the situation did not develop to the expectation of the nations involved. As a result of China using the Pol Pot clique to wage a war of aggression against Vietnam from the southwestern flank and sending some 600,000 troops to invade Vietnam from the north and the Carter administration's accelerating the playing of the "China card," the ASEAN states once again sided with the hostile forces against the Indochinese countries. [paragraph continues]

Because of the change in the balance of power in the region during the post-Vietnam period, this time the opposition of the ASEAN states is mainly on the political, economic and diplomatic front. The ASEAN countries have allowed China to inveigle them into the campaign of economic blockade and diplomatic isolation of the Indochinese countries. They have echoed China's slanderous allegations that Vietnam is the cause of the tense and unstable situation in Southeast Asia. They have deliberately refused to admit that the absence of peace and stability in Southeast Asia over the past 40 years has been caused by the imperialist and international reactionaries' aggressive and interventionist policy and that thanks to the struggles of the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean peoples, these destructive factors have been eliminated, and the longest and fiercest wars of aggression by the imperialists have ended. The Kampuchean people's victory in overthrowing the genocidal Pol Pot clique--Beijing's lackeys--the Lao people's victory in opposing China's subversive and rebellion-inciting scheme and the Vietnamese people's victory in defeating the aggression by 600,000 Chinese troops have checked China's expansionist scheme in Southeast Asia.

Peace and stability in Southeast Asia is being jeopardized mainly by the fact that the Beijing reactionaries are colluding with the U.S. imperialists in continuing the policy of aggression against the three Indochinese countries and interfering in the Southeast Asian countries' internal affairs. The presence of the Vietnamese Army in Kampuchea is at the Kampuchean people and government's request to cope with the Chinese threat. Once that Chinese threat no longer exists, Vietnam and Kampuchea will agree on the withdrawal of the Vietnamese Army from Kampuchea, as they did on the two previous occasions after the French and U.S. wars of aggression. To demand the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea at a time when the ASEAN states support the Chinese threat to "teach Vietnam a second lesson," and when they openly intensify their interventionist and subversive activities against the Indochinese countries and continue to allow China to use Thai territory as a "sanctuary" for the genocidal Pol Pot clique and other reactionary Khmer forces to oppose the Kampuchean people, is tantamount to depriving the Vietnamese people and other Indochinese peoples of the legitimate right to self-defense and to acting as accomplices of the forces that are undermining peace and stability in this region. Some authorities from among the ASEAN countries also deliberately deny another reality, which is that the current tense and unstable situation in Southeast Asia is not developing between the three Indochinese countries and the ASEAN states. On the contrary, the tense situation is occurring between China on the one hand, and Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, on the other. Tens of thousands of Chinese troops are being massed in preparation for a new act of aggression against Vietnam and other Indochinese countries. The Beijing authorities have clearly stated that they continue their military pressure on the Indochinese countries, while at the same time maintaining the armed activities of the exiled Kampuchean and Lao reactionaries and the bellicose elements in the Thai Army against Kampuchea and Laos. China has long considered the Eastern Sea as belonging to it and has violated the littoral countries' rights to exclusive economic zones and the continental shelf.

In fact, the present situation in Southeast Asia shows that if there is any threat to peace and stability in the region as well as to the security of Thailand and other ASEAN states, it stems from the interference of Beijing expansionism rather than from that of the Indochinese countries. In point of fact, the Indochinese countries have always been victims of the various interferences and aggressions carried out by the imperialists and the Beijing reactionaries. History proves that the Indochinese countries have never waged any war of aggression against the ASEAN states. On the contrary, Thailand has waged three wars of aggression against Vietnam and many against Kampuchea and Laos. During the U.S. war of aggression against the peoples of the Indochinese countries, the ASEAN states took sides with the United States, and to varying extents, gave a helping hand to the latter in its war of aggression. Not only did Thailand and the Philippines offer their territories as staging bases for the U.S. armed forces to invade Vietnam and other Indochinese countries, they also sent troops to help the United States invade these countries. [paragraph continues]

The ASEAN states, especially Thailand, Singapore and the Philippines, made a fortune from their services to the U.S. war of aggression against the Indochinese peoples. The cause of the unrest in Southeast Asia has nothing to do with the Soviet Union or the Vietnamese-Soviet relationship. In its 60-year history, the Soviet Union has never invaded any country in the world. Among the five big powers which are standing members of the UN Security Council, the Soviet Union is the only member nation never involved in a war of aggression against the Southeast Asian countries. Instead, the Soviet Union has always sided with the Southeast Asian nations in their struggle for national independence and for peace in the region. It is due to the great support and assistance of the Soviet Union that the Vietnamese people and other peoples in Indochina were able to defeat the most aggressive forces in our times, regaining independence for their respective nations and contributing to restoring peace in Southeast Asia. Therefore, the Vietnamese-Soviet relationship, as well as the relationship between the Soviet Union and Laos and between the Soviet Union and Kampuchea, poses no threat to anyone. Instead, it has made significant contributions to the independence of the three Indochinese countries as well as to peace and stability in the region.

Obviously, there is no military confrontation between the Indochinese and ASEAN countries as there is between the Indochinese countries and China. There are, however, profound differences in regard to the causes of regional unrest and instability which lead to disagreement on a solution for the problems of Southeast Asia. Between the Indochinese and ASEAN countries, there are also basic common interests in achieving regional peace and stability. Although there is no possibility that these differences can be settled in the immediate future, there is a common basis for the Indochinese and ASEAN countries to seek a solution to the problems in the region. The nations in Southeast Asia now have only one choice: either to continue confrontation as the ASEAN countries have done over the past 2 years--the path leading to a tense and critical situation which has been used by the imperialist and expansionist forces in the past 40 years to divide and rule our nations--or to continue the process of peaceful coexistence between Indochina and ASEAN which satisfactorily took place in the 1976-78 period. For the interests of all nations in Southeast Asia, efforts must be made by everybody to turn the process of peaceful coexistence between the two different social systems into a firm and irreversible basis. This is the road to success in ensuring peace and independence for each nation, bringing about friendship and cooperation among the nations in the region, and turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability. Based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonaggression against each other, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and equality and mutual benefit, all nations in Southeast Asia, especially the Indochinese and ASEAN countries, should discuss and reach agreement on regional questions in a spirit of mutual understanding, equality, mutual respect, nonimposition of views on each other, and opposition to imposition from outside. The affairs of Southeast Asia should be settled by the Southeast Asian countries themselves. This way--which has been used by various European, Arab, African and Latin American and many other countries in the world to settle problems in their regions--is fully in conformity with the spirit of the UN Charter and international law.

Some ASEAN countries maintain that they are not opposed to a dialogue with the Indochinese countries. However, on the other hand, they relentlessly try to impose the UN resolution on Kampuchea on the Indochinese countries and use the question of solving the so-called Kampuchean issue as a pre-condition for the settlement of problems concerning the region and the relations between Indochina and ASEAN. This is not the way to achieve peace and reconciliation, but to continue a policy of supporting the schemes of aggression and intervention of the imperialists and the Beijing reactionaries against the peoples of the three Indochinese countries. The Kampuchean people have not sacrificed their lives in order to be imposed upon by one resolution or another. [paragraph continues]

Resolutions on Kampuchea issued without the participation and discussion of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council--the sole legal and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people--are void. The UN decision to retain "the seat" of the Pol Pot genocidal clique--a regime already outlawed by mankind--by a majority vote is an act of opposition against the Kampuchean people, against peace and stability in Southeast Asia, and against international law. For this reason, the UN resolution of Kampuchea is illegal and void.

While the peoples in the world have been enjoying peace, the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have had to live under a state of war for 40 years. Therefore, the peoples of these three Indochinese countries have no greater aspiration than to be allowed to live in peace and friendship with all nations, especially those in Southeast Asia. Proceeding from this earnest and honest desire, after the end of the U.S. imperialist war of aggression, the peoples of the Indochinese countries tried to forget the past and were ready to promote friendly relations with the ASEAN countries. At present, despite the existing differences between them, the Indochinese countries tend to put these differences aside temporarily so that they can discuss with the ASEAN countries the issues that concern each side on the basis of equality and mutual agreement aimed at ending confrontation and gradually turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability. All the proposals put forth by the foreign ministers of the Indochinese countries at their conferences in Phnom Penh, Vientiane and Ho Chi Minh City were designed to achieve negotiation and agreement. Public opinion in the world has clearly seen the goodwill attitude and fair and reasonable stand of the Indochinese countries. We are waiting patiently for a response from the ASEAN countries. However, recent developments in Thailand show that this country still pursues a policy of tailing after the U.S. imperialists and colluding with the Chinese expansionists against the Indochinese countries. This policy, however, cannot bring about peace and stability for the Indochinese countries or for Thailand and the other ASEAN countries. Meanwhile, those who actually benefit from it are the Beijing hegemonists. It is likely that the revolutions in the three Indochinese countries will have to go through numerous difficulties and ordeals. However, that period of most dreadful ordeal is already over. No reactionary force--not even the strongest one in the world--can reverse the current situation in Indochina.

Some 40 years ago, Southeast Asia was the solid backyard of the three long-standing and most powerful colonialist forces. Since the end of World War II, this region has been one of the largest spheres of influence of U.S. neocolonialism and the biggest target of expansion for Beijing's hegemonism. That is the reason for the fierce struggle in Southeast Asia between the two opposition forces of the epoch--the forces of peace, independence and socialism and the forces of colonialism, militarism, imperialism and expansionism and other reactionary forces.

The victories of the national liberation movement in Southeast Asia, particularly those recorded by the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, have alternately brought about the total collapse of old colonialism, caused U.S. neocolonialism to go seriously bankrupt, and further pushed back Beijing's expansionism, thus turning Southeast Asia from a backyard of imperialism into a frontline of the world people's struggle for peace, national independence and socialism. Today, the balance of power in Southeast Asia has undergone great changes conducive to peace and the revolutionary movement. For the first time in history, three independent and sovereign countries have emerged on the Indochinese peninsula and are closely united in their struggle to advance to socialism. Meanwhile, a new situation has taken shape in Southeast Asia. That is the situation in which peaceful coexistence between two types of national regimes with different social, political and economic systems and mutual peace and stability are necessary for the sake of their progress. With their peace-oriented and independent foreign policies, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea can further develop their role as a positive factor for peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

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**BROADENING AND GUARANTEEING THE FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE OF INSTALLATIONS AND IMPROVING THE CENTRALIZED, UNIFIED FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT OF THE STATE**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 81 pp 35-39

[Article by Vo Tri Cao]

[Text] In financial management, it is necessary to insure the highly unified nature of the state financial system and the centralized management of the state on the central level; on the other hand, it is necessary to strongly develop the role and function of the state apparatus on the local and installation levels and create the conditions for the localities and installations to display a high spirit of collective ownership, perform good economic and financial management, become the masters of their plans and budgets and take the initiative in using financial tools and credit to support economic construction and development.

As a result, broadening and guaranteeing the financial independence of installations, especially the financial independence of enterprises, is a pressing and practical requirement in improving the financial management of the state with a view toward stimulating the development of production. The state-operated enterprise is the basic unit, is the basic organization of the unified socialist economic system. The enterprise is the place that directly produces material wealth for society and, on this basis, provides the most important and basic part of accumulated socialist capital. The enterprise is the place that vividly and concretely reflects the right of collective ownership of the working class and reflects the effectiveness of the economic management of the socialist state.

In economic relations and legal relations, the enterprise is a basic unit that has the full status of an individual under the law, has a separate account in the bank and has the capacity to assume material responsibility, specifically, it has the right to fully practice cost accounting, the right to sign economic contracts and so forth. The enterprise has the tasks of completing and exceeding the norms of the state plan, delivering the required products and sources of revenue to the state, scrupulously complying with state law, policies, regulations and discipline, improving management skills, scrupulously implementing cost accounting regulations and economic contracts and insuring a profit.

To insure the highest possible results with the lowest possible expenditures, it is necessary, for the sake of the interests of society, to coordinate the principle of

collective leadership with tapping the creativity of the manual workers and civil servants at enterprises. Depending upon the situation and the level of management within the national economy and the specific management capabilities of the enterprises, the state grants a suitable degree of economic and financial independence to enterprises.

The state provides to enterprises instruments of production, assets and liquid capital and demands that enterprises thoroughly implement approved production-technical-financial plans. In this two-way relationship, the enterprise has the responsibility of performing the initial jobs in social production and state finances well; at the same time, it has the right to demand that the management agency on the upper level properly perform its task of supplying necessary and reasonable capital and instruments of production to it. Having been granted the right to use these instruments of production and liquid capital, the enterprise must first scrupulously comply with the legal norms of the state; if, after meeting the norms of the state plan, the enterprise still has surplus production capacity, it has the right to produce additional products outside the state plan with a view toward providing more commodities to society and meeting the varied needs of the market, which also earns additional profit for the enterprise. In order to perform its yearly production task, the enterprise also has the right to establish a suitable organization of production and production command; it has the right to sign production cooperation contracts and economic contracts with other units in order to implement its production-business plan in the manner deemed most profitable by the enterprise; it has the right to determine how to use the various types of allocated capital and to calculate exactly how much capital must be borrowed from the bank in order to achieve the highest possible returns; it has the right to establish the various enterprise funds and to use these funds to make technological improvements and improve the standard of living of the manual workers and civil servants within the enterprise; and it has the right to use economic levers, wages and bonuses to stimulate and provide incentive for production and business.

The realities of financial management in the recent past have proven the need to improve financial management by broadening and guaranteeing the financial independence of installations with a view toward strongly developing the production of goods for society.

Due to the need to improve financial management, the government has revised the tax policy and improved tax activities, revised the system of enterprise profit distribution, expanded the use of loans in place of budget allocations, improved financial management at installations, broadened the application of the various forms of piecework wages, etc.

To date, many installations have expanded the independent manufacture of products and the production of subsidiary products, implemented many forms of contract wages and begun buying and selling products at negotiated prices besides directed prices. As a result, numerous installations have produced many additional consumer goods. Many enterprise directors have been using financial tools in management as a measurement of and a lever to stimulate economic development while limiting negative actions. The various forms of contract wages and improved bonuses have provided incentive for

workers to produce with enthusiasm. Gradually, many installations have emerged that truly practice cost accounting, are truly the masters of their finances; allocations from the state budget have gradually been reduced and completely eliminated in some cases by means of enterprises making their own investments in their development and meeting their own needs for more liquid capital.

As regards the state, the payment of business revenues and the inclusion of business profits in the budget of the state in accordance with the state plan are being supplemented more and more by contributions resulting from the independent manufacture plans and plans to produce subsidiary products of installations. The new sources of revenue of the state are based on the development of products and services of installations that supplement the product plan of the state; at the same time, the possibility for reduced state budget expenditures is based on the development and strengthening of cost accounting and the increased financial independence of the enterprise.

The right of financial ownership of the installation has truly begun to have an impact by encouraging increased product production and services at installations, thereby benefiting the masses in a practical way while also benefiting the state and the collective. This increase in products is also the first factor that must exist in order to achieve stability in the value of our currency and stability in state finances.

In conjunction with broadening and guaranteeing the financial independence of the installation, it is necessary to strengthen the unified, centralized financial management of the state and heighten the role played by the state in unifying the management of sources of goods and sources of money in order to stabilize state finances.

The circulation of goods and money is constantly developing between the countryside and the cities, among the various provinces and cities, between production and service installations, among the various segments of the economy and so forth; in this circulation, some relations are organized while others are unorganized. The interests of all the people demand that installations, sectors and localities manage the circulation of commodities and money through the organizations of state commerce and the State Bank. For the sake of the interests of all the people, the state must organize and manage, in a centralized manner, commodity-money relationships in a way in which everyone can see that his interests are being satisfied. If everyone uses cash to purchase goods from state-operated commerce, the State Bank will immediately reclaim cash. If customers do not use cash but withdraw money on deposit at the State Bank to pay for their purchases at state-operated installations, the State Bank can immediately reclaim this money from the installations that make these sales, consequently, the State Bank can continue to allow purchasers to withdraw money to buy more goods. If the circulation of money and the circulation of commodities are not balanced, persons who have extra money can put it on deposit at the State Bank and the State Bank can use this money for persons who have commodities and still reserve money for loans. Thus, the circulation of commodities and money can increase many times in keeping with the rate of development of the circulation of commodities without the state having to put much more money into circulation.

The development of the circulation of goods and the circulation of money benefits the people in a practical way and, at the same time, benefits the state because part of the income of installations and the people is incorporated in the state budget.

As regards persons who have extra money because they have not been able to purchase goods, state finances demand that they deposit this money in savings accounts so that society can use the extra money at one place at another place that is experiencing a shortage of money. The State Bank must establish a balance between revenues and expenditures; if there is surplus money and it is deposited in the State Bank, this money can be used for loans when there is a shortage of money in society.

The stabilization of state finances is in sharp contradiction with acts of speculation and acts against public property; consequently, the people and the state must struggle against these negative activities in a constant and effective manner. In addition, partialism and localism in financial management also pose major obstacles to the effort to stabilize state finances. At present, there are many enterprises and agencies that hold back many times more goods and money than stipulated under state standards and regulations for their own use, thus making it impossible for the State Bank to obtain enough cash to pay cadres, manual workers and civil servants on time at some times and places. Recently, more and more persons have denounced the phenomena of partialism and individualism, wasteful expenditures, the lack of full concern for the interests of the state and violations of the long-range interests of the working people, which have caused state budget expenditures to far exceed revenues, made it impossible for bank credit to oversee economic bases, slowed the circulation of money and commodities within the national economy and led to indebtedness that is too high.

These are incorrect practices that we must struggle to overcome in order to heighten the role of the state in providing unified management of commodities and money on the basis of upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people and the financial independence of the various sectors and levels.

Broadening and guaranteeing the financial independence of the installation and strengthening the centralized, unified financial management of the state are financial management activities that occur on a daily basis within the installations, sectors and localities and within the government in each decision concerning finances.

Financial management activities of similar types are conducted on all levels and consist of financial planning, organizing the financial apparatus, regulating finances and conducting financial inspections.

In the field of financial planning, the activities of the financial management cadres generally entail balancing the sources of materials, labor and capital with production and business results, maintaining a reasonable relationship between financial norms and economic-technical norms and insuring that the revenues and expenditures of units are closely linked to the financial balance of the unit, to the state budget; in actuality, however, bureaucratic centralism and financial subsidies caused the above mentioned requirements of financial planning to become requirements in the nature of bothersome red tap and gradually separated financial planning from the daily financial management activities of the installations, sectors and localities.

Today, now that the granting of financial independence to installations is having an impact as a result of the development of the circulation of goods and money, financial planning activities at installations are being restored and gradually perfected in accordance with flexible requirements regarding the plan norms of installations and urgent requirements regarding the planning period with a view toward making financial planning suited to the many activities that are being expanded, such as the independent production of products, the production of subsidiary products and so forth at many different permissible prices, such as directed prices, negotiated prices and incentive prices. Such a change at installations demands that financial planning on the level above the installation be improved to suit the management requirements of the sector, the local level and the central level.

In the field of organizing the financial apparatus, we have, in principle, established a system of organizations that specialize in financial work and extend from the Ministry of Finance to the financial departments of the sectors and the local financial services and to the financial components of installations; there is also a system of financial regulations established during the period of the war of resistance. Every element of this system of organizations is a manager of a lower level and is managed by the upper level; every element organizes the implementation of the financial management of the head of the basic unit, sector or locality. However, due to bureaucratic centralism and sweeping subsidies in management, this apparatus, has, in actuality, gradually lost its effectiveness and become increasingly cumbersome with the result that its activities are fragmented, each element conducts activities of a different style and the nature of the apparatus as a system has been lost. Today, now that the granting of financial independence to installations is having an impact and the financial independence of the sectors and localities has been heightened, the system of organizations specializing in financial activities must be perfected so that its activities are of a uniform and coordinated nature from top to bottom and bottom to top.

As both managers and organizations being managed, every element within the system of organizations must raise its level of financial planning, improve its ability to regulate finances, improve the effectiveness of its financial inspections and improve and perfect the various forms and methods of financial management in order to raise labor productivity and economic returns and heighten the skills of financial cadres and personnel.

As the organization that carries out the financial management of the head of the basic unit, sector or locality, every organization that specializes in financial activities must apply the various forms and methods of mobilizing the various sources of finances and must distribute and utilize these sources for the correct purposes and in a way that insures high economic returns and insures that everyone within the management system directly subordinate to the head fulfills the authority and responsibilities, including the responsibility to deliver products to the state, supply services to the state, contributing some of the money accumulated to the state and heightening the scientific nature of the decisions made by the head concerning financial management.

Each element within the system of organizations specializing in financial activities, regardless of whether it is being managed or is managing another element or is

organizing the implementation of the financial management of the head of the basic unit, sector or locality, absolutely must organize its apparatus in accordance with a unified structure in order to insure the implementation of similar types of financial management activities on the various levels.

In the field of regulating finances, it has come time for the management agencies on the upper level to promptly implement the regulations on establishing and utilizing the various sources of capital in a manner consistent with the situation surrounding the development of production and business at installations and the requirements of the state; on the other hand, they must allocate money in exact accordance with regulations. Only in this way is it possible to provide all of the capital that is needed and make efficient use of the sources of capital in all areas, from the enterprise to the sector and locality, to the central level, thereby insuring that the state exercises unified, centralized financial management and guaranteeing the financial independence of the installation. In the immediate future, it is necessary to promptly change the current method of financial regulation with their many outdated and ineffective regulations and rules; places that have surplus money do not distribute it to places experiencing a shortage of money and the various levels routinely fail to comply with the unified financial discipline of the state and are not promptly inspected, controlled or corrected.

In the field of financial inspection, the management agencies ordinarily practice cost accounting and compile statistics in order to develop economic information and have a basis for analysis, inspection and necessary action. However, because they have long been accustomed to the forms and measures of bureaucratic centralism and subsidies in financial management, accounting activities have been slow to be improved to be consistent with the financial-economic activities of installations under the new conditions that exist, financial management activities are not responsive or accurate and financial inspections are lax. The result has been that unorganized, undisciplined activities have the conditions needed to develop. In order to promptly meet the requirement of broadening the financial independence of the installations and strengthening the unified, centralized financial management of the state, the financial management agencies from the central to the local levels, from the sectors to the installations must improve their accounting activities and, at the same time, intensify their financial inspections and control work.

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## INVENTORY AND CONTROL IN THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 81 pp 40-46

[Article by Le Doan Ta ]

[Text] Under socialism, inventory and control are actually the management of the socialist economy, the management of society and the upholding of the right of collective ownership of the working people.

Once the government of the proletariat has been established, the inventory and control work performed by manual workers and the laboring people can become the most comprehensive, detailed inventory and control of the entirety of the production and distribution of products. In this significance, the essence of inventory and control work is socialist transformation, is the inventory of labor and products and the control of the production and distribution of products. As a result, inventory and control are of prime importance in both the "organization" and the regular activities of socialism, the first stage of communist society.

At present, our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition. Our country is advancing from a backward agriculture characterized primarily by small-scale production to socialism without experiencing the capitalist stage of development. The long and savage war also left us with severe consequences, we have also committed shortcomings in organizing and managing the economy and managing society. Therefore, thoroughly understanding Lenin's viewpoint concerning inventory and control in the initial stage of the period of transition is of very important significance.

Lenin often pointed out that, after toppling the government of the bourgeoisie, the matter of inventory and control is "the matter of basic importance to the socialist revolution." The socialist state must carry out comprehensive inventory and control of the production and distribution of products. If it does not, the government of the working people and their freedom cannot be maintained and capitalism will surely be restored. He said: "Unless we are utopian, we cannot think that, after overthrowing capitalism, we can immediately perform work for society without the need for any legal standard whatsoever; moreover, the abolition of capitalism cannot immediately provide the economic premises for such a change."(1)

In the initial stage of the period of transition, the economy of every country consists of many different segments, primarily the following three: capitalism, small-scale

commodity production and socialism. The socialist state must carry out the transformation of the non-socialist economic segments and develop the socialist economy so that socialism wins total victory.

The socialist state carries out the transformation of the private, capitalist economy, nationalizes the banks and large enterprises, assumes exclusive foreign trade rights, etc. However, the key to the matter, as Lenin said, does not lie in confiscating the assets of the capitalists, but in state control of the capitalists and all persons who might join with them. "Confiscation of itself serves no purpose whatsoever because confiscation does not provide any organizational factor, does not provide anything with which to control distribution to insure that it is correct."(2)

However, in the course of transforming this segment of the economy, the state permits the persons within this segment to do business to a certain extent. However, there is still business freedom, that is, still speculation. This cannot be overlooked. Moreover, in the initial stage of the period of transition, hoodlums and parasites, the twin brothers of the exploiters, show their true nature by committing more crimes and engaging in hoodlum activity, bribery and all sorts of vile and decadent activities. As a result, the socialist state must exercise close inventory and control over them and take severe action when it is necessary to suppress exploiters and hoodlums. For this reason, it is necessary to review and revise all laws against speculation and to clearly declare that every act of theft and every act, whether direct or indirect, covert or overt, of evading the inspection and supervision of the state can be severely punished.

However, in the realities of the Russian economy at that time, as well as in our country at the present, there was and is lax management and, as Lenin frequently stated, our government is too meek; it is usually more like jelly than steel. As a result, exploiters and other corrupt elements have taken advantage of the shortcomings and loopholes in our management to make the situation more unruly and confused. The failure of the state to control the sources of goods, control money and be the master of the market has caused much harm in the effort to develop production, distribute products and maintain the standard of living of the working people. For this reason, the struggle to determine "who defeats whom," which exists between the capitalist way of life and the socialist way of life, demands that the proletarian state strengthen its economic management and financial management, show itself to truly be a dictatorship of the proletariat state and scrupulously comply with Lenin's teaching: "Dictatorship is an iron government that possesses revolutionary bravery and suppresses exploiters and those who disrupt order rapidly and sternly when necessary."(3)

Small-scale, private production is the very broad base of capitalism, is a base that is very deeply and very firmly rooted. The proletarian state absolutely must transform this small-scale production and must struggle for every inch of progress, struggle to establish the system of earning a living collectively. However, this stage of transition, of course, lasts for a very long time and cannot be completed by means of hasty, administrative measures. There must be suitable stages of development and intermediary steps consistent with the state of production in order to increase production capacity. However, it must be clearly understood that the habits and

traditions of the petty bourgeoisie oppose control by the state. Moreover, in a backward agricultural country that is advancing to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, we must tolerate a condition created by small-scale, decentralized production itself. We do not have developed material-technical bases and, in particular, have not developed the habit and practice of working in the large-scale industrial style. Managers have not been forged in the school of managing large-scale production. We even lack experience in serious administrative management.

All of these things point to one glaring fact: it is one matter to establish the state of the proletariat, but "the primary difficulty lies in the economic field: in implementing extremely tight inventory and control of the production and distribution of goods everywhere, raising labor productivity and truly socializing production."(4) Thus, inventory and control are not only a necessary rung in the ladder in order to eradicate the bad habits of capitalism and the remnants of private ownership, but are also positive and constructive in nature in that they have the purpose of establishing a new system of relationships and organizations, a complex economic system encompassing the production and distribution of essential goods to tens of millions of persons.

In the developed stage of the socialist revolution, inventory and control are specific in nature and the methods of inventory and control must be consistent with this specific nature.

The specifics of inventory and control discussed by Lenin were based on the realities of Russia in the early 1920's, the realities of the struggle against famine, against the economic bankruptcy resulting from several years of civil war and the realities of the implementation of the new economic policy in order to correct the situation mentioned above and restore and build the socialist economy. Lenin focused on the following several specific tasks:

First, it is necessary to nationalize the banks and organize the banks in accordance with socialism; this inventory and control tool of utmost importance, once in the hands of the proletariat, insures that the proletarian government has the conditions needed to stand firmly during the initial stage and later during the restoration of the economy and the building of the socialist economy. Lenin said: "A single, large national bank consisting of the largest banks and having many branch banks in each province besides each factory, comprises nine-tenths of the socialist apparatus itself. This is accounting on a nationwide scale, is inventory on a nationwide scale of the production and distribution of products, is the backbone of socialist society, if we can make such a statement."(5)

This raises an important matter, namely, that the socialist state must have a bank policy and must organize the bank in such a way that it truly becomes a unified agency, fulfills the functions of auditing and regulating economic life throughout the country and is the public accounting center under the socialist system. In reality, in our country the state has not always been the master of the management of the circulation of money. Money has fallen into the hands of the various strata of persons who are not workers, thus causing confusion on the market. This is due to many causes, including causes that lie in our specific economic and financial policies. For example, in the recent past, the price policy has been conservative and backward compared to the

realities of life, thereby causing harm in the field of production as well as the field of distribution and circulation. Therefore, in the face of the new situation, we must endeavor to successfully implement the new policies of the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee and resolution 26 of the Political Bureau.

Secondly, it is necessary to implement a grain tax and grain purchasing policy designed to combat speculation and hoarding and alleviate hunger and necessary to take urgent steps to increase agricultural production. Lenin considered this to be a very basic and pressing task that had to be immediately performed regardless of the situation. He considered successfully implementing a grain tax and grain purchasing policy to be the standard for inspecting all work at that time, to lay the foundation for the implementation of plans; in the situation that existed at that time, a plan had to "have grain as its starting point because it is in grain that the roots of all major difficulties lie" and "second to grain was the matter of fuel."

We must remember that, in the early 1920's, because it had a poor and backward economy and had been ravaged by war, Soviet Russia fell into a state of serious difficulty; production had declined and the country stood before the abyss of serious famine. At that time, as a result of the new economic policy, production forces were strongly developing within agriculture. As a result, in only 1 year, peasants had paid their grain taxes in full, eliminated hunger and were pleased with their improved situation. Today, under the conditions of our country, our Party Central Committee has adopted policies that provide incentive for production and, in particular, has taken various measures to improve management, such as the use of product contracts within agriculture at this time, which are designed to closely link agricultural laborers to the final product they produce and correctly coordinate the three interests, the interests of the state, the collective and the laborer; these measures create the conditions for stimulating the development of production forces.

Thirdly, it is necessary to control and supervise the production and distribution of the social product, beginning with grain and food products, and necessary to strictly implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor in order to accelerate production, raise labor productivity and supervise and control exploiters, parasites and those who are lazy.

Lenin frequently said that no product, not even a kilogram of bread, can be allowed to escape control because socialism, above everything else, means control. Because, the objective of inventory and control is insuring that everyone is well fed, well clothed and educated or, in other words, insuring that everyone enjoys the fruits of socialism. During the first years of the Soviet government, when the country was still beset by difficulties, production was developing slowly and deprivation characterized everyday life, the problem faced was that of carrying out fair distribution so that every working person had the minimum conditions needed to devote his efforts to building the new society. However, under the conditions of socialism, we cannot rapidly free ourselves from the inherent economic and social conditions in the first stage of development of socialism. We cannot skip stages of development or go beyond the principle of distribution in accordance with labor.

As regards the matter of inventory and control of the production and distribution of products by private businessmen, Lenin paid particular attention to taxing their assets

and income. The socialist state must force private businessmen to open accounts in the bank, declare each source of income and regularly pay all taxes due to the state; in this manner, we can heighten our sense of organization in inventory and control work.

Lenin also discussed the establishment of factory committees, considering them to be an organizational cell for managing all activities of the state; the establishment of collectives under the control of the state; the organization of consumer cooperatives, etc. All of these organizations are related to the inventory and control of the production and distribution of products, to economic management, to the management of society.

Lenin also demanded the implementation of a system of compulsory labor for hoodlums and the dregs of society.

Fourthly, it is necessary to inspect work, inspect compliance with socialist law, with internal rules, regulations, policies and so forth, establish a system of accurate reports, display a high sense of socialist organization and discipline, practice frugality and combat misappropriation, bribery, waste, bureaucracy, irresponsibility and so forth, which are decadent habits of the system of capitalist private ownership.

On the basis of the actual situation that existed in the early 1920's, Lenin reminded that it was necessary to inspect and control the national economic plan and economic and financial policies and inspect the organizational measures taken to implement lines and policies.

Concerning the national economic plan, Lenin often pointed out that the state plan is the second platform of the party and correctly reflects the line of the party adopted by the congress. Lenin reminded us that when formulating the national economic plan, "hopes should not be placed upon the best," upon the most favorable situation, but "on the results of actual experience in order to estimate the natural resources of the country and chart a more certain course for improving the living conditions of manual workers and peasants with a view toward continuing to carry out economic construction in a broader and more determined fashion." Therefore, it is first of all necessary to inspect the economic plan to determine whether or not it correctly reflects the general line of the party and necessary to inspect the relationship between accumulation and consumption as well as the relationship between the potentials for implementing the plan and the norms set forth within it.

One very important fact about which Lenin reminded us is the need to examine the various sectors of the economy within an organic relationship and know how to coordinate the activities of these sectors in order to eliminate conflicts, procrastination, departmentalism, partialism and conservatism.

Once thorough research has been conducted, a plan has been formulated and efforts are being concentrated on carrying out the important economic tasks, it is necessary, according to Lenin, to intensify supervision and control, to "practice unceasing supervision, that is, to make it part of one's consciousness to insure the efficient use of fuel and wheat and insure maximum stockpiles of both of these items."(6)

Controlling economic and financial policies; correct economic policies act as levers stimulating economic development. An incorrect or conservative economic policy impedes production and even undermines production. For this reason, inspecting and controlling economic policies, from the grain purchasing policy to the price and monetary policies, in general, are very important. A correct economic line and correct economic policy open the way for the development of the economy. Therefore, a correct economic or financial policy is one that is consistent with the requirements of the development of production forces and which creates favorable conditions for the development of all sectors of the national economy.

In order for the national economic plan and the various economic policies to be fully implemented, conducting inspections to insure that work is being accurately performed and inspections of the implementation of work organizational rules is of major importance. Lenin paid special attention to the matter of inspecting compliance with the socialist law and emphasized the need to insure the uniform application and implementation of the system of law throughout the country. He frequently reminded us to display a high spirit of responsibility in the inventory and protection of socialist property, to practice economy and combat the maladies of misappropriation, waste, bureaucracy and irresponsibility in the protection of socialist property. He also frequently directed attention to the phenomenon of "getting around" the law, "getting around" the regulations and policies promulgated by the state. This practice is also very evident in our country at this time. Some factories, enterprises and so forth have at certain times taken advantage of loopholes in policies in order to "earn a living," have turned primary products into discarded products and have managed to "get around" the law in order to earn income for their collective without delivering the required quantity of products to the state. For this reason, establishing a system of accurate reports and heightening the sense of socialist organization and discipline are of special importance. We must "inspect all of our work by means of practical victories in economic construction so that our words are not empty words."(?)

In order to perform good inventory and control, Lenin especially emphasized the role played by the party in inspections. He required that the party give full attention to the various control agencies and heighten both the role and position of these agencies. Truly exemplary control agencies must be established. The persons selected for these agencies must be persons who possess good qualities and abilities, must be the best workers and must be absolutely loyal and "possess skill." They must be persons whom we can guarantee "will never take anything on face value and will never utter one word contrary to their conscience"; these persons must never fear any difficulty or withdraw in the face of any struggle in order to achieve the objective required of them by the revolution. Only with such a truly exemplary control apparatus and outstanding control cadres can control work, in general, and control work in the field of the economy, in particular, achieve results because, today, we are weak and lacking in the areas of organizing implementation, selecting personnel and inspecting compliance.

However, the matter does not stop there. The crux of the issue is the need to establish tight control and supervision by the laboring masses. As a result, the party and the socialist state must create every possible condition for gaining the

participation of the laboring masses in inventory and control work. They must be made aware of the fact that controlling and supervising the production and distribution of products are jobs that they themselves perform, jobs that touch upon their vital interests and which they are fully capable of performing. The state must establish specific regulations to facilitate participation by the laboring masses in control and supervision. A system must be established for receiving the masses at all times and places, receiving the masses readily without the need for any permit, even on holidays and Sundays. The offices that receive the masses must have the obligation of responding, either verbally or in writing, to all of the questions asked by the people and must even write letters to the masses defending their decisions. Only in this way can we gradually overcome the malady of bureaucracy and the malady of abusing one's authority for the purpose of intimidating the masses and gradually establish the system of collective ownership of the working people, beginning in the field of the economy.

In the struggle to implement inventory and control, the socialist state plays the decisive role. The primary measure in insuring effective inventory and control is strengthening the socialist system of law. We must strengthen the role of the courts in economic management. The courts must become a better typical expression of suppression and compulsion under the conditions in which management has become the central task. The courts are also a tool for teaching discipline. Trials must be concise and resolute and each and every violation of the law must be brought to trial, even if it is the result of bureaucratic behavior or procrastination.

Revamping the apparatus and reorganizing the work methods of some economic agencies, such as the bank, the Statistics General Department and so forth, are of special importance in inventory and control work. These agencies must become effective agencies in economic management, must truly be the apparatus used by socialist society to meet the requirements of economic restoration and development in this stage of the history of the socialist revolution.

At present, we face many difficulties with the economy and living conditions. Our country is advancing to socialism from a backward agriculture that has been ravaged by war. We have experienced natural disasters for many years in a row. Subjectively, we have committed shortcomings in economic management and the management of society. One of these shortcomings has been our failure to take determined steps to implement a system of tight inventory and control in order to accelerate economic construction and improve the lives of the people.

In the face of our present economic difficulties, we have but one course open to us, the course of making every effort to implement the resolutions adopted by the party and very clearly comprehend the following teachings of Lenin: to not allow ourselves to become dispirited in the face of difficulties, to "build the firm foundation of socialism brick by brick, constantly endeavor to create a discipline, a self-imposed discipline and make every effort to strengthen everywhere the sense of organization and order, the practical point of view, smooth coordination among all the forces of the people and widespread inventory and control of the production and distribution of products--this is the course that will lead to military power, to socialist power."(8)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1976, Volume 33, p 116.
2. V.I. Lenin: "On Inventory and Control," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974 p 23.
3. Ibid., p 150.
4. Ibid., p 33.
5. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1976, Volume 34, pp 404-405.
6. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 32, p 647.
7. V.I. Lenin: "On Inventory and Control," p 204.
8. Ibid., pp 30-31.

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PROVIDING ADDITIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL CADRES TO THE LEADERSHIP AGENCIES ON THE VARIOUS LEVELS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 81 pp 47-51, 63

[Article by Pham Quan]

[Text] Today, science and technology are constantly infiltrating the various fields of endeavor of man and stimulating these endeavors. Scientific and technical inventions and creations are having the impact of a material force upon production, yielding tremendous returns and sometimes bringing about leaps forward in production. Conversely, the price paid for a lack of knowledge, for incompetence is usually very high, and both can sometimes even be the causes of crime. For example, if we clear wilderness but do not know how to protect the forest, the destruction of forests will easily result; if we harvest the forests but do not know how to protect them, the danger of destroying certain species of plant or animal life can result; if we build factories without prior planning and without taking necessary measures, we will pollute the environment and might even cause immeasurable, adverse consequences to the health of the people.

To build and develop the economy, it is especially important that we not lack management knowledge, that is, the knowledge needed to build the economic structure with all of its complete apparatus, the knowledge needed to manage work, implement control and so forth in order to achieve the highest possible returns in production and business. In order to provide skilled management, it is, of course, necessary to thoroughly understand the theory of Marxism-Leninism, thoroughly comprehend the lines and viewpoints of the party and clearly understand the realities of the country, the sector and the unit; at the same time, it is necessary to have knowledge of the science of management. Lenin maintained that the scientific nature of management lies in a system of sciences and one special science--the science of management--without which it is impossible to provide management. In a speech at the meeting of the Communist Party Group within the Central Council of All Russian Trade Unions held in March 1920, Lenin said: "...How can we provide management if we do not possess all the necessary knowledge, if we are not skilled in the science of management?... To provide management, it is necessary to understand the work to be managed and necessary to be a skilled management cadre."(1)

The realities of the fraternal socialist countries are showing more with each passing day that a skilled manager must have a firm grasp of many fields of science, such as

mathematical models, the theory of probability, statistics, cybernetics, logic, the science of forecasting and so forth and must be able to use modern technical means.

At present, our party is leading the people in building socialism throughout the country, the central task of which is to build and develop the economy. In every locality, in every sector and in every leadership agency on the various levels of the party and the state, there must be the necessary ability and knowledge in order for this task to be carried out. Within the structure of these leadership agencies, in addition to a number of comrades who are well versed in politics and have diverse experience in the revolutionary struggle, there must be a suitable number of cadres who have a knowledge of science and technology, of economic management and the number of these cadres must increase in keeping with the development of political tasks. Only in this way can the leadership agencies on the various levels of the party and state achieve comprehensive ability and perform every job in every field well.

The need to increase the number of scientific and technical cadres and economic management cadres at the leadership agencies on the various levels is also due to changes in the persons who are being led and managed. Today, the level of political awareness and the cultural level of the working people of our country are very much higher than they once were. The majority of our cadres, manual workers and civil servants have received systematic training and possess the necessary technical and professional skills. The increasingly rapid development of means of information, books, newspapers and television has stimulated the exchange of knowledge within the country and between our country and other countries, thereby providing our cadres and people with a rather large amount of information each day and rapidly raising their level of knowledge. For such persons, a style of leadership that is general in nature, relies heavily upon political mobilization, does not delve into economic or technical matters in detail and lacks scientific organization and management is totally unsuitable. Cadres who only know how to provide this style of leadership and management must be replaced with cadres who possess necessary economic and technical knowledge, have the ability to adopt optimum plans, possess a high fighting strength and have the ability to scientifically organize the implementation of these plans. Only in this way is it possible to gain the enthusiastic participation of collaborators and the masses and complete all tasks well.

Over the past several decades, even though our economy has been underdeveloped and despite the prolonged war, we have, as a result of the very high determination of our party and state and the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, trained a rather large corps of scientific-technical cadres and economic management cadres, the vast majority of whom are the children of cadres, manual workers or collective farmers and about one-third of whom have participated in production and combat. To date, some 260,000 cadres have a college level education, including nearly 4,000 who have a post-graduate education and more than 400 who are professors or assistance professors; some 600,000 cadres have a vocational middle school education. Having been trained in accordance with the principles of combining theory with practice, coordinating education with productive labor, closely linking the school to society and so forth, this corps of cadres, although it still has some weaknesses and shortcomings, is

basically the corps of intellectuals of the working class and is loyal to the fatherland and socialism. This corps is a good social and political base for selecting persons who possess all the necessary qualities and skills to be trained as leadership cadres and management cadres on the various levels and within the various sectors. In recent years, we have begun to select and train such persons. As a result, our corps of leadership cadres and management cadres, which once consisted primarily of political cadres and specialized army cadres, has constantly been supplemented with many scientific and technical cadres. Scientific and technical cadres who have a college education constitute 22 percent of the total number of district party committee members, 32 percent of the total number of provincial party committee members, 50 percent of the total number of leaders of departments and institutes and 37 percent of the total number of the leaders of the ministries.

The gradual improvement of the corps of leadership cadres and management cadres of the various levels and sectors has yielded initial changes in the operation of the apparatus of the party and state, causing it to be better suited to the new tasks of the revolution. These results have confirmed that the guidelines employed to select scientific and technical cadres for training and assignment to the leadership agencies of the various levels and sectors are correct and necessary. We must continue to adhere to these guidelines. However, in order to implement them better, it is necessary that we achieve a higher level of agreement concerning a number of necessary matters.

To begin with, it must be realized that not every scientific or technical cadre, including those that have a degree or high level of education, can become a leadership cadre or management cadre. Leadership and management require the ability to set forth accurate work programs and the ability to organize the apparatus, guide work and cause the persons around themselves to follow them. The leadership cadre and management cadre must not only have knowledge of science and technology, but must also possess the necessary political qualities, have a clear personal history, have experience in revolutionary struggle, have the ability to unite others, have the ability to tap the talents of those who work with him and so forth; these are the assets that create the firm skills of leadership cadres and management cadres. Some scientific and technical cadres can endeavor to become scientific researchers, instructors or skilled technicians and even become the outstanding talents in these fields; however, they cannot become good leaders or managers if they lack the skills and special attributes needed for leadership and management work. If we know how to guide them in the best possible direction, we will not only develop the talents of each person well, but also benefit the revolution in a major way. Conversely, if we continue to "force" them to become leadership cadres and management cadres, that is, if we lead them into something for which they are not suited, we will fail to develop their talents and adversely affect our work as a whole because, in view of their character, they can, regardless of how much training they receive, only become average leadership cadres and management cadres or worse. Only cadres who can meet the requirements of scientific and technical management and possess the capabilities and special characteristics needed to become leadership cadres and management cadres should be selected for training as leadership cadres or management cadres. In general, these capabilities and special characteristics are:

--Knowing how to concretize the positions and policies of the party, establish tasks and set forth work programs for the unit, agency or sector of which they are in charge;

--Knowing how to organize labor and assign work, developing various forms of organization, methods and means for performing tasks and, in particular, being able to command, organize and inspect the activities of the lower level;

--Knowing how to rely on the collective, cooperate with others and gather and unite cadres;

--Knowing how to motivate, educate and organize the masses and launch revolutionary movements of the masses.

Due to the process of growth and the nature of the work of scientific and technical cadres, these capabilities and special characteristics might not first be clearly evident in each person. The sensitivity of persons in charge and the agencies specializing in organizational and cadre work lies in selecting scientific and technical cadres who possess these capabilities and special characteristics.

In order to make a correct selection, it is necessary to evaluate cadres in accordance with resolution number 32 of the Political Bureau on organizational work, which states: "It is necessary to coordinate self-evaluation by the cadre and observations of him by the agency and person responsible for managing him with consideration of the observations made by other cadres and persons who are close to him, who know him and his work."

Of the various scientific and technical cadres who possess the capabilities and special characteristics mentioned above, Attention must first be given to those persons who have experience in production and combat and have shown themselves to be steadfast in the face of challenges. These persons constitute the force that must be trained to become leadership cadres and management cadres on the various levels and within the different sectors.

Leadership and management skills are not something with which someone is born, rather, they are the result of painstaking study and training. For this reason, a process must be involved in preparing a scientific or technical cadre to become a leadership or management cadre. The extent and pace of preparation and the amount of time spent on preparation depend upon the position to which this person will be assigned and the "capital" possessed by him. This process encompasses many different stages of work; however, generally speaking, it is necessary to provide these cadres with necessary knowledge of politics, leadership and management and to gradually familiarize them with leadership and management work by means of practical activities. They can gradually be transferred from leadership and management positions on the lower level to the higher level, from leadership positions in the mass organizations and social organizations to leadership and management positions within the apparatus of the party and state.

Attention must be given to the need to take determined steps to combat the thinking of sitting and waiting for scientific and technical cadres to meet the demands of

leadership and management work in order to promote them without showing concern for training them. When we operate in this manner, the effort to assign scientific and technical cadres to the leadership agencies on the various levels is nothing more than a slogan, than a general appeal and is difficult to accomplish. Concerning this matter, the fraternal socialist countries have provided us with experiences in their thorough, painstaking work method. For example, in the GDR, the preparation of leadership cadres and management cadres generally follows the following procedure: selecting outstanding manual workers who have a middle school education and sending them for training at a college in accordance with the cadre planning of the production installation. Once they have completed their studies, they return to the enterprise to perform scientific and technical work. There, they are put in charge of the Youth Union, the Trade Union and so forth and then sent to a party school (or sector management school). Next, they work in a specialized department of the party organization on the upper level for a period of time in order to develop a breadth of vision and have the conditions needed to grasp the lines and policies of the party. Then, they are sent back to their installation to serve as its deputy head and, from there, are promoted to head of the installation.

The purpose of assigning scientific and technical cadres to leadership and management positions on the various levels is to utilize their knowledge in leadership and management so that they can, in their new position and with broader responsibilities, achieve increasingly high results in their work. For this reason, it is necessary to be sensitive and reasonable when assigning cadres and necessary to make the highest possible effort to insure that each scientific and technical cadre can, in his leadership or management position, still make maximum use of his scientific or technical knowledge in the completion of his new task. We must combat the haphazard assignment of cadres, such as assigning a skilled professor to serve as assistant administrative dean at a college or assigning a scientist who has conducted many research projects as the head of a department that specializes in guiding mass movements.

The assignment of scientific and technical cadres to leadership agencies on the various levels must be carried out in an urgent but truly stable manner.

Urgency is required in order to quickly raise the level of knowledge and skill of the various leadership agencies within the apparatus of the party and state so that these agencies are fully capable of leading and guiding the performance of new tasks, especially economic and technical tasks. This is a job of pressing importance because, at present, organizing and guiding practical work and managing the economy are the weakest elements in the operations of our party and state.

Urgency means not ignoring talents. Scientific and technical cadres who can participate in leadership and management and who, once they begin to participate, can contribute much more to the general cause, must be given training so that they can be assigned to the leadership and management agencies of the various levels and sectors. It is necessary to assign them to suitable positions because, in the case of persons who possess true talent, the higher their position and the broader the scope of their responsibility, the more they are able to have a good impact. At present, within the corps of cadres, in general, and the corps of scientific and technical cadres, in particular, there are still some talented comrades who have not been placed in the correct

job. This is because, at some places, there are still backward viewpoints concerning the evaluation of cadres. Therefore, in special cases, it is necessary to promote cadres to the next level above the level to which they would ordinarily be promoted.

Urgency also means not allowing jobs to be unfilled. On each level and within each sector in the apparatus of our party and state, leadership agencies must have a reasonable percentage of scientific and technical cadres. In particular, at places that regularly deal with economic and technical problems, it is best for leadership agencies to have as many scientific and technical cadres as possible.

Stability in the assignment of scientific and technical cadres to leadership agencies on the various levels is expressed in making correct, cautious selections, making thorough preparations and providing painstaking practical training. The step from being a scientific and technical cadre in a position of implementation and execution to being a leadership cadre or management cadres involves a change in function and in the guidelines under which one operates. If, in his new position, a cadre has a good impact, the revolution will be benefited in a practical way. Conversely, if he is ineffective in the face of his new task, he will cause many adverse consequences because the higher the position of a cadre is, the greater is the harm caused by his incompetency and poor qualities. Therefore, it is necessary to be very cautious when examining, evaluating and selecting cadres, necessary to resolutely combat every manifestation of being hasty and impetuous when replacing or promoting cadres. To insure stability in the assignment of scientific and technical cadres to leadership agencies on the various levels, the persons in charge and the agencies that perform organizational and cadre work must find reserve cadres who are suited to each job description. To accomplish this, when assigning cadres within an organization, importance must be attached to continuity and succession in terms of both qualifications and profession and it is necessary to insure both stability and the timely replacement of cadres with cadres who are better qualified.

As is the case with every other activity in cadre work, the assignment of more scientific and technical cadres to the leadership agencies on the various levels is a type of work involving personnel, work in which haphazardness, the lack of preparation and the lack of careful consideration absolutely cannot be tolerated. We should not simply think that "the banner can be waved by whoever is holding it." To be able to wave the "banner," a person must possess the skills of a "standard bearer." When the "banner" is given to the wrong person by mistake, the price that must be paid to correct this mistake is generally not small. Lenin's thoughts concerning the selection of cadres after the successful Russian October Revolution are still a useful lesson to us today. He taught: "Let us continue to follow our course and give our attention to finding and challenging, in an extremely patient and extremely cautious manner, persons who truly possess organizational talent, persons who are wise and possess practical skills and persons who are loyal to socialism and have the ability to quietly (despite the clamor and chaos), firmly and smoothly organize the common work of a large group of persons within the scope of Soviet organization. Only these persons will be promoted by us to positions of leading the labors of the people, to management positions and they will only be promoted after they have been challenged dozens of times by assigning them various tasks from the most simple to the most difficult..."(2)

By firmly adhering to the substance of this teaching of Lenin, we will surely develop the best possible guidelines and methods of working.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin: "Complete Works," Vietnamese version, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Volume 40, p 257.
2. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 27, p 330.

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IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES: SOMETIMES HATRED...AND SOMETIMES LOVE...

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 81 pp 52-54

[Article by Nguyen Trung Thuc ]

[Text] In cadre work, Lenin established very strict principles for selecting and utilizing cadres. He frequently taught that we must select and assign cadres on the basis of the organization, on the basis of work and absolutely not arrange work and the organization around cadres. It is on the basis of the work skills and political qualities of a cadre that we must assign him to one job or another, to one position or another; we absolutely must not make this assignment because we "like" or "dislike" the cadre, because we "love" or "hate" him or because he is "obedient" or "not obedient." Lenin wrote: "Let us continue to follow our course and give our attention to finding and challenging, in an extremely patient and extremely cautious manner, persons who truly possess organizational talent, persons who are wise and possess practical skills and persons who are loyal to socialism and have the ability to quietly (despite the clamor and chaos), firmly and smoothly organize the common work of a large group of persons within the scope of Soviet organization. Only these persons will be promoted by us to positions of leading the labors of the people, to management positions and they will only be promoted after they have been challenged dozens of times by assigning them various tasks from the most simple to the most difficult."(1) Le Duan has written: "We must, on the basis of the very specific requirements of each organization and each function, establish very specific personnel standards and, on this basis, correctly select and assign personnel."(2)

For a long time, we have selected, assigned and utilized cadres on the basis of such principles. For this reason, "our party now has a large corps of cadres and party members who, for the most part, are good as a result of being forged and challenged in combat and construction and gradually being provided with additional knowledge through training. Generally speaking, this is a corps that is loyal to the party, to the system and withstands difficulties and hardships; many of its comrades have devotedly served on the battlefield and in the mass movement."(3) However, it is very regrettable that, at some agencies and units, persons still select, assign and utilize cadres on the basis of whether they like them or not, on the basis of whether they love them or hate them as mentioned above. Le Duan has called this situation "sores on our body."(4)

The specific manifestations of this situation are: it is not very important to these persons whether you are a young or an old cadre, whether you are competent or

incompetent. All they know is that you are a cadre under their management. And, because you are under their management, the first requirement of you is that you agree with them. You absolutely must do whatever they say, be it right or wrong, and follow their orders, be they reasonable or unreasonable.

--Do you oppose them when they are wrong? Very good! They will get rid of you. If you are an elderly cadre (even if you are still in good health and have much experience in your job) and they give the reason that young, competent, healthy and educated cadres should undertake some of the work of which you are in charge, which is a very understandable reason, they will transfer you to a job not suited to your abilities and strengths, send you far away or force you to retire. Are you a young cadre who is in good health, is competent and possesses zeal and daring? Good! They will accept you. However, will they tolerate you? Will they promote you? Wait a minute, they will say! They will argue that it is necessary to proceed with caution, that time is needed to challenge you first. This is surely how they will respond. Thus, they will find a way to "hold you back," to keep you in the so called "reserve" force and only assign you secondary tasks and miscellaneous jobs while waiting for persons who hold important positions to retire. By that time, your hair will have turned gray and, during the time spent waiting, you will have exhausted all your zeal and intensity.

--Conversely, if you please them, everything will go smoothly. If you are an elderly and frail cadre who is less than fully competent, they will say that special consideration must be shown for veteran cadres, that we must respect their experience and so forth. This gives them a reason for keeping you in your position. And, if necessary, they can even promote you to a higher position. And, what happens if you are a young cadre but incompetent? Actually, if you are incompetent, your young age should mean nothing whatsoever. This, however, does not bother them! They will argue that it is necessary to give attention to young cadres, to not be too strict with them, to not demand that they immediately have an impact in their new job position. They will boldly assign jobs to young cadres which they might not be able to perform well at first; however, with the help of leadership, of the collective, these comrades will, they argue, surely succeed. We should not be conservative, narrowminded or prejudiced. If, at some point in time, they feel that you do not possess the necessary health or are incompetent, you will have to "voluntarily give your position" to another young cadre and so forth. And, when they state the matter in this manner, who would dare oppose them? Thus, they promote you and give you a new position.

And so it goes!

It gives no one any pleasure to discuss such improper practices. However, they do exist. These "sores" continue to cling to our bodies.

Why do these sores still exist?

A good and experienced unit head is always acting on the basis of the interests of the revolution and always thinks about the best way to organize and assign cadres, about whom should be assigned more difficult tasks, whom should be assigned less difficult tasks and whom should be assigned to which position; he knows how to train

and promptly assign competent cadres who possess good qualities to higher positions and replace incompetent cadres. Conversely, the unit head who does not firmly grasp the viewpoints of the party, who lacks experience and resolves problems not on the basis of the interests of the revolution, but only on the basis of his personal thinking, of his subjective desires will surely create sores such as those mentioned above.

On the other hand, it must be stated that there are still significant shortcomings in our cadre work. These shortcomings are the long-standing practice of building the corps of cadres in a spontaneous manner lacking both short-term and long-term planning; the failure to promptly amend or revise many points in the cadre policy and regulations that have become outmoded; cadre management that is still administrative in nature and characterized by bureaucratic centralism; the lack of clear regulations concerning the evaluation, promotion and utilization of cadres; lax inspections; the failure to promptly correct mistakes, etc. These shortcomings provide a very favorable environment for negative phenomena to arise and develop in cadre work.

It can be said that correctly selecting and correctly utilizing cadres are the crux of every issue, are the key permitting us to develop, as effectively as possible, the tremendous potentials of cadres in order to serve the revolution. Conversely, selecting and utilizing a cadre on the basis of personal feelings, on the basis of whether he is liked or disliked, whether he is loved or hated, whether he can or cannot be easily "bossed" lays the basis for significant and even very serious harm. It causes this cadre (whether he be "loved" or "hated") to fail to develop his skills and strengths. It causes the cadre who is "loved" to think that he possesses true virtue and talent and that he is making such "progress" as a result of a "wise" unit head; this, in turn, gives rise to complacency, to self-satisfaction, to disdain for the collective, to only giving attention to flattery and pleasing the unit head. It causes the cadre who is "hated" to easily become dissatisfied and bored with his work or to yield and not continue to struggle to protect the truth but only try to please the unit head. It causes factionalism, a loss of internal unity, weakens the organization to the point of destroying it and causes cadres, party members and the masses to lose confidence.

Evaluating, selecting and utilizing cadres on the basis of "love and hatred," of tolerating incompetence but treating persons who possess talent poorly are flagrant violations of the Marxist-Leninist principles concerning cadre work.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume 27, p 230.
2. Le Duan: "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet-nam" [The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume II, p 431.
3. The Political Bureau Resolution on Organizational Work.
4. Le Duan: "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia...", p 431.

RESEARCH: FROM THE 25 YEARS OF DEBATING THE MATTER OF THE FORMATION OF THE NATION OF VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 81 pp 55-63

[Article by Professor Phan Huy Le]

[Text] Reviewing the History of the Debate

When and on which basis the nation of Vietnam first formed and how it has developed and changed through the various periods of history, these are questions surrounding an important matter in the history of our nation: the formation of the nation of Vietnam.

Research and debate concerning this matter of major scientific and practical significance began in 1955 and can be divided into two stages:

The first stage: the debate was rather heated in 1955, 1956 and 1957 and gradually subsided from then until 1962 and 1963.

The debate led to very differing views concerning the formation of the nation of Vietnam. Some persons sought to prove that our nation formed at an early date but the specific dates suggested by them varied very widely, either the 10th Century, the 15th Century or the 18th Century. A smaller number of persons saw that a certain number of aspects of nationhood had been formed by the 18th or 19th Century but maintained that Vietnam was still not a fully formed nation by the time of the August Revolution in 1945. The formation of the socialist nation of Vietnam has also begun to be discussed. Some persons consider the founding of the vanguard party of the Vietnamese working class in 1930 to mark the starting point of this process and consider the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to be the first nation state in the style of a socialist nation.

From a theoretical point of view, all of the specific opinions presented above revolve around two different basic viewpoints.

The first viewpoint is based on the definition of a nation by J.V. Stalin, which considers a nation to be a historic category closely linked to the period of birth and development of capitalism and considers the bourgeois nation to be the first form

of a nation in the history of man. This theoretical viewpoint denies the possibility that nations formed prior to capitalism.

However, when applying this theoretical viewpoint to the history of Vietnam, different tendencies have developed.

One is the tendency to demand the strict application of the standards of a bourgeois nation and the four basic characteristics set forth by J.V. Stalin. These authors maintain that the rudiments of capitalism, which arose in the 18th and 19th Centuries, only opened the way for the process of formation of nations. Subsequently, under the rule of French colonialism, capitalist production relations were impeded and developed very weakly. The process of the formation of a nation continued to occur but failed to result in the creation of a true nation. Vietnam did not experience the period of capitalist development, consequently, it lacked the complete basis needed for the formation of a bourgeois nation.

The other tendency is the desire to more flexibly apply the standards of a bourgeois nation to the specific conditions of Vietnamese history. These authors maintain that the development of the commodity economy and the rudiments of capitalism in the 18th Century combined with the special characteristics of our country, primarily the need to resist foreign aggression, made it possible for the nation of Vietnam to form at an early date and possess all of the special characteristics contained within J.V. Stalin's definition.

The second viewpoint is based on the theory of V.I. Lenin and the definition of a nation by J.V. Stalin but seeks to prove that, while confirming and deeply researching the bourgeois nation, J.V. Stalin did not deny the possibility of the existence of a form of a nation prior to capitalism. According to the author, in western Europe nations were born with capitalism but, in eastern Europe, nations were formed under the conditions in which capitalism was still weak and the feudal system had not been abolished; in the Far East, nations could have emerged prior to capitalism when the feudal system was still ruling society.

In the first stage of the debate, the first viewpoint was clearly dominant. The second viewpoint was criticized and, at times, even denounced but it has still not lost support completely.

The second stage of the debate began after 1965 and has lasted until the present day.

The general direction of the debate in the second stage has been to prove the early formation of the nation of Vietnam.

Some persons maintain that our nation formed during the country-building period of the Hung Kings. Together with the emergence of the first state, the Viet nation was established as a nation, as a rather stable community.

A number of other persons maintain that, in view of the specific conditions of Vietnamese history, the process of building and defending the country was also the process of the formation and development of the nation. This means that the process

of the formation of the nation began during the country building period of the Hung Kings with the gradual emergence and development of the various factors needed to establish a nation. However, it was not until after a process of formation that the nation of Vietnam was established as a unified national community. Some persons place this date in the 10th Century with the establishment of the independent government of the Ngo Dynasty and the reunification of the country under the Dinh Dynasty; other persons place it in the 11th Century and consider the centuries from the 11th to the 15th to represent the stage of establishment and growth of the nation.

There are also persons who maintain that the nation of Vietnam only began to form in the 10th Century with the establishment of the government of the House of Khuc and was completely formed in the latter half of the 16th Century after the Ly Dynasty firmly strengthened the united national government and following the victory over the Tong and the pacification of the Chiem.

In theoretical terms, the new tendency of the persons participating in the debate is to go beyond the limitations of the definition of the bourgeois nation and raise the matter of the possibility of the existence of a form of nation before capitalism.

One person returned to the concept of "nation" of C. Marx and F. Engels to prove that, according to the viewpoint of the founders of Marxism, nations formed from tribes when the age of barbarity gave way to the age of civilization, that is, nations formed along with the emergence of the state. According to the author, nations have evolved on the basis of the various socio-economic systems; before the bourgeois nation and the socialist nation there were the slave ownership nation and the feudal nation. Another person returns to the concept in the classical works of Marxism-Leninism, which views the term "nation" as having two definitions: the ordinary broad definition and the narrow definition, which is considered a scientific term, that a nation is only one stable community. Concerning the second definition, the viewpoints of C. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin are identical. In many European countries, such national communities were already in existence by the time capitalism developed. In Vietnam and a number of other countries, nations formed before capitalism because the historic circumstances and conditions of these countries differed from the characteristics of the slave ownership system and the feudal system in many countries of Europe.

Deserving of attention is that in the second stage of the debate the matter of building the socialist nation of Vietnam has had the concern of many more persons and been raised as an important subject and a political task.

In the opinion of many persons, the victory of the August revolution in 1945 began the process of the formation of a socialist nation in Vietnam. This was an historic inevitability that was prepared for when the vanguard party of the working class was established and assumed leadership of the Vietnamese revolution. Following the victory of the national-democratic revolution on a nationwide scale and together with the building of socialism, the process of the formation of a socialist nation has constantly been accelerated. One person discussed the special characteristics of the socialist national community of Vietnam and the guidelines for strengthening the

solidarity and unity of a national community that consists of many different nationalities and for developing upon traditional cultural values in order to build the new socialist culture and stimulate the process of establishing a unity of language in the relationship between the Vietnamese language, the common tongue of the national community, and the languages of the ethnic minorities in Vietnam.

#### The Achievements That Have Been Recorded

The debate is continuing and will surely continue for quite some time to come. However, after 25 years of research and debate involving nearly 40 treatises and works on the formation of the nation of Vietnam, not including the volumes of history and the specialized research projects that have dealt with this matter to some extent, we can and must describe the achievements that have been recorded.

The first achievement is that we have, through the debate, become increasingly aware of the importance and significance in many areas of the matter of the formation of the nation.

The formation of the nation, which is one of the basic matters in the history of the nation, is of scientific significance, practical significance and tremendous political significance. Researching and correctly defining the process of the formation, development and change of the nation of Vietnam provide a very important scientific basis for understanding the laws and the special characteristics of the development of the history of Vietnam and for explaining numerous economic, political, social, cultural and ideological matters. We will be unable to fully explain the extraordinary vitality of the nation, the nature of the national culture, national traditions, the characteristics of the peasant movement, the socio-economic structure and the political system of Vietnamese feudal society if we ignore the formation of the nation.

The matter of the nation's formation is closely linked to the nation, in general, and not only deals with the past, but is also one of the pressing matters of the Vietnamese revolution, in the national-democratic revolution as well as the socialist revolution. Brandishing the two banners of national independence and socialism, our party highly tapped the strength of our times and advanced the Vietnamese revolution to increasingly brilliant victories. Correctly understanding the course and the characteristics of the structure of the nation of Vietnam with all of its strengths and weaknesses is the scientific basis needed for our party to resolve the national question on the basis of the stand of the working class and creatively apply the theory of nationhood of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country. The tasks of accelerating the formation of a socialist nation as well as the work of building socialism and protecting the Vietnamese socialist fatherland are raising many scientific questions related to the matter of the formation of the nation that we are debating.

On a worldwide scale, the formation of nations is also a matter of important significance to the existence and development of each country as well as the relations among the various countries in the world community. In particular, in the

present age, an age in which the lofty goals of nations and of all progressive mankind are peace, national independence, democracy and socialism and an age in which imperialism and the reactionary powers are making every effort to undermine and take advantage of the national independence movement and provoke big country chauvinism or narrowminded nationalism, the national question assumes greater importance than ever before.

In the debate, many theoretical matters concerning the formation of the nation and the realities of the history of Vietnam have been raised. The opinions that have been expressed have differed and have even been contrary concerning a number of matters. However, an analysis of the trend of development of the debate readily shows that more and more persons, especially in the recent past, endorse the opinion that the nation of Vietnam was formed at an early date and is a type of pre-capitalist nation. Our nation formed not as the result of the requirements of the development of capitalism as a type of bourgeois nation, but as a result of the objective and pressing requirements of building and defending the country under the specific natural conditions and historic circumstances of the country. For this reason, the process of building and defending the country was, at the same time, the process of the formation and development of the nation.

Another matter that can be cited as an achievement, one recognized by many persons, is that our nation as well as every other nation in the world has changed in accordance with the various socio-economic forms of the countries. In the 18th and 19th Centuries, the first rudiments of capitalism emerged but were very weak. Under the rule of colonialism, capitalist production relations developed to some extent but were severely restricted. Together with the process of development of the rudiments of capitalism and capitalist production relations, a certain number of factors of a bourgeois nation emerged. However, Vietnam did not experience a period of capitalist development, consequently, the nation of Vietnam also did not experience a period of existence and development of a bourgeois nation. This is an important characteristic in the development and change of our nation. Before a bourgeois nation could form, the proletariat, through its vanguard party, took leadership of the Vietnamese revolution. As a result, after the victory of the August Revolution, Vietnam entered the process of the formation of a socialist nation. This was an historic inevitability and also marked the start of a new era in the development of the nation of Vietnam.

#### The Matters Being Raised

Besides the achievements that have been recorded, we face a host of complex theoretical and practical historical questions that we must continue to research and debate.

As regards theory, we all subscribe to the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism. As regards the bourgeois nation, the viewpoints of C. Marx, F. Engels and V. Lenin are very clear and were later summarized by J.V. Stalin in his work "Marxism and the National Question." This bourgeois nation is a historic category closely linked to the period of development of capitalism. On the basis of the historic realities of many European countries, J.V. Stalin generalized the formation of bourgeois nations

in two courses: the course of the nation-state and the course of multi-nation-state. However, do any of the classical works of Marxism-Leninism, either directly or indirectly, mention a type of nation preceding the bourgeois nation? This is a question that has frequently been raised not only in our country, but in many other countries when debating the matter of the formation of a nation.

On the basis of a sentence written by J.V. Stalin in his work "The Nation and Leninism," namely, "that there are all types of nations in the world," one person has maintained that, in addition to the bourgeois nation and socialist nation, J.V. Stalin's concept never denied the existence of a pre-capitalist nation. However, how do we explain this when J.V. Stalin himself harshly criticized a number of comrades in the Soviet Union in approximately 1929 for setting forth a viewpoint concerning the formation of nations prior to capitalism, when the feudal system was still in dominance. J.V. Stalin wrote: "They maintain that nations arose and existed even before capitalism. However, how could nations have arisen and existed before the capitalist period, that is, during the period of feudalism when all countries were divided into independent localities that were not closely linked to one another by national relations and even thoroughly denied the need for such relations? Contrary to the mistaken observation of these comrades, there never was and never could be nations during the pre-capitalist period because there were no national markets, no national centers, either economic or cultural; consequently, there were no factors for eliminating the economic fragmentation of a given nation and coordinating the various components of this nation which, at that time, were still separated into individual national entities."(1) The viewpoint of J.V. Stalin was very clear, unequivocal and consistent with the historic realities of Russia and many European countries.

One person analyzed, in a very detailed fashion, the concept of "nations" as contained in the works of C. Marx and F. Engels to prove that, according to C. Marx and F. Engels, nations formed from tribes at the same time as states were emerging. In Russia in the late 19th Century, a similar concept, one represented by N.C. Mikalopxki, was popular. However, V.I. Lenin criticized and ridiculed this viewpoint, analyzed the history of Russia and clearly pointed out that "only in the recent history of Russia (since the 17th Century) have all regions, territories and fiefdoms truly been united in one entity"(2), that is, the process of the formation of the Russian nation only began in the 17th Century.

Thus, is it possible that there is a contradiction among C. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin concerning the concept of the formation of nations? In fact, the foundation of the theory of nationhood of Marxism-Leninism was laid by C. Marx and F. Engels and the theory itself was perfected by V.I. Lenin. Any research into the theory concerning the formation of nations cannot stop at the works of C. Marx and F. Engels but must involve particular attention to the works of V.I. Lenin.

In cases in which they were specifically discussing the formation of nations, C. Marx and F. Engels as well as V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin agreed that it was not until the period of development of capitalism that the conditions existed for the formation of nations and, as a result, the bourgeois nation was the first type of nation. This observation is totally consistent with the historic realities of many European countries

at that time. The formation of nations was researched and laid the basis for the above mentioned scientific generalizations.

The problem facing us is that we must, on the basis of the fundamental arguments of Marxism-Leninism, clarify the following several matters:

1. As regards the concept "nation," in our language as well as many other languages of the world, the term nation is used in both its broad and narrow meanings and this makes it very difficult to differentiate one meaning from the other and easily leads to mistakes in scientific work. We say the "nation of Vietnam is one" but we also say the "Kinh nation," the "Muong nation," the "Thai nation," etc.

As regards scientific terminology, it is necessary to more clearly define the concept "nation." One person has suggested that we use the concept "nation" [QUOCS GIA] or "nation" [QUOCS TOCJ] to replace the narrow definition of the concept "nation." This matter must be more thoroughly debated and considered.

2. As regards the definition of nation, many researchers still use the definition presented by J.V. Stalin in his work "Marxism and the National Question," considering it to be a classical definition of nation. According to J.V. Stalin: "A nation is a stable community of persons that has formed through history, is based on a common language, territory, economic activities and psychology and is expressed in the form of a cultural community." (3) This definition was set forth after summarizing the formation of the bourgeois nation; therefore, it primarily applies to the bourgeois nation but is of general significance with regard to every type of nation, in general.

Thus, does this definition fully reflect the general characteristics of every type of nation and can it be considered a general definition of nation? These are questions with which many persons are concerned and which have yet to be satisfactorily answered.

3. As regards the evolution of the various forms of communities, did they develop from tribes into clans and then into nations or from tribes directly into nations? This matter has resulted in much debate in the world and must be resolved on the basis of combining the arguments of Marxism-Leninism with the latest results of research on the various forms of communities.

If resolved, the theoretical questions presented above will shine very much light on the formation of the nation of Vietnam as well as many other nations in the world, especially the Far East.

The formation of the nation of Vietnam as well as the other nations of the Far East was never studied in the past and, of course, was never generalized in the classical works of Marxism-Leninism. For this reason, the spirit of science demands that we creatively apply the general arguments concerning the formation of nations of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Vietnamese history.

As regards the realities of Vietnamese history, we have many more conditions in our favor for conducting research and conducting the debate. However, there are also

many questions in this area that demand that we collect additional information and conduct deeper research.

1. Our nation formed at an early date primarily as a result of the objective requirements of the struggle to build and protect the country under the specific conditions and circumstances of Vietnam. Our country is not large and does not have a large population but it does have a long history and has existed and developed amidst circumstances of almost continuous, arduous struggle to overcome many natural disasters of a tropical, monsoon environment that is both beautiful and harsh and savage fighting against many aggressors. Excluding the semi-historical, semi-mythical pages in our history that deal with the resistance against foreign aggression during the period of the Hung Kings, from the time of the war of resistance against the aggressor army of the Tan emperor in the 3rd Century B.C. until the present day, our people have had to wage nearly two dozen wars to protect the country and stage very many uprisings and wars of liberation in order to win national independence. In their history, our people have had to contend with schemes of annexation, enslavement and genocide of the expansionist powers in China and many imperialist powers in the world. Thus, building the country in conjunction with defending it became a major characteristic controlling the entire course of Vietnamese history and profoundly influencing the process of the formation of the nation.

The circumstances surrounding the building and defending of the country obviously created a closeness in the common destiny of the entire community, heightened the unity of the nation and stimulated the early development of patriotism and national consciousness. However, one matter that must be researched in greater depth is the specific impact that these historical conditions and circumstances have had upon the process of development of the nation, not only as regards the entire process, but also as regards each factor that created the nation, such as territory, language, socio-economic life, culture, ideology and so forth.

Moreover, it is impossible to separate the early formation of the nation of Vietnam from the general process of world history. This is not a course of history peculiar to Vietnam, but is a characteristic of a number of countries, especially in the Far East. It is not surprising that when researching and debating the matter of the formation of nations in many countries of the Far East, the historians of these countries note that national unity developed at a rather early date and that nations did not begin to form until the period of development of capitalism. Thus, how were the socio-economic structures that existed before capitalism in the Far East, which G. Marx and F. Engels called the "Asian form," the "Asian mode of production," related to the formation of nations in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and how did they influence the formation of these nations?

2. A nation is a stable community of persons that is established on certain indispensable bases and has certain indispensable characteristics.

As regards the nation of Vietnam, of the various factors that created the nation, the factors of territory and psychology-culture were established at a rather early date and are rather clearly evident (of course, they must be researched in greater detail).

However, as regards the factors of language and economic activities, not much information is available for many periods of time and these factors have not been thoroughly researched. We must still invest much more effort in these fields and must have the participation of linguists and economists.

When summarizing the characteristics of a nation, J.V. Stalin did not mention the factor of the state. This was totally correct with regard to nations that consist of many different nationalities. In these nations, there is only the state of the ruling class of the ethnic majority; the nationalities being ruled have no state of their own. For this reason, a state is not an indispensable characteristic of these nations. However, as regards Vietnam and the nations that consist of various nationalities, the formation of the nation was closely linked to the establishment of national unity, in which the central state played an important role. Thus, should the state be taken into consideration as a factor in the formation of the nation of Vietnam? This question has been raised but, to date, no firm conclusion has been reached concerning it either in terms of general theory or the specific conditions of our country's history.

3. From the time the nation was established, our country has consisted of many different nationalities. At present, on the basis of the results of research and verification by the Institute of National Studies and the Central Nationalities Commission, the Statistics General Department, on behalf of the Council of Ministers has promulgated a decision concerning The List of Nationalities in Vietnam, which consists of 54 different nationalities. Thus, how did the relations between the ethnic majority and the various ethnic minorities develop in the course of the formation and development of the nation?

In the debate, some persons have raised the matter of the formation of the nation of Vietnam while others have only raised the matter of the formation of the Viet nation.

The general trend in history has been for the ethnic majority to play the central role in uniting and rallying the various ethnic minorities within a unified nation and then gradually building a united national community consisting of many different nationalities. Research must be conducted in order to clearly define how this process was carried out in the various periods of history, to what degree it was carried out and how it has been completed within the socialist national community of today.

4. The nation of Vietnam was formed in the process of building and defending the country; however, at which point in time did this process create the full foundation needed for establishing a national community in the full meaning of the term?

Following its formation, how did our nation develop, grow and change through the various periods of history? Here, there is an important matter, namely, the establishment of the socio-economic base and the class makeup of the nation. In the history of Vietnam, the development and replacement of various socio-economic forms in a number of periods have not been fully researched and this has affected the effort to resolve the questions presented above. The concept of a "pre-capitalist nation" is general in nature and clearly does not reflect the nature of this type nation.

2. On the basis of the history of the formation and development of the nation of Vietnam in the past, it is necessary to clearly define the internal characteristics of this process and analyze its strengths and weaknesses. On this basis, we must reach conclusions that help us to lay a scientific basis for the nationalities positions and policies of our party and state and which directly support the effort to build the present socialist Vietnamese national community. This is the relationship between the past and the present, between science and politics, between theory and practice.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. J.V. Stalin: "The National and Colonial Question," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 421.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume I, p 183.
3. J.V. Stalin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume II, p 357.

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## CHINA: MANY YEARS OF ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 81 pp 67-70

[Article by Le Tinh]

[Text] The economic adjustment program, which replaced the bankrupted 1976-1985 ten year development plan, was first presented at the plenum of the Chinese Communist Party in late 1978. At that time, Beijing said that the 2 years 1979 and 1980 would be devoted to economic adjustment and that the new 5-year plan would begin in 1981. In June 1979, at the Chinese National Assembly Hua Guofeng said that 3 years would be devoted to economic adjustment, not 2 years. In March 1980, Hua Dieu Tan, deputy head of the Chinese Social Sciences Commission said that the adjustment would last until the end of 1982. The PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial on 2 December 1980 admitted that economic adjustment could not be completed in the next 3 or 4 years, but would require a longer period of time! The western press has said that this adjustment in China will not be completed until the end of the 1980's. Thus, after presenting its adjustment plan, Beijing has had to "adjust" the timing of the "adjustment plan" three times. What are they adjusting? China officially says that the adjustment is designed to reduce or completely eliminate every development plan resulting from the previous impulsive economic policy in order to restore the balanced development of the economy. In 1957, Chinese national income reached 95 billion people's dong and its gross social product reached 159.2 billion people's dong. According to MIRROR Magazine (Number 49, December 1980) of the German Federal Republic, the Chinese economy declined by 25 percent following the "great leap forward" in the years from 1958 to 1960. Then, China spent 5 years (1961-1965) making adjustments. Immediately thereafter, the "great cultural revolution" damaged the Chinese economy more than the great leap forward. Chinese authorities have admitted that China's economy was "on the brink of collapse." Between 1974 and 1976, the final 3 years of the cultural revolution, industry suffered a loss of roughly 100 billion people's dong (Hua Guofeng, 9 May 1978).

In the face of this tragic economic situation, the Chinese authorities still recklessly set forth the four modernizations program, which is in the nature of a leap forward and in which the "10 key years" are the 1976-1985 plan with the impulsive norms announced in August 1977. However, only 20 months later, they have begun to realize how reckless this decision was, as reckless as forcing a paralyzed person to run a race (Fran Van, April 1979). The economic adjustment has been under way for more than

2 years but, to date, "the imbalances in many areas have not fundamentally changed. The adjustment has not yielded any results whatsoever... During the adjustment, new problems have arisen that we did not foresee"(the 1 January 1981 issue of ECONOMIC NEWS, a weekly newspaper published in Hong Kong that reflects the viewpoint of Beijing).

In China at this time, agriculture is very unstable. Compared to 1976, industrial production increased 14 percent in 1977 and 13.5 percent in 1978. In 1979, when the adjustment began, industrial production increased 7.8 percent. In 1980, heavy industrial production only increased 1.6 percent with a nearly 3 percent decline in petroleum and coal production; however, as a result of a significant increase in light industrial production, total industrial production increased. Western economic circles predict that during the period of adjustment, the rate of increase will only be about 3 to 4 percent. Thus, the rate of increase will constantly decrease. The 1981 plan which was set forth in September 1980 has now been readjusted. Steel production has been reduced from 35 million tons to 33 million tons, petroleum production from 106 million tons to 100 million tons and coal production from 359 million tons to 339 million tons. Investments in capital construction have been reduced from 55 billion to 30 billion people's dong. In 1980, 7.6 billion people's dong were issued, thus causing serious inflation, which was officially recognized as 5 to 6 percent; however, western economic circles maintain that inflation was at least more than 15 percent. This year, instead of issuing currency, the Chinese authorities are issuing government loans (4 to 5 billion people's dong) and borrowing local funds (8 billion people's dong). These measures are a direct attack upon the living conditions of the people and thus pose more difficulties to the effort to adjust the economy.

According to the 5 December 1980 issue of PEOPLE'S DAILY, the imbalances in the Chinese economy center in the following several areas: first, the various economic sectors are seriously imbalanced. Secondly, agriculture and light industry are still backward and do not meet the needs of the daily lives of the people. Thirdly, there is much heavy industry but it is cumbersome, its technology is outmoded and it does not play a dominant role. Fourthly, the infrastructure is very thin and weak and impedes industrial and agricultural production. Fifthly, accumulation has been too high for many years, thus affecting consumption. Sixthly, the scale of construction has been too large and has exceeded manpower and material capabilities. Construction has far exceeded financial capabilities and resulted in the following situation: an acute shortage of materials, serious deficits, strained energy supplies, disrupted investment guidelines, very high accumulation, very low economic returns and a declining standard of living.

The 12 February 1981 issue of PEOPLE'S DAILY reviewed the present maladies of the Chinese economy as follows: first, norms are too high, accumulation is too high, light attention is given to returns and to consumption as well. Secondly, heavy emphasis is placed upon rate of growth while light attention is given to balance and synchronization. Thirdly, heavy emphasis is placed upon capital construction and light attention is given to production. Fourthly, more attention is given to production than to living conditions. Fifthly, too much importance is attached to production and light attention is given to circulation and distribution. Sixthly,

importance is attached to the overall balance of the sectors but light attention is given to the overall balance of regions.

Comparing this adjustment to the adjustment in 1961-1965, the same newspaper article shows: first, whereas the previous imbalance was only an "acute" illness, this imbalance has lasted for a very long time and, moreover, is a comprehensive imbalance, an imbalance of a general nature that can be called a "general illness" or "many illnesses breaking out at the same time." Secondly, the previous adjustment was carried out at a time when practically everyone realized the pressing need for an adjustment. This time, there are numerous external factors that conceal the potential dangers of the economy, thereby causing many persons to not believe that there is a need for economic adjustment. Thirdly, the previous adjustment primarily involved small projects that involved small losses. Therefore, it was carried out relatively easily. This time, the projects that must be adjusted are, for the most part, large projects that will involve large losses and pose many difficulties. Fourthly, in the past, it was relatively easy to limit investments; now, because of the many different sources of capital, it is difficult to control investments. Fifthly, in the course of the previous adjustment, energy production continued to increase; now, energy production is unstable. Sixthly, in the previous adjustment, the state sent some 20 million manual workers and civil servants to the countryside to participate in productive labor; this time, this is not only impossible, but it is also necessary to provide work to tens of millions of unemployed persons in the cities. All of these facts prove that this adjustment is very difficult and complex.

ECONOMIC NEWS Newspaper described the imbalance among the various sectors as follows: compared to 1949, industry increased 38.2 times by 1978 but agriculture only increased 2.4 times; heavy industry increased more than 90 times while light industry only increased 19 times. As regards investments, between 1958 and recent years, the capital invested in light industry only equalled one-tenth the capital invested in heavy industry. Since 1958, accumulation has always been more than 30 percent, reaching 43.8 percent in 1959 and as high as 45 percent in 1 year. The very high rate of accumulation and the large investments in heavy industry have created a serious imbalance and affected living conditions very much.

Thus, according to official Chinese data, the Chinese economy is seriously imbalanced in every respect. As regards the rate of development, the rate of development of heavy industry is highest. Thus, of what does China's heavy industry consist? To begin with, there is the machine manufacturing sector, the majority of whose equipment represents technologies of the 1950's and 1960's with some equipment from the 1930's and 1940's, consequently, its efficiency is very low (PEOPLE'S DAILY, 12 March 1980). The 11 May 1980 issue of ECONOMIC NEWS pointed out many serious problems that exist in China's machine industry: it does not satisfy the needs of society, cannot support the effort to make technological improvements, the quality of its products is low and so forth. In its 25 May 1980 issue, this newspaper stated: "Our country's iron and steel industry has not met the needs of national economic development and is still very far from the advanced countries in terms of technical equipment, products, quality... At present, China must still import steel. Within the country, the ore mining sector and the steel rolling sector are backward compared to the metallurgy

sector." The petroleum production sector and the coal sector have stood still for 2 years and it has been projected that they will not make much progress for many years to come because of the shortage of capital and technical supplies.

The bad economic situation presented above has forced the Chinese authorities to adjust the economy but this adjustment, according to them, is extremely difficult and will have extremely harmful consequences, consequently, it has given rise to serious dangers and created a state of panic and fear among cadres and the people. In Quang Dong alone, about 400 large and small projects worth more than 900 million people's dong have been suspended. On 21 January 1981, PEOPLE'S DAILY wrote: "This adjustment, the scope of upheaval of which is very large, will surely have a very large impact upon youths; the cutbacks in capital construction will create many more difficulties for the unemployed and many enterprises will reduce their production or cease production entirely, thereby affecting the income of manual workers and civil servants." On 16 January 1981, the same newspaper wrote: "The acts of speculation and hoarding in society, even by state-operated enterprises and collectives, and the scores of civil servants and manual workers of the state who earn their living illegally, engage in speculation and hoarding and smuggle goods of the state, including gold, silver, precious drugs and foreign goods, have seriously harmed the interests of the entire country, undermined economic order and the stability of the market, posed a direct threat to the stability of society and undermined the adjustment of the economy."

This adjustment by China has also caused harm to Japan and the western countries. As regards Japan, China has unilaterally cancelled 15 major projects that were under contracts with Japan, the total value of which was 60 billion dollars (from 1978 to 1990), thus causing Japan to immediately lose as much as 2 billion dollars.

In Hong Kong, the February 1981 issue of THANH MINH Journal, after printing four recent speeches by Tran Van, Deng Xiaoping, Frieu Tu Duong and Ly Tien Niem, reported that Tran Van himself predicted that the Chinese socio-economic situation is facing the danger of an explosion of riots among the masses in the cities and the countryside.

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