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TAP CHI CONG SAN

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

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THE VICTORIOUS PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTION

BK241300 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 81 pp 1-6

[Article by Truong Chinh, member of the Party Central Committee Political Bureau and Chairman of the Council of State--translation previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 207, 27 Oct 81 pp K5-K9. Capitalized passages published in italics]

[Text] This year is an exceptional year for the people's lives in Vietnam. The country has entered this exceptional year with a constitution which notes the many political and social achievements scored by the laboring people in their socialist construction. A National Assembly of the SRV has been elected in accordance with new fundamental rules. The National Assembly has adopted several laws which substantiate various articles of the Constitution and ensure practical enforcement of these articles. The new Constitution now in force has become a stabilizing element of life in Vietnamese society and a catalyst for social development along the socialist path.

The Vietnamese National Assembly unanimously approved the Constitution of the SRV on 18 December 1980. Inheriting from and bringing into full play the 1946 and 1959 Constitutions of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the present Constitution of the SRV is the one for the period of transition to socialism on a national scale. It recapitulates and verifies the fruitful achievements scored by the Vietnamese people in their revolutionary struggle over the past half a century. It reflects the Vietnamese people's determination and aspirations and ensures the glorious development of Vietnamese society in the period ahead. The Constitution stipulates the political, economic, cultural and social system for the SRV, the basic rights and duties of Vietnamese citizens, and the organizational structure and working principles for various state organs.

The following are some specific features of the new Constitution of Vietnam:

It is the revolutionary goal of the working class to abolish the system of the exploitation of man by man, to do away with all forms of class and race oppression, and to build a society of equality, freedom and happiness, that is a communist society. These are points that many Marxist-Leninist theoreticians have emphasized.

Only if the working class wins power, seizes state power and becomes a class leading the entire society will we be able to carry out the socialist transformation of the national economy, build socialism and advance toward communism.

"The SRV is a state of proletarian dictatorship." (Footnote: The SRV Constitution, Article 2.)

Victorious in its revolutionary struggle, the Vietnamese working class has liberated all Vietnamese laboring people from oppression and exploitation. As a result, the Vietnamese state of proletarian dictatorship represents the fundamental and long-range interests of

the entire Vietnamese nation, and in Vietnam the administration is of the people, by the people and for the people. Dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean that only the working class rules. The worker-peasant alliance is the basis of proletarian dictatorship. In Vietnam the working class, peasantry (collectivized and individual peasants), socialist intelligentsia and all other strata of the laboring people may elect delegates to the National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels.

"In the SRV, all power belongs to the people. The people exercise state power through the National Assembly and the people's council at all levels, elected by the people and responsible to the people." (Footnote: The SRV Constitution, Article 6.)

We do not think that dictatorship of the proletariat and the laboring people's collective mastery contradict each other. The more intensively we strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, the more extensively we must develop the laboring people's collective mastery. By so doing, we can resolutely suppress the counterrevolutionaries and all antisocialist forces while developing socialist democracy and avoiding bureaucracy and despotism.

The Fourth VCP National Congress delegates in 1976 mentioned the relations between the party, the people and the state. These relations have now been institutionalized in the new Constitution.

With respect to the leadership role of the VCP, the new Constitution clearly states: "The VCP -- the vanguard unit and militant staff of the Vietnamese working class -- is armed with Marxism-Leninism. It is the sole force to lead the state and society and is the main decisive factor in all victories of the Vietnamese revolution."

With regard to the laboring people's role in the country's political life, the Constitution stipulates: "In the SRV, the collective masters are the laboring people, including the working class, the collective peasantry, the socialist intelligentsia and other working people, with the worker-peasant alliance, which is led by the working class, as the backbone." (Footnote: The SRV Constitution, Article 3.)

The laboring people master society mainly through the state and exercise their rights through the National Assembly -- the highest institution of state power -- and through the people's councils at all levels -- the local institutions of state power. The laboring people also exercise their collective mastery through such mass and social organizations as the trade union, the youth union and the women's union, and other member organizations of the Vietnam Fatherland Front. The laboring people further directly master factories, cooperatives, their armed forces units and residential quarters, and so on, and participate in state and social affairs in those very installations and localities.

With respect to state management, the Constitution as a whole denotes the heavy responsibility of the state for economic and social management. The state is responsible to the people for comprehensively administering the country in the political, economic, cultural, social and national defense fields, and so forth. The government is responsible to the people for organizing and guiding the implementation of state plans, for organizing and guiding the people's economic and cultural lives, for organizing national defense, for ensuring social order and security, and for ensuring the observance of all of the citizens' fundamental rights and duties.

The above three issues (the party leadership, the people's mastery and the state management) are closely correlated and this is the main scope of Vietnam's SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY in the present stage.

For a better understanding of the conditions in which Vietnam's Constitution was promulgated, we should look back over a short period of history.

Under the French colonialist regime, Vietnam was divided into three parts called Tonkin, Central Vietnam and Cochinchina. These three parts together with Laos and Kampuchea formed "Indochina dominated by France" or "Eastern France." Vietnam was completely wiped off the world map.

The victorious August revolution unified Vietnam after nearly a century of division. The French colonialists once again returned to invade Vietnam. Vietnam was then divided into two zones: the French-occupied military zone and the free zone.

Following the great Dien Bien Phu victory, Vietnam was again partitioned into two regions with two different political regimes: the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the north with the people's democratic regime and the Republic of Vietnam in the south with the neocolonialist regime of U.S. imperialism and its puppet administration. Faced with such a situation, led by the Communist Party, the Vietnamese people, while directing the north along the socialist path, carried on the People's National Democratic Revolution in the south and finally liberated that part of the country from the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen.

Following the liberation of Saigon in 1975, a people's revolutionary administration was established for all areas throughout the south, and Vietnam achieved national unification on the basis of national independence and socialism. A problem facing the Vietnam Communist Party at that time was the achievement of national unification politically, administratively, economically, culturally and socially. Therefore, the party had to strive resolutely to eradicate the puppet army and administration and to do away with all forms of economic activities and all cultural vestiges left by neocolonialism in the south. It also had to quickly put the south on the path of socialist revolution alongside the north, trying to effect the socialist transformation and build the material and technical bases of socialism in the south.

The economic situation in Vietnam at present is still diversified. In the north, the pursuit of socialism has achieved some initial successes. The socialist economic sector (including the state- and collective-run economic sectors) has accounted for 88.4 percent of gross national product and 84.1 percent of gross national income. The rest is made up by peasants' small-scale individual contributions. The private capitalist-run economic sector has undergone a complete transformation. The south, however, has taken only initial steps along the path toward socialism.

The tasks facing the Vietnamese revolution following the liberation of the south (30 April 1975) consisted of carrying on socialist construction and perfecting the socialist transformation in the north while carrying out the socialist revolution in the south. Thus, despite differences in the extent of socialist transformation and construction, in reality, since the liberation of the south, both the north and the south have been in the period of the transition to socialism. The Constitution of the SRV is a sharp weapon of the Vietnamese people in their struggle to build socialism successfully on a national scale.

In order to score clear-cut successes, Vietnam as a whole must carry out the three revolutions simultaneously -- namely, the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution. These are THE ESSENTIAL GOALS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION in Vietnam at present. A new mode of socialist production has come into existence and has developed throughout the country. Socialist thinking has been in full bloom and is increasingly gaining absolute supremacy over the people's spiritual life.

Experience gained by the Vietnamese people over the past many thousand years shows that national construction must always be carried out in combination with national defense. Since the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and then the birth of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Vietnamese people have been compelled to fight fiercely against imperialism. Four wars broke out one after another: two wars for national liberation against French and U.S. imperialists, and two wars of national defense against the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists.

At present, defending Vietnam is to defend a firm outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia against bellicose imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism and against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists who have always threatened to invade us and use Vietnam as a springboard from which to achieve annexation of all of Southeast Asia. While fighting for the survival of their nation, the Vietnamese people have simultaneously fulfilled their international obligations to world peace and revolution. Not only have they protected their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity but they have also contributed to developing and strengthening the world socialist system and to promoting the complete disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism. In Vietnam THE CLOSE COMBINATION OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION WITH THE DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND is based on this historic and political reality.

The SRV Constitution stipulates: "The SRV builds a comprehensive, modern and all-people national defense on the basis of combining national construction with national defense, combining the strength of the people's armed forces with the strength of all the people and combining the nation's traditional strength against foreign aggression with the strength of the socialist system." (Footnote: The SRV Constitution, Article 49.)

As a matter of fact, the SRV state has to carefully build socialism, constantly develop the economy and culture and improve the people's material and spiritual lives, while consolidating national defense, developing the three categories of troops of the people's armed forces -- regular, regional and self-defense militia forces -- opposing the imperialist aggressors and the Chinese expansionists and big-nation hegemonists, eradicating internal rebels, protecting the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and assuring order and security.

According to the new Constitution, all citizens enjoy ample rights in the political, economic, cultural and social fields and in their public and family lives. All manual and intellectual workers, male and female, old and young, teenagers, children, wounded, fallen heroes' survivors, revolutionary individuals and families, the infirm and needy and orphans have found in the new Constitution all the basic rights and privileges which the socialist state has given them.

Apart from rights, the Constitution stipulates citizens' fundamental duties, primarily the duties of being loyal to and defending the fatherland, of laboring, of observing the Constitution, law and other regulations of public life and of respecting and protecting socialist assets.

The SRV Constitution's stipulations concerning the fundamental rights and duties of citizens reflect the concept of settling the relationship between the society and individuals according to the principle of "harmoniously combining the demands of social life with the genuine freedom of individuals, and of guaranteeing the unanimity of interests between the state, collectives and individuals on the principle of one for all and all for one." (Footnote: The SRV Constitution, Article 53.)

The spirit of this relationship which we must thoroughly understand is that CITIZENS' RIGHTS ARE NOT SEPARATE FROM THEIR DUTIES. If citizens enjoy their rights, they must fulfill their obligations. Conversely, if they fulfill their duties, their rights will be guaranteed by the state.

During the transition period, the class struggle -- the struggle between progress and backwardness -- is still fierce and complicated. To prevent the abuse of citizens' rights and infringements on the interests of the state and people, the Constitution specifies: "No one has the right to take advantage of democratic freedoms to violate the interests of the state and the people." (Footnote: The SRV Constitution, Article 53.)

We consider raising the standards of the people's material and cultural living to be one of the conditions for forming new men and for ensuring the balanced and comprehensive development of each person.

The Constitution guarantees for citizens a life materially ever more plentiful, spiritually rich and qualitatively noble and beautiful. This life is completely different from what the capitalist sociologists and philosophers usually describe in their propaganda as the "consumer society."

The SRV Constitution reflects the Vietnamese people's ARDENT PATRIOTISM and their solidarity against foreign aggression through various stages of the national history. The Constitution stresses: "The state develops the people's patriotism and revolutionary heroism." The sacred duties of all citizens are to be loyal to and defend the country. "To betray the country is the most serious crime against one's nation."

Moreover, the Constitution reflects the PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, the correct foreign policy and the noble international obligations of the Vietnamese people.

The SRV Constitution clearly states: "The SRV intensifies its fraternal friendship, militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos and Kampuchea and other socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It protects and defends its friendship with neighboring countries, maintains solidarity with the peoples of countries struggling for national independence and social progress, implements the policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different political and social systems on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, nonintervention in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit; it actively supports and contributes to the struggle of the world's people against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, big-power hegemonist expansionism and racism and for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

These clear-cut stipulations of the SRV state's foreign policy attest to the groundless slanders and distortions by the reactionaries among the Chinese ruling circles about what is described as "Vietnam's small hegemony" as well as the Vietnam-controlled "Indochinese federation."

to make the Constitution a reality in social life, we must implement many important tasks. The state must materialize the new Constitution by enacting necessary laws to implement the Constitution. The cadres and people must be made fully aware of all the provisions of the Constitution so that all citizens implement it voluntarily. The struggle to implement the Constitution is a thousand times more difficult than the formulation of the Constitution. Nevertheless, since the provisions of the MRV Constitution agree with the developmental law of our society and respond to the interests and the profound aspirations of the Vietnamese people, we are convinced that our Constitution will certainly be implemented despite difficulties and complications. With the implementation of the new Constitution, the Vietnamese people will enjoy more freedom and happiness and will successfully build a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist Vietnam.

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ORGANIZE THE PARTY ORGANIZATION WELL AT ALL ECHELONS

BK280930 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN No 9, Sep 81 pp 7-10, 59

[Unattributed article--translation previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 209, 29 Oct 81, pp K7-K10]

[Text] Implementing the resolution of the ninth plenum of the VCP Central Committee on convening the fifth national party congress of delegates, our party is now urgently and actively making preparations in all fields to advance to the party congress.

For local and grassroots party organizations, an extremely important task they must carry out, if they are to practically contribute to preparing for the national party congress, is to satisfactorily hold congresses of party organizations at their own levels and to select worthy delegates to congresses of party organizations at higher levels or to the national party congress.

First of all, we must understand what is required of the fifth national party congress. On this basis, we will determine a direction for our thinking and preparations so as to ensure the best possible results for the congresses of party organizations at all levels.

The fifth party congress is being convened in a situation in which our entire party, people and armed forces have made every effort to implement the resolution of the fourth party congress, have fought valiantly, worked diligently, overcome many difficulties and trials and achieved great successes in many fields.

Aside from the outstanding achievements in defeating the two wars of aggression started by the reactionary Chinese leadership, continuing to fulfill our international obligations to fraternal Laos and Kampuchea, and especially in supporting the Kampuchean people's cause of national salvation and helping it achieve total victory, we have also scored great achievements in socialist transformation and building socialism. A stable system of dictatorship of the proletariat has been established throughout the country. The working people's collective mastery has been initially established. We have quickly overcome the heavy losses caused by the U.S. and Beijing expansionist wars of aggression and promptly resolved numerous pressing socioeconomic problems. The material and technical base of the economy has been significantly strengthened. In agriculture as well as in industry, despite the many difficulties encountered, production has made headway and developed in some respects. In culture, education and public health, important developments have been achieved, reflecting the superiority of the new system. In the labor productivity movement, positive factors and progressive models have recently brought practical results in many places and promise even better ones in the future. In foreign relations, we have scored strategic achievements in strengthening the militant solidarity between our people and other fraternal peoples in the socialist community.

However, our achievements in socialist revolution, especially in the economic field, have been small compared with our needs and with the efforts and resources committed. As the party central committee letter to all party committee echelons, cadres and party members

on convening the fifth party congress pointed out, aside from these achievements, we have also shown shortcomings and weaknesses. Applying the party line, in national economic planning, in economic management, in distribution and circulation, in guiding implementation, and in deploying organizations and cadres.

We now not only face weighty tasks in building socialism but also in constantly upholding vigilance and standing ready to fight in defense of the fatherland. The Beijing expansionists, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, are still pursuing aggressive schemes against our country and constantly committing acts of sabotage against us in all fields. Our country is still in a situation in which peace prevails but war remains a possibility.

The national congress is the party's highest organ of leadership, a prominent event in the party's life, and also a very important political event which is closely related to the people of all strata.

The fifth national party congress must concentrate the intellectual power of the entire party and people on further concretizing the party line of socialist revolution, developing strengths and positive factors, devising guidelines and measures to overcome difficulties and rectify shortcomings, effecting during the period of the 1981-85 5-year plan and in the subsequent years important changes in the cause of socialist revolution, firmly defending the socialist fatherland and continuing to fulfill international obligations.

The purpose of the holding of congresses of all-level party organizations is to make adequate preparations for the fifth national party congress and ensure the satisfactory organization of the implementation of the resolution to be adopted by the congress. Therefore, the convening of all-level party organization congresses must aim at the following requirements:

- To uphold the sense of responsibility, develop democracy, improve party members' intellect and see to it that party members and delegates participate in discussions of specific matters brought forth by the party Central Committee and the various party committee echelons. This will enable them to contribute positively to deciding the common tasks of the entire party and of each party organization.
- To study and discuss the general outlines adopted by the party Central Committee in connection with the actual situation in localities and units so as to further understand the party line, views, policies and guidelines. On this basis, each party committee echelon and each comrade is responsible for thinking about, studying and making good preparations for a plan to be discussed at the party organization congress.
- To elect truly worthy and qualified delegates to attend higher-level party organization congresses or the national congress of delegates; at the same time, to perfect the party committee echelons qualitatively according to the party Central Committee specifications and guiding principles.

On the basis of ensuring the fulfillment of these requirements, the congresses of all-level party organizations will help achieve a strong identity of views at the national congress of delegates, strengthen unity and unanimity within the entire party, as well as within each party organization, and create more favorable conditions for organizing the successful implementation of the resolution to be adopted by the national congress of delegates.

After understanding the fifth party congress resolution thoroughly, all party committee echelons will review the implementation of the tasks, policies and measures set forth by the previous party organization congresses, point out strengths, seriously carry out self-criticism and criticism of the shortcomings of party organizations and party committee echelons, perfect the already prepared plans for submission to party organization congresses and ensure that all their decisions will be positive, practical and firm.

The all-level party organization congresses will be organized in two phases:

-- The first phase will be devoted to discussing documents sent down by the party Central Committee and to appointing delegates to attend higher-level party organization congresses or the national congress of delegates.

-- The second phase will take place after the national congress of delegates ends, so as to review the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the previous party organization congresses, to understand and discuss the implementation of the fifth national party congress resolution, to decide new tasks for party organizations during the period of the 1981-85 5-year plan and particularly during the tenure of party committee echelons, and to elect new executive committees in places where the terms of the current ones have expired or are about to expire. In other places, when deemed necessary, party organizations congresses may organize elections to replenish executive committees or change some committee members, in order to strengthen the party committee echelons in these places.

In places where the term of party committee echelons have expired, the first phase of party organization congresses will be devoted only to discussing issues recommended by the party Central Committee, in preparation for the national party congress. The discussion of the tasks, objectives and measures of party organizations for the next term and the election to the party committee of echelons are to be held after the national party congress ends.

In the first phase, congresses from the grassroots level upward will be held. The second phase will feature congresses at the levels of provinces and municipalities directly subordinate to the central government and then congresses at the district, precinct and grassroots levels. Following the fifth party congress, the party Central Committee Secretariat will provide guidance and methods for carrying out the second phase of all-level party organization congresses.

The election of delegates to the higher-level organization congresses and the national congress of delegates must be organized carefully, with special attention paid to ensuring their qualifications.

These delegates must be outstanding party members, absolutely loyal to the party and be endowed with good qualities and abilities. In particular, they must have a firm political stand and fully approve and thoroughly understand the party line and views on domestic and foreign affairs. They must represent the spirit of revolutionary struggle and the intellect of their party organizations, possess practical knowledge of and experience in their field of activity and be able to actually participate in discussions of issues at the congresses.

To concentrate the intellect of the party on discussing and deciding various matters at the fifth party congress, among the delegates to this congress there must be high- and middle-level cadres of leading party organs and important commissions and sectors and mass organizations at the central, provincial and municipal levels. There must also be an appropriate percentage of comrades working in districts, economic and scientific and technical institutes and production, business and professional establishments.

Attention must be paid to choosing those comrades who are capable of economic and scientific and technical management. Also attending the congress must be heroes and outstanding emulation combatants from production and business units and the armed forces.

Delegations to the congress, especially from provinces and cities, must be strengthened with an increased number of members who are workers. They must also include appropriate percentages of women and tribal cadres from ethnic minority localities.

With regard to the number of delegates to the congress, party committee echelons must organize their election in accordance with the party Central Committee Secretariat's guiding directive.

In preparation for the all-level party organization congresses and the fifth national party congress, party committee echelons, especially provincial and city party committees and party committees directly subordinate to the party Central Committee must review and satisfactorily carry out the tasks specified in the party Central Committee's letter to all echelons on the convening of the national congress of delegates.

On the basis of understanding the recent resolutions and directives of the party Central Committee and Political Bureau -- such as the resolutions of the sixth and ninth party Central Committee plenums, the Political Bureau's resolutions on the distribution and circulation of goods and on organizational work and the party Central Committee Secretariat's resolution on the immediate tasks of ideological work -- party committee echelons must accelerate the emulation movement to implement the 1981 state plan successfully. They must strive to perform well the task of issuing party membership cards in coordination with the consolidation of grassroots party organizations, especially the weak ones. Organizational and working methods must be improved and perfected. Key cadres must be assigned to the right places at all levels and in all sectors. The assignment of cadres must be planned in coordination with preparations for the elections of party committee echelons in 1982.

Provincial party committees and city party committees directly subordinate to the party Central Committee have the duty to guide and supervise the holding of grassroots and district party organization congresses and, at the same time, to make active preparations for the second phase of the provincial and city party organization congresses. Our party's present main duty is to carry out leadership over economic development. The strengthening of party leadership and the development of the party are factors deciding all victories of the revolution. Therefore, the basic task in the preparations for the second phase of all-level party organization congresses is to review the actual situation of the implementation of tasks, especially the situation of economic leadership and of party-development work carried out by party committee echelons of localities and units during their tenure and to draw upon experiences in drafting and implementing the state plan and measures concerning organization and economic management, as well as experiences in ideological and organizational tasks, in order to ensure the quality of plans and decisions to be adopted at the party organization congresses.

Party committee echelons must hold the congresses in a serious and realistic spirit, and not for form's sake. They must make every effort to avoid wastage in this respect. Soliciting the opinions of party members must be in accordance with the spirit of truly respecting them: It is necessary to listen to the opinions of party members, to raise issues for them to discuss and contribute their views, to properly review, study and receive their views and to bring them before the grassroots party organization congresses and all-level party organization congresses for discussion and approval.

The commissions and sectors at the central level must, on the basis of the general outline of the report to be presented at the fifth national party congress by the party Central Committee, prepare matters for which they are responsible, in order, together with the provincial and city party committees, to contribute views on the important problems of each sector so that the local party committee congresses will examine and settle them.

Despite basic advantages, our people's revolutionary cause is still encountering numerous difficulties. The enemy is seeking every means possible to undermine our country's revolutionary gains and aggravate our shortcomings in a bid to incite the masses and sow dissension among our ranks. Party committee echelons and party organizations must uphold their responsibilities, strengthen unity and unanimity, promote democracy, intensively enforce discipline and strive to carry out most satisfactorily and effectively the tasks concerning production, distribution and circulation of goods, organization of the people's life, national defense and the maintenance of security. This is necessary to make the all-level party organization congresses and the fifth national party congress a splendid success.

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THE GENERAL STRATEGY OF THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTIONARY WAR WHICH DEFEATED THE US AGGRESSORS

BK291600 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 81 pp 19-26

[Article by Senior General Hoang Van Thai--translation previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 210, 30 Oct 81 pp K4-K10. Capitalized passages published in italics]

[Text] The forms and methods of struggle in our people's anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation "constituted a unified system, were closely interrelated and made up the general strategy and military art of the Vietnamese revolutionary war." (Footnote: Le Duan, SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Vol III, p 26) Our experiences in applying the general strategy of the Vietnamese revolutionary war have been extremely diversified and multifaceted. These experiences -- including those in holding fast to the strategic guidelines and laws on achieving victory in revolutionary warfare, applying various forms and methods of attack, and in combining the strength of our people and nation with that of the people of the world in the present era -- have tremendous practical significance for our people's present war of national defense.

HOLDING FAST TO THE STRATEGIC GUIDELINES AND CORRECTLY APPLYING THE LAWS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AND ON ACHIEVING VICTORY IN REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE, WE DEFEATED THE ENEMY STEP BY STEP AND ADVANCED TO DEFEAT HIM COMPLETELY.

The war waged by the U.S. imperialists in the southern part of our country was a neocolonialist war of aggression. In spite of their demagogic political tricks and their deceitful slogans of "independence," "nation" and "democracy," they could not conquer the southern people, an enormous and staunch revolutionary force highly experienced in struggle who, led by a seasoned Marxist-Leninist Party, joined the people in the rest of the country in making the August revolution and defeating the French imperialist aggressors. Therefore, the U.S. imperialists had to structure their ruling apparatus in a highly fascist manner and had to resort to cruel military tricks as their principal tools in repressing our people's revolutionary movement.

Our people in the south used political struggle -- that is, pitting their greatest strength against the enemy's greatest weakness. However, to defeat an enemy in war, one must frustrate his military tricks. For this reason, military force must be used.

The struggle between our people and the U.S. imperialists raged fiercely every day and every hour on both the political and military fronts. THE SOUTHERN REVOLUTION'S STRATEGIC GUIDELINE WAS THAT POLITICAL STRUGGLE MUST GO IN PARALLEL WITH ARMED STRUGGLE AND THAT BOTH MUST BE CONSIDERED AS PLAYING A VERY BASIC AND DECISIVE ROLE. Political struggle develops according to the law that the struggle for welfare and democracy and against terrorism, and so forth, will eventually lead to armed uprisings. Once started, an armed struggle will develop in accordance with the laws of war. The revolutionary war of our people in

the south was governed by these two laws. HOWEVER, WHEN A REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE HAS DEVELOPED INTO A REVOLUTIONARY WAR, IT WILL BE GOVERNED PRIMARILY BY THE LAWS OF WAR, THAT IS, THE LAWS OF ARMED STRUGGLE. Therefore, while simultaneously holding fast to the strategic guideline that political struggle must advance in parallel with armed struggle, we also adhered to the laws of war and considered this to be an extremely important requirement of strategic leadership and a measure aimed at creating a great aggregate strength with which to defeat the enemy militarily and to lead the revolutionary war to victory.

To hold fast to the laws of war is to make every effort to build our armed forces comprising the three types of forces, especially the main force. In this way we were able to create on-the-spot forces in order to break up, contain, wear down and destroy the enemy everywhere and to organize main force units strong enough to deal decisive blows to the enemy on selected battlefronts. We attached the utmost importance to building and organizing political forces into strong political armies so as to wage a face-to-face struggle against the enemy and to defeat his pacification policy. We actively built on-the-spot logistic bases and exploited local human and material resources. On the basis of our long-term strategic guidelines, we built combat positions and prepared the battlefields for main force units to launch large-scale annihilating attacks so as to effect a radical change in the balance of forces between us and the enemy. We made every effort to consolidate and build the socialist north in all fields -- political, economic and national defense -- and to develop its role as the great rear of the great front, the south. We built increasingly modern regular armed forces capable of defeating all enemy military ventures into the north. They also served as strategic reserves for the entire country, standing ready to move to fight the enemy in the south and launching joint operations with the armed forces of the two fraternal peoples in the Lao and Kampuchean theaters.

The political and armed struggles were waged in all three strategic areas: the forests and mountains, the countryside and plains, and the cities. We had to determine a suitable scale on which to combine the political struggle with the armed struggle in accordance with our tasks and in view of the balance of forces between us and the enemy in each area, in each place and in each period. At the same time, we had to decide where to concentrate our leadership so as to keep pace with the development of the revolutionary struggle.

We commanded an absolute supremacy over the enemy in political and moral strength, a strength which developed increasingly in our favor. In the beginning, however, as we were inferior to the enemy in terms of armed forces and technical equipment, we needed time to tip the balance of force between ourselves and the enemy. For this reason, the guideline of the war for the liberation of the south was: GO FOR PROTRACTED FIGHTING AND BUILD UP STRENGTH WHILE FIGHTING.

Protracted fighting, however, does not mean engaging in drawn-out battles while lying low and waiting for changes from outside. It means that we must strive to alter the balance of force between ourselves and the enemy. Protracted fighting and building up strength while fighting must be understood as a process of continuous and all-out attack against the enemy in all the three strategic areas. The purpose of such attacks is to repel the enemy gradually, prepare for future assaults, and win ever greater victories. In the anti-U.S. war of resistance, protracted fighting meant that we had to simultaneously attack and contain the enemy, force him to deescalate the war gradually, concentrate our efforts on containing him and concentrate the efforts of the whole country on defeating him on the great southern front.

A revolutionary war is often marked by dramatic changes. These changes do not come continuously; they occur one by one, according to a gradual process. Therefore, while persistently adhering to the guideline of aiming for protracted fighting and building up strength while fighting, we must make great efforts to build and develop our strength in all fields -- military, political, economic, and diplomatic. We must strive to create opportunities, and when a good opportunity presents itself we must promptly seize it and launch resolute and strong attacks to defeat the enemy's military strategies one by one and to win decisive victories so as to advance to complete victory.

During the more than 20 years of the anti-U.S. struggle, under the clear-sighted and skillful leadership of the party, our people persistently stepped up the war of resistance, incessantly built and developed the position and strength of the revolution and actively prepared for favorable opportunities.

When the opportunity presented itself, our party promptly led our armed forces and people in making great leaps forward, thereby defeating all the enemy's military strategies. The concerted uprisings in 1960 shifted the revolutionary struggle from the force-preserving position to the offensive position and transformed it into a revolutionary war which successively defeated various U.S. military strategies -- the "special" war strategy and the regional war strategy in the south -- thereby driving the enemy into a strategic deadlock. The general offensives of spring 1968, which struck at the enemy's nerve centers and defeated the first U.S. war of destruction in the north, dampened his aggressiveness and forced him to deescalate the war. We frustrated the U.S. military adventure in Kampuchea and helped the Kampuchean revolution to develop by leaps and bounds. We joined the Lao People's Liberation Armed Forces in defeating and annihilating the enemy on the Plain of Jars, and on Route 9 in southern Laos, thus smashing the enemy's scheme to isolate the war of resistance of the people in South Vietnam. We took the initiative in seizing the opportunity, preparing the battlefield and launching counteroffensives to annihilate entire enemy battle groups and completely defeat all enemy counterattacks. We lost no time in launching the 1972 strategic offensive in several directions, wiping out entire enemy divisions and liberating entire areas in the south while frustrating the second U.S. war of destruction and the surprise B-52 air raids against Hanoi and Haiphong in late 1972 and smashing the scheme of collusion between the U.S. imperialists and the Beijing reactionaries. We defeated the U.S. "Vietnamization" strategy, completely crushed the U.S. imperialists' strategic ambitions and forced them to sign the Paris Agreements on Vietnam and withdraw their forces and those of their allies from south Vietnam.

The great leaps forward we made in defeating various enemy military strategies, and especially the great efforts of our armed forces and people throughout the country in 1973 and 1974, helped create strategic conditions for the general offensives and uprisings in early 1975 which resulted in the annihilation and disintegration of the U.S. puppet army, the total liberation of South Vietnam and the reunification of the fatherland.

WE APPLIED A COMBINATION OF VARIOUS METHODS AND FORMS OF STRUGGLE, THEREBY CREATING AN ENORMOUS STRENGTH WITH WHICH TO LAUNCH MILITARY ATTACKS AGAINST THE ENEMY.

In the war for the liberation of the south, our party mobilized, organized and developed all forces and used many forms and methods of operation to promote their strength in each strategic stage as well as throughout the war, in each strategic area as well as in the entire southern region, in each campaign as well as in each wave of attacks and each strategic offensive, and even in each battle and in the activities of each person. Therefore, the strength of these forces was developed to a high level and was combined to form an enormous strength during the war.

The basic strategic guideline for the southern revolution was that political struggle must advance in parallel with armed struggle. In terms of the methods and forms of struggle, the combination of political struggle and armed struggle is a combination of two forms of offensive by the political and armed forces in the use of revolutionary violence.

Political struggle is the basic form of struggle. In its diversified forms, from elementary to advanced, political struggle provides a basis for gradually awakening the masses and mobilizing, organizing, training and turning them into an ever stronger force. This will enable the masses, when the opportunity is ripe, to rise up in arms and join the armed forces in doing away with the enemy's rule. In the war for the liberation of the south, the political forces, together with the armed forces and military proselyting forces, formed three prongs of attack in all the three strategic areas and during all stages of the war.

Military struggle is also a basic form of struggle. It plays a direct and decisive role in annihilating enemy military forces and serves as a lever in assisting other struggles and stimulating their development.

In the anti-French war of resistance, the combination of the two forms of struggle of the political and military forces helped create an enormous strength for the people's war, which defeated the French imperialists. In the anti-U.S. war of resistance, the combination of these two forces was elevated to a high standard in terms of quality, organization, scale, form, space and time. As a result, the strength of each force as well as their combined strength was multiplied manyfold.

The combination of political struggle and military struggle was realized at a high level in the offensive campaigns launched by various strategic corps [Binh Doan] on selected battlefields; in the joint campaigns on the countryside and lowlands battlefield; in the big campaigns directed at the cities; in the strategic offensives and uprisings which defeated the enemy's military strategies one by one; and, finally, in the general strategic offensives and uprisings which resulted in the total collapse of the enemy forces and total victory.

COMBINING POLITICAL STRUGGLE WITH MILITARY STRUGGLE IS A PROMINENT FEATURE AND ALSO A MAIN OBJECTIVE of the general strategy of people's war. This is also a law which governs the development of our people's revolutionary war.

The basic problem of all revolutionary wars is to annihilate the enemy's armed forces. For this reason, a demand which we must firmly grasp in combining political struggle with military struggle is TO CREATE A MILITARY STRENGTH CAPABLE OF DEFEATING THE ENEMY MILITARILY ACCORDING TO THE OBJECTIVES AND REQUIREMENTS OF EACH BATTLE OF EACH CAMPAIGN, OR ACCORDING TO THE SET STRATEGIC TASKS. Therefore, we must attach utmost importance to the pivotal and decisive role of military struggle while giving due attention to the form of political struggle and the political force of the revolutionary masses.

ATTACKING AND RISING UP, RISING UP AND ATTACKING -- this was a law of the revolutionary war in the south, which was fought with the strength of the entire people in uprisings and offensives. This was also a method of revolutionary struggle which reflects the immutable law that war means offensive. Offensive is an action taken by revolutionary armed forces against the enemy's armed forces, whereas uprising is an action of the revolutionary masses taking up arms to smash the enemy's coercive apparatus. Offensives must be combined with uprisings so as to create conditions for the masses to rise up. The masses' uprisings must be combined with the armed forces' offensives, must exploit their results and, at the same time, must create conditions for subsequent offensives. This combination must be done from a low level to a higher level, from the small scale to a larger scale, and from each component to entire organizations. Thus combined, the masses' uprisings and the armed forces' offensives will eventually develop into general offensives and simultaneous uprisings in accordance with the laws of war and uprising in war.

The main purpose of a military offensive is to annihilate the enemy's armed forces, thereby creating conditions for the masses to rise up to achieve mastery. Therefore, offensives and uprisings must achieve the objective of annihilating the enemy and gaining mastery for the people. The further the boundaries of mastery are extended and the higher its level becomes, the more conditions it will create for the annihilation of ever larger enemy forces.

Vietnam's experiences were not limited only to launching offensives, staging uprisings, annihilating enemy forces, achieving mastery in the rural areas, using the rural areas to encircle the cities, and lying low in the cities while waiting for opportunities. They were the results of the coordination of actions between the rural areas and the cities. As the war expanded, the role of the enemy-annihilating offensives became more decisive. These offensives eventually developed into general offensives which resulted in the annihilation and total disintegration of the enemy's forces, thereby creating conditions for the masses in both the rural areas and the cities to rise up to achieve mastery throughout the country. The 1975 early spring general offensives and uprisings were the culmination of the combination of various forms of revolutionary struggle and the development of the increasingly decisive role of armed struggle in our people's anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation.

In military struggle and armed struggle, our party "combined the three types of forces: the main force, local force and militia guerrilla force. It combined guerrilla war with conventional war and large-scale with medium-scale and small-scale fighting."

(Footnote: RESOLUTION OF THE FOURTH NATIONAL VCP CONGRESS OF DELEGATES, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, pp 12-13)

Guerrilla war and conventional war WERE TWO MODES OF REVOLUTIONARY WAR AND BOTH PLAYED IMPORTANT STRATEGIC ROLES. (They have now developed into a local people's war and the war fought by main force corps.) Guerrilla war was not only limited to guerrilla fighting but became a form of the revolutionary masses' uprisings to overthrow the enemy administration and a form of armed struggle of the large revolutionary masses. Widely expanded in all the three strategic areas, guerrilla war broke up, contained, wore down and annihilated enemy troops, thus turning large and strong enemy forces into smaller and weaker ones, creating conditions for the enemy forces at one time and changing the situation of the war.

As in the anti-French war of resistance, the armed struggle in the anti-U.S. war of resistance proceeded according to the laws of guerrilla war, that is, it was combined with and eventually developed into conventional war.

Conventional war is the struggle of concentrated armed forces in increasingly larger joint operations involving all armed branches and services. In the anti-U.S. war of resistance, the conventional war in the south, bolstered by direct military aid from the socialist north, underwent radical developments and played a direct and decisive role in wiping out the enemy's main forces.

Combining guerrilla war with conventional war is a law ensuring the victory of our armed struggle against a militarily strong enemy. Only by being combined with conventional war can guerrilla war develop and create conditions for the local armed forces and the masses to step up their struggle and to rise up to gain mastery in their localities. By the same token, only by being combined with guerrilla war can conventional war develop vigorously and turn its strength to good account in attacking the enemy. Our experiences in the anti-U.S. war of resistance have shown that the correct combination of the two modes of war helped create for us an enormous military strength with which to defeat the enemy's military strategies one by one. They have also shown that at times and in certain places weak guerrilla war efforts curbed the activities of the main forces, prompted them to scatter their troops to assist the guerrilla forces, and even forced them to temporarily leave the battlefields.

In combat, combining guerrilla war with conventional war is to combine the combat activities of the three types of forces: the main force, the local force, and the militia guerrilla force. It also means combining large-scale with medium-scale and small-scale fighting in diversified forms. It calls for attacks against enemy forces on the move, on maneuvers or engaged in mopping-up operations. These attacks must be launched in coordination with surprise strikes against enemy forces in their jumping-off bases; with assaults by concentrated and mobile units against enemy troops outside their bases; with raids against targets deep in areas under temporary enemy control; and with strikes by elite forces against towns and cities and the enemy's nerve centers and warehouses. They must also be combined with sabotage and disruption of communication lines and the destruction of the enemy's sources of supplies and with drives to divide enemy forces so as to annihilate them. The attacks to destroy enemy forces must be coordinated with proselyting work among enemy troops so as to break up their ranks; with the destruction of the enemy's strength and war means; and with the efforts to defeat the main tactical measures of each of the enemy's military strategies. All these forms of fighting were encapsulated in six general strategic combat methods which we employed in the war for the liberation of the south. Together with the fighting methods used by the three types of forces in defeating all U.S. air and naval attacks against the north, these forms of fighting contributed to developing the military art of people's war in the two parts of our country to a high level.

Concerning fraternal neighboring Laos and Kampuchea, our party held that these two countries could triumph only if the Vietnamese war of resistance were victorious and that, conversely, the Vietnamese revolution could achieve total victory only if the Kampuchean and Lao revolutions triumphed. With their spirit of proletarian internationalism, our people spared no efforts, including their own blood, to contribute to the revolutionary cause of the two fraternal peoples. Our party set great store by the assistance given us by the fraternal Lao and Kampuchean peoples, assistance which really created more favorable conditions for and gave more moral and material strength to our people's anti-U.S. war of resistance. Our party always inculcated in our armed forces and people genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism and taught them to struggle against big-nation chauvinism, narrowminded nationalism and individualism as well as all manifestations of the fear of hardship and sacrifice which prevent one from realizing that fulfilling one's international duty is a great honor. The militant alliance among the three countries and peoples, which has now become a tradition, was a law ensuring the development and success of the revolution in each country in the past anti-French and anti-U.S. wars of resistance. This alliance is developing in the present situation and will continue to do so forever.

Fully aware of their responsibility for the revolutionary movement in general and the national liberation movement in particular, our people have done everything they could to support the revolutionary struggle of other peoples. Conversely, we have enjoyed the sympathy and support of the people of the world, including progressive American people.

With regard to the great of socialist countries, our party has made every effort to consolidate the solidarity and single-mindedness of the fraternal countries. Together with the fraternal parties, it has actively contributed to preserving the purity of Marxism-Leninism, in the interests of our people as well as those of the socialist system and other peoples in the world. Our party valued very highly the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, especially that of the Soviet Union, and considered it an extremely important factor ensuring the victory of our people's struggle.

Our party resolutely opposed and frustrated all schemes of the Beijing leadership, who colluded with the U.S. imperialists to obstruct and sabotage our people's anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation.

It can be said that, ever since its founding, our party, in pursuing its revolutionary line and formulating its revolutionary methods, has always closely associated our people's revolutionary cause with that of other peoples in the world. In the anti-U.S. war of resistance, this association was achieved on a higher level and closer than ever before. For this reason, our people's revolutionary struggle showed a national as well as a marked epochal character. This was also a victory of our party's line of holding aloft the two banners of national independence and socialism in the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation.

Today, along with building socialism nationwide, our people and their armed forces always uphold their revolutionary vigilance, fight and stand ready to fight, combine economic building with strengthening national defense, and carry out the task of building and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

We are armed with the correct political and military lines laid down by the fourth party congress and amended and perfected by various party Central Committee resolutions. We are applying the experience derived from our efforts to develop the general strategy during the anti-U.S. war of resistance. We closely combine our national strength with the strength of the three revolutionary currents, which are now on the offensive. Especially, we are benefiting from our militant alliance with fraternal Laos and Kampuchea, from our alliance and multifaceted cooperation with the Soviet Union and from our cooperation with other fraternal countries in the socialist community. With all this, we will certainly be able to create an enormous aggregate strength with which to defeat any act of aggression against our country.

Our party PAYS UTMOST ATTENTION TO THE DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLE as this struggle is also aimed at creating more favorable conditions for our people's multifaceted struggle to develop. For this reason, in the recent anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation, our party pursued an extremely active and positive foreign policy reflecting its firm principles, strong position and flexible and skillful tactics and measures. On the other hand, our party holds that battlefield victories, especially military victories, are the most decisive factor in war and that diplomatic victories, a very important factor in our people's multifaceted struggle, totally depend on military victories. It was the victories of the 1968 spring strategic general offensives and the 1972 strategic offensives in the south, together with the defeat of the two U.S. wars of destruction in the north, which forced the United States to sit down for talks, to accept our conditions, to sign the Paris Agreements on Vietnam, and to withdraw the U.S. and allied troops from the south. The diplomatic activities of our state and people enabled the people of the world, including the American people, to see ever more clearly the aggressive, unjust and reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism and our just stand. They also won for us increasing support and sympathy from the people of the world and drove U.S. imperialism into utter isolation.

WE UPHELD THE SELF-RELIANT SPIRIT AND RELIED MAINLY ON OUR OWN STRENGTH WHILE STRIVING FOR INTERNATIONAL AID AND COMBINING THE STRENGTH OF OUR ENTIRE NATION WITH THAT OF THE ERA TO CREATE AN ENORMOUS AGGREGATE STRENGTH FOR THE PEOPLE'S WAR TO DEFEAT THE U.S. IMPERIALIST WAR OF AGGRESSION.

"The certain road to victory is for the revolution in each country to combine its own strength with that of the era and with the offensive posture of all revolutionary forces around the world so as to formulate struggle strategies, tactics and methods consistent with the balance of forces and the actual situation in the country." (Footnote: POLITICAL REPORT BY THE VCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE AT THE FOURTH NATIONAL VCP CONGRESS OF DELEGATES, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 176.)

The Vietnamese revolution is part and parcel of the world revolution. Our people's anti-U.S. war of resistance was the spearhead of the three revolutionary currents in the world. Therefore, each victory of these three revolutionary currents has exerted a positive impact on our people's victories. Conversely, our people's victories have made important contributions to the offensive posture and strength of the three revolutionary currents. The combination of national strength and that of the era was the law which helped create an aggregate strength for the revolutionary war to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

Demonstrating self-reliance and depending mainly on its own strength, the party explained to the entire armed forces and people the significance of our people's revolutionary war, always upheld pure patriotism and national spirit and motivated the entire party, armed forces and people in both the south and the north actively to fight and defeat the United States and to heed at all costs President Ho's appeals: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" and "as long as a single aggressor remains in our country, we still have to continue to fight to drive him out." (Footnote: Ho Chi Minh: SELECTED WORKS, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Vol II, p 505, the party also inculcated in our armed forces and people the spirit of proletarian internationalism and helped them gain a correct understanding of the close relations and unity between national and international interests. On this basis, the party enabled them, on the one hand, to fulfill actively their duty on the frontline against the U.S. aggressors and, on the other, through their practical act of discharging their international obligation, to receive and use effectively the aid of the socialist camp and to win the sympathy and support of the world people, thereby contributing to further increasing our people's strength.

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THE THREE ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN SOCIALISM

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[Article by Doan Trong Nha]

[Text] The Specifics Involved in the Three Economic Interests in Socialism

Economic interests are the form of expression of the objective economic relationships of the persons who have these interests. However, in the end, they are reflected in the consciousness of man and implemented through the production activities of the various classes, of various groups and of specific persons. In the process of productive labor, man can act in accordance with one objective or another but this does not mean that economic interests arise from his consciousness, rather, they are only expressed as a projection of consciousness. In "Philosophical Notes," V.I. Lenin wrote: "Actually, the goals of man are given birth by the objective world and the objective world is used as his foundation, is considered to be that which exists, considered to be reality. However, it appears that the goals of man are derived from outside the world, derived independent of the 'free' world." (1)

Economic interests stimulate the economic and political activities of the various classes. In the economic field, the motive for the actions of the various classes is to acquire ownership of the primary instruments of production and, on this basis, determine the mode of management and, in the end, arrange the distribution of products in a way that benefits the class. Therefore, economic interests are expressed as class interests and the position of a class is determined by the relationships involved in the ownership of the instruments of production.

Within socialism, national ownership of the instruments of production confirms that the primary instruments of production and all natural resources are owned and used by all of society; it is on this basis that the economic interests of society emerge.

The foundation of the economic interests of society is the system of large-scale socialist production that is built and developed on the basis of socialist public ownership of the instruments of production and socialist collective labor. The economic interests of society demand that the quantity, quality and variety of the social product be constantly increased by constantly developing and improving production and raising the efficiency of production on the basis of utilizing the

latest achievements of science and technology and the efforts of the collective labor of all of society for the purpose of meeting the rising material and cultural needs of society better. V.I. Lenin said: "Once it controls state government, the proletariat has but one basic, vital interest, that is, to increase the quantity of products and expand the production capacity of society on large scales."(2)

The economic interests of society are most vividly expressed in the economic line and the economic strategy of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat state; they are concretized in the economic and social development plans adopted during each specific period of history. For this reason, satisfying the economic interests of society demands that the sectors, localities and economic installations have as their goal meeting and exceeding the quotas of the state plan. Every action that violates the principle of democratic centralism in the economic management of the socialist state and every phenomenon involving partialism, localism, misappropriation and waste that poses difficulties to the effort to complete the state plan harm the economic interests of society.

The economic interests of society demand that the state-operated enterprises and cooperatives must, when using the instruments of production of society and of the collective, fulfill the functions established for them by the state, such as producing products of appropriate quality in accordance with the product list, making efficient use of the sources of labor, supplies and machinery and reducing production costs. In their production and business activities, they must successfully implement the principle of achieving financial solvency and earning a profit in order to cover production costs in the process of social reproduction; at the same time, they must contribute some of the surplus product produced by them to the state in the form of state-operated revenues, profits, social security payments, agricultural taxes, the sale of agricultural products under two-way economic contracts and the other forms of taxes paid by private producers and businessmen. Every act of evading taxes or waiving taxes on a sweeping basis is contrary to the economic interests of society.

In socialism, establishing cooperation and a division of labor in order to produce material wealth for society becomes an economic-technical necessity due to the socialized nature of the instruments of production. The labor of each person cannot take the form of a product produced by an individual laborer but assumes the form of the final product of the collective labor of each production unit.

Under these conditions, the economic interests of society can only be realized by means of the collective labor within the state-operated enterprises and cooperatives. It is on this basis that collective interests emerge.

The economic interests of the collective demand that the basic economic units create efficient forms of organization of labor and work methods in order to make the best possible use of their labor force, natural resources and material-technical bases for the purpose of producing a new quantity of high quality products for society at low costs.

The existence and development of the economic interests of the collective demand that enterprises and cooperatives, in the process of their production and business, cover

their production costs; on the other hand, they must make every effort to improve their production, improve their management, raise their labor productivity and, on this basis, increase their enterprise profits with a view toward increasing the funds of the enterprise: the fund for improving the production process of the enterprise, the award and bonus fund for increasing the income of good workers and encouraging workers to give more attention to the results of the enterprise's production and the collective welfare fund for improving working conditions, recreation and cultural activities of the worker.

The system of socialist ownership of the instruments of production establishes the obligation and right to work of each person within society. Every person who is able to work has an obligation to work and has the right to participate in work in order to create material wealth for society; on this basis, the worker has the right to receive an appropriate percentage of the fruits of his labors. It is on this basis that the economic interests of the individual emerge.

The economic interests of the individual are realized in the form of wages and bonuses (within the state-operated enterprises), the income per manday and the income from the household subsidiary economy (within the cooperatives) and the use of the social welfare and collective welfare funds.

In socialism, each individual's labor is a part of collective labor, consequently, the economic interests of the individual are not only dependent upon the quantity and quality of the labor of each person, but also dependent upon the final results of the collective labor of the entire enterprise or cooperative. Therefore, concern for the economic interests of the individual demands that every person truly work, work in an organized, disciplined and technical manner and heighten his sense of responsibility to the community and his sense of collective ownership in the production and business activities of the enterprise or cooperative.

The economic and technical conditions of socialism are not such that labor becomes a natural need of man, becomes totally voluntary labor performed for the sake of the interests of society; to the contrary, labor is still a means for sustaining life, consequently, it is necessary to calculate and inspect the quantity and quality of labor performed by each person in order to distribute consumer products to each person. Under these conditions, showing appropriate concern for the material needs and the individual economic interests of each worker has the effect of gaining the participation of each person who is able to work in labor and stimulating higher labor productivity. V.I. Lenin said: "Providing incentive for the interests of the individual has the effect of increasing production." (3)

The Relationship Among the Three Economic Interests in Socialism

The system of socialist ownership of the instruments of production abolishes every antagonistic relationship among workers. Within the system of social production, new relationships arise--relationships of cooperation, equality, mutual help in the spirit of comradeship, in the spirit of "one for all and all for one." The system of socialist ownership causes the labor of each individual to become direct social

labor and causes every product produced by the state-operated economy or the collective economy to be the result of the labor performed by all of society. As a result, every fruit of labor contains something for society, something for the collective and something for the individual in accordance with a specific ratio. This ratio changes depending upon the level of economic development during each specific period. However, according to K. Marx, the percentages allocated to society and the collective always benefit the worker and are designed to satisfy the immediate or long-range interests of the worker. Marx said: "...That which the producer loses from the standpoint of an individual he receives, either directly or indirectly as a member of society."(4)

The above analysis proves that, under the conditions of socialism, the production worker is a person who simultaneously embodies all three economic interests. As an independent member of society, he embodies individual economic interests. As a collective laborer within an enterprise or cooperative, he embodies collective economic interests. As the collective owner of the instruments of social production, he embodies the interests of society.

The unity of the three economic interests shows that it is not possible to merely satisfy one of these three interests. To satisfy the economic interests of the individual, it is necessary to satisfy the economic interests of society and the economic interests of the collective and vice versa.

When engaged in productive labor, every economic unit and individual has the right to concern themselves with their legitimate interests. This is a simple truth because man does not live by air and water alone. However, concern for the economic interests of the collective and for individual economic interests must be based on the economic interests of society.

The fact that the economic interests of the collective and the individual must be based on the economic interests of society in no way means that the moving forces behind the various economic interests are converted into factors of a political nature, in no way means that economic relations are replaced by political relations. The purpose of emphasizing the role played by the economic interests of society is to provide the material means and the economic-technical measures needed to constantly carry out expanded reproduction, raise labor productivity, rapidly increase the gross social product and national income and create the conditions for satisfying the economic interests of the collective and the individual better. Within socialism, the product of labor belongs to the collective and society; the material wealth and the spiritual well being of each individual can only be achieved on the basis of the wealth of all of society. This is proven by facts in the socialist countries: the economic interests of society have been an extremely important factor in the success of socialist construction and been a firm foundation for developing the economic interests of the individual and the collective.

Thus, in theory as well as practice, the economic interests of society are clearly the dominant economic interests; they determine the scale, structure, rate of development and direction of development of the national economy and, as a result, determine the degree to which the economic interests of the collective and the economic interests of the individual are satisfied.

Acknowledging the dominant role played by the economic interests of society does not mean giving light attention to the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual. The socialist state not only concerns itself with the economic interests of society, but also with the economic interests of the collective and the individual. During the period of transition, when the level of development of production is still low and workers still encounter numerous difficulties in their daily lives, the economic interests of the collective and the individual play the role of stimulating the development of production and must be given appropriate attention. Because, the basic economic units, such as the enterprises, state farms and cooperatives are the places that directly manage and use the instruments of production, the labor force, raw materials and material-technical bases in order to produce material wealth. Therefore, the degree to which the economic interests of society, the collective and the individual are satisfied depends upon the labor productivity and economic returns of the basic economic units, upon the initiative in production of each collective worker. Of course, giving appropriate attention to the interests of the collective and the individual does not mean turning them into "guild" interests or "selfish" individual interests that harm the economic interests of society.

The mutual dependency among the three economic interests in socialism is an objective necessity and demands that the economic policies of the socialist state in the field of production as well as in the field of distribution and circulation correctly apply the economic laws of socialism (because the various economic interests lie within the mechanism of the various economic laws) in order to insure the unity of the three economic interests in every production activity and every fruit of labor so that the state, the collective and the individual laborer benefit. Le Duan has defined the dialectical unity among these three economic interests as follows: "socialism is a society of free workers in which the interests of the individual and the interests of society are the same; the interests of each worker and his family, the interests of the production collective and the interests of the state are the same. Only when society prospers does each person prosper. That which benefits society benefits the individual. That which harms society harms the individual. Society cares for the life of each person and each person works as best he can for society. Working for society is the same as working for oneself."(5)

When we talk about the unity of the three economic interests within socialism we do not mean to deny the causes of antagonisms among the three interests.

The division of social labor and the existence of different production units as a result of this division of labor are the objective causes of the antagonisms among the three economic interests. These antagonisms can also arise as a result of not distributing products in a reasonable manner, thus causing one economic interest to encroach upon another. For example, if, in the distribution of national income, we do not establish a precise ratio between the essential product and the surplus product, it will create an antagonism between the economic interests of the individual and the economic interests of the collective and society. If a reasonable percentage of the surplus product is not allocated to the state and the enterprise, an antagonism will develop between the economic interests of the collective and the economic interests of society. The same holds true in the price policy; if product

prices are low, the enterprise will be unable to earn a profit or cover its production costs and this will harm the economic interests of the collective and the individual; if these prices are too high, the enterprise's collective will benefit but society and the mass of consumers will not benefit, that is, the economic interests of society will be harmed.

Thus, the division of social labor itself is the objective basis of the antagonisms among the three economic interests and the adoption of incorrect economic policies also causes these antagonisms to arise and develop. However, these are not opposing antagonisms; because, when the working people exercise collective ownership on a nationwide scale as well as within each locality and installation, even a decline in one interest and a resulting increase in another does not lead to the loss of interests as is in the case of a society consisting of opposing classes.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Philosophical Notes," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, pp 209-210.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 44, p 442.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 33, p 74.
4. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works; Critique of the Goethe Program," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume II, p 19.
5. Le Duan: "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet-nam," [The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume II, pp 529-530.

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THE FIRST STEPS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AGRO-FORESTRY-INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE WITHIN VAN CHAN DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 81 pp 32-37

[Article by Do Khac Cuong, secretary of the Van Chan District Party Committee, Hoang Lien Son Province]

[Text] Van Chan, a mountain district in Hoang Lien Son Province, has a population of 110,000, a population that consists of 20 fraternal nationalities: the Thai, Tay, Dao, Muong, Mong, Xa, Giay, ethnic Vietnamese and so forth. In 1976, the state approved the agro-forestry production development planning of Van Chan. In recent years, despite encountering numerous difficulties caused by natural disasters, shortages of raw materials, fuels and building materials and the consequences of the war of aggression unleashed by the Beijing reactionaries, the entire party organization and all the people of the district have determinedly overcome every difficulty and reorganized production in order to implement the economic line of the party and begin to establish an agro-forestry-industrial economic structure within the district.

I. Reorganizing Production and Developing Agriculture, Forestry and Industry Within the District

In order to implement its planning, Van Chan established three production areas: a centralized rice production area measuring 2,400 hectares (the Nghia Lo field); a centralized tea growing area measuring 3,200 hectares; and a centralized afforestation area (linden and "mo" trees) measuring 6,000 hectares. Each production area is a specialized, integrated farming area in order to make full use of arable land and produce grain and various types of subsidiary food crops, plant forests, raise tea, etc. In the process of reorganizing production, the cooperatives in Van Chan formulated economic plans for the initial stage that eliminated the mono-culture of grain, accelerated the planting of perennial industrial crops, accelerated forestry and gradually established the new division of labor within the district.

1. Grain production.

On the basis of reallocating crops, Van Chan has increased the rate of the intensive cultivation of grain crops and gradually established a grain balance within the district.

In 1976, our district concentrated on guiding the practice of intensive cultivation, the restoration of existing fields to production and the full use of all land with a gradient of less than 15 degrees for the cultivation of rice and subsidiary food crops while building terraced fields. At present, we have 7,000 more hectares under cultivation than in 1976. We have constructed a system of material-technical bases supporting the agricultural production of the district that consists of an agricultural meteorological station, two crop production stations (for rice and tea), a veterinary station, a rice seed farm, a hog breeding farm, a tractor station with 15 tractors, an agricultural and technical supply corporation and a farmland water conservancy corporation. As regards water conservancy, we have invested in and repaired seven dams, three reservoirs and a number of small ditch and dam projects which effectively irrigate and drain more than 30 percent of the land under the cultivation of wet rice. As a result, the average rice yield of the district in 1980 reached 4.265 kilograms per hectare, a 465 kilogram per hectare increase compared to 1977; total grain output was 30,627 tons (18,627 tons of paddy), which represents an 8,800 ton increase compared to 1976 and an annual rate of growth of 10 percent. Each year, 14 percent of grain output is mobilized for the state. In order to achieve the goal of self-sufficiency in grain within the district, we are endeavoring to raise the output of grain to 36,000-40,000 tons; thus, Van Chan must try to raise the yield of rice to 6 tons per hectare, the yield of corn to 18 quintals per hectare, the yield of cassava to 13 tons of fresh tubers per hectare, etc. If we do not achieve the minimum level of grain production, it will limit and even reduce the rate of production of industrial crops, forestry and industrial production.

2. Building the specialized tea growing area.

Tea plants have been growing for many years in Van Chan; each farm household has a garden of tea plants near their house and, in particular, a number of highland areas, such as Suoi Giang, Suoi Quyen and so forth, have been raising tea for many years.

In the agricultural cooperativization movement, hardly any of the cooperatives were managing the land on which tea grew, rather, they were only concentrating their efforts on grain production (the monoculture of rice). It was not until we established the task of developing the production of perennial industrial crops, primarily tea, that the agricultural cooperatives turned their attention to managing the land under the cultivation of tea, restoring old tea fields to production and opening new land to tea cultivation. The agricultural and forestry zoning of Hoang Lien Son Province has placed Van Chan District within the tea growing area, consequently, the district has had to develop the cultivation of tea along specialized lines in coordination with the processing of tea. In the past 5 years (1975-1980), we have received 7,319 laborers (more than 20,000 persons in total) from Thai Binh Province to participate in economic construction within the locality, primarily in the growing of tea and the settlement of nomads at 10 cooperatives in the highlands that initiated tea production (and the raising of cinnamon and afforestation), consequently, we rapidly established a centralized tea growing area consisting of 3,200 hectares.

By 1980, Van Chan had 4,880 hectares of tea, 81 percent of which (2,836 hectares) lies within cooperatives. In accordance with the district's planning of tea production, the amount of area under the cultivation of tea was set at 50 percent of

the amount of agricultural land, thus exceeding the amount of area under the cultivation of rice and becoming the main business sector of the three state farms and the 20 cooperatives that specialized in growing tea. In order to help the agricultural cooperatives in the area of the techniques of growing, cultivating and harvesting tea, the state farms held training classes for cooperative members who grow tea, especially the heads and assistant heads of units. On the other hand, the state farms also supplied seed to the cooperatives with which to develop their tea production and raise the district's average yield from 1 ton per hectare to 2.5 tons per hectare; at the same time, our district constructed two crop protection stations for tea and rice. In 1979, Van Chan produced 9,200 tons of commercial fresh tea.

On the basis of specializing the growing of tea, Van Chan constructed two black tea processing plants and one fragrant tea processing plant. In 1979, it supplied to the national economy 1,600 tons of black tea and 200 tons of fragrant tea for domestic consumption and exportation. The total output value of exports in 1979 exceeded 6.6 million dong; each person within the district produced 63 dong worth of export goods.

3. Centralized afforestation.

In order to have raw materials for the paper industry, Van Chan rapidly increased the planting linden and "mo" trees on land allocated for forestry production. Our district constructed a forestry site and a forestry corporation. In addition to harvesting the natural forests, the forestry site also has the task of planting forests; to date, it has planted more than 6,000 hectares of linden trees, "mo" trees, pine trees, etc.

The agro-forestry cooperatives have combined the raising of grain and perennial crops with afforestation in order to make efficient use of land, allow plants to support one another's development and protect both the soil and water sources.

Each cooperative has hills planted with forests and cares for these forests. The forests have become a new business of many cooperatives. Besides the natural forests, some cooperatives have linden forests, t'ung tree forests and so forth that have now reached the age at which they need to be thinned and have begun to supply products to the state. In 1979, the harvesting of forestry products resulted in 21,945 cubic meters of timber, 7,000 steres of firewood and hundreds of thousands of pieces of nua, tre and vau bamboo; in addition, more than 40 tons of dried t'ung seed were sold to the state.

In the advance from the monoculture of grain to self-sufficiency, the structure of the district's production has begun to be changed along the lines of centralizing and specializing the production of perennial industrial crops and forestry production, thereby creating increasingly stable sources of agricultural and forestry products. A portion of the labor force has been specialized and organized into specialized units. In 1975, the labor engaged in the production of grain constituted 87 percent of the total labor force in the Van Chan countryside, the labor engaged in the production of perennial industrial crops constituted 10 percent and the labor in

forestry constituted 3 percent; by 1980, these percentages had changed: 80 percent of the labor force was engaged in grain production, 14 percent in the production of perennial industrial crops and 6 percent in forestry. Although the amount of labor engaged in grain production has declined, grain output has not declined.

In past years, the amount of agricultural and forestry products supplied by Van Chan to society was insignificant, consisting of only a small amount of timber, tre bamboo, nua bamboo and so forth, and gradually declining. In recent years, as a result of changing the allocation of crops, the quantity of tea supplied to the processing industry for exportation and domestic consumption has increased each year: between 1976 and 1980, the output of fresh tea buds increased by 3,000 tons. The percentage of commodities is constantly increasing. Van Chan is becoming one of the areas specializing in the production of tea and wood.

The arable land of Van Chan is beginning to be used in an efficient manner. At low-lying, relatively flat places, annual crops are grown, primarily grain and food product crops; on the sides of hills that have a small gradient, industrial crops, primarily tea, are being grown; on steeply graded land on the sides of mountains, trees, primarily linden and "mo" trees, have been planted, etc. On the basis of the land conditions and the terrain characteristics of the district, these three crops have been planted as companion crops and are growing well within each economic unit: the cooperatives, state farms and state forestry sites. As a result of this method of land use, economic returns are higher and the total amount of land under cultivation is also large. Moreover, this method also has a good impact in many areas, such as protecting the soil, combating erosion and maintaining the environment.

Van Chan has made good use of the investments and assistance of the state; on the other hand, it has mobilized the capabilities and capital of the agricultural cooperatives, tapped the spirit of self-reliance and socialist awareness of farmers and mobilized a rather large labor force to raise industrial crops and plant centralized forests, thereby bringing about a change in the allocation of crops.

4. The structure of industry and the handicraft trades has begun to be formed within the district.

The development of agriculture and forestry is the basis for the development of industry and the handicraft trades. With the installations that we have constructed, the enterprises put under the management of the district by the province and the enterprises managed by the province and the central level, the industrial structure within the district has taken shape and consists of three main production sectors:

The agricultural-forestry product processing sector consists of three plants processing black tea for exportation, which have a capacity of 9,200 tons (fresh tea buds), one lumber enterprise producing 2,000 cubic meters of wood per year and one enterprise, which has a capacity of 4,000 tons per year, that processes wheat and subsidiary food crops, mills rice, and makes galingale noodles, wine, candy and soysauce.

The electric power and mechanical engineering sector has met the majority of the energy needs of the processing industry and the need for electricity in everyday life.

There are seven small hydroelectric power plants and one machine enterprise producing ordinary tools and improved tools for agriculture and forestry within the district; each year, this enterprise produces more than 4,000 improved plows and harrows, 25,000 knives, grass rakes and sickles, more than 1,000 tea pruning knives and 300 improved vehicles and repairs from 50 to 80 small vehicles and machines.

The building materials sector consists of one plant producing 5 million bricks and tiles per year and 4,000 tons of lime per year and one wood furniture enterprise.

As regards consumer goods production, we have established handicraft cooperatives that produce leatherware, glassware, ceramicware, woven products, textiles, ready-made clothing, etc. Industrial and handicraft production has developed to the point where the consumer goods produced by the district meet 30 percent of its needs. The output value of industry and the handicraft trades has constantly increased: in 1974, the output value of agriculture, forestry and industry was 14,552,000 dong, of which 3 million dong or 20.6 percent was produced by industry and the handicraft trades. In 1979, the output value of agriculture, forestry and industry was 31,370,000 dong, with the output value of industry and the handicraft trades constituting 32.4 percent or 10,386,000 dong.

5. Capital construction and communications-transportation.

In order to stimulate the development of agriculture, forestry and industry and support the communications and the lives of the people of the various nationalities within the district, we have concerned ourselves with guiding capital construction and communications-transportation. Every agro-forestry cooperative has a transportation unit and the district has established a building corporation to undertake the construction of communication projects, water conservancy projects, grade 4 housing, drying yards, warehouses and livestock pens for agriculture. In the past 5 years, we have constructed 11,860 square meters of grade 4 housing, more than 7,330 square meters of drying yards and 800 square meters of livestock pens; we have also constructed 73 kilometers of inter-village civilian roads, 11 suspension bridges and a number of small water conservancy projects. To date, eight villages have telephone switchboards and 28 of the 31 villages have automobile roads leading to them. The district has a mechanized transport unit, more than 400 buffalo and horse-carts and 2,000 improved vehicles; the pack-horse units of the 10 villages in the highland area have combined to establish a transportation force supporting the production, circulation and travel needs of the various nationalities within the district.

On the basis of the development of agriculture and forestry, industry was formed, and the activities of industry have created favorable conditions for the strong development of agriculture and forestry; this is most evident in the tea production sector in Van Chan. During the past 5 years, the amount of area under the cultivation of tea has increased two-fold and the quantity of fresh tea sold has increased by 50 percent. This development could not have occurred without the development of the tea processing industry. The changing economic structure has changed the structure of the labor force and the population. The state-operated industrial enterprises that have been constructed within the district have caused the

number of industrial workers to increase and caused the urban population to grow; some 33,000 persons live in the four towns and at the five state farms and forestry sites. The structure of the labor force has also changed in the countryside; in 1975, the labor working in the small industry and handicraft sector at the agro-forestry cooperatives only constituted 5 percent of the total labor force of the cooperatives; by 1980, this figure had risen to 12 percent.

Although it is only beginning to be formed, the agro-forestry-industrial economic structure within the district has opened tremendous prospects for economic development, the improvement of living conditions and cultural development and brought about profound changes in many areas for the compatriots of the various nationalities within our district.

II. Caring for the Lives of the People of the Various Nationalities and Building the District into a Combat Ready Military Fortress

During the past 5 years, as a result of the development of production, the living conditions of the people within the district have undergone changes and gradually been improved. In 1976, the consumption of paddy was only 1.4 kilograms per month per person; in 1980, this figure was 20.5 kilograms per month per person. Our district has established a commerce corporation and more than 40 commerce stores and marketing cooperatives to serve the people. More than 80 percent of the households in the lowlying area have houses made of "ke" wood and have bicycles; some hamlets and mountain villages, such as Dai Lich, Nghia An, Vuc Tuan and so forth, have electric lighting. The district has 48 basic general schools, which include 20 level II schools, 2 level III schools, 1 highland school for teenagers and children, 1 work-study ethnic youth school, 1 level II + level III labor school and 5 supplementary education schools of the district. In 1980, 39,500 persons attended school, an average of one of every three persons in the district. Practically all cooperatives in the lowlying area have a child care center or child care group; in 1980, the 260 child care groups cared for some 6,000 children. Many cooperatives have organized lunches for children, for which parents pay nothing or only a portion. All villages have public health stations and maternity clinics; the district has two 300 bed hospitals, five clinics and one pharmacy, which concocts drugs from local pharmaceuticals. In addition to the district's museum, library and athletic field, several villages have libraries and tradition halls. The villages in the lowlying area have 46 literary and art units; the district has three movie units, one theater and one permanent outdoor movie. The district's wired radio system extends to the eight villages in the Nghia Lo lowlands.

In conjunction with productive labor and construction, Van Chan has initiated comprehensive local military activities and built the district into a combat ready military fortress. Van Chan was the immediate rear area of the frontline districts in Hoang Lien Son Province in the fight against the Chinese aggressor army. In recent years, the militia and self-defense forces have been developed in both size and quality: the number of persons in the self-defense force increased from 9 percent of the population in 1976 to 14 percent in 1979; more than 62 percent of party members have joined the militia and self-defense forces; all forces have been organized into suitable combat units. All enterprises, state farms, forestry sites and agencies have

established strong self-defense battalion and companies. In the villages that have militia platoons and companies, militia forces receive training each year, are fully equipped with weapons and have the ability to conduct good mobile operations and fight well. The commands of the village military units and the district military unit have been strengthened and all villages, zones, state farms and forestry sites have specific combat plans. In addition, plans have been adopted for combat coordination among main force units, local troops and self-defense and militia forces within each area, each cluster and throughout the entire district.

The basic organizations of the party, the government and the mass organizations have been strengthened. The party committees on the various echelons within the district truly control and lead the armed forces; every district party member personally guides one village; every member of the standing committee of the district party committee leads a combat cluster. Nearly 100 cadres of the district have been sent to strengthen installations, one-third of them going to installations in the highlands, in order to mobilize the people in production and help installations organize local armed forces. As a result, when the Beijing reactionaries unleashed the war on the border in 1979, order and security within the district were firmly maintained. Van Chan promptly reinforced the frontline with thousands of new soldiers, received tens of thousands of persons who were evacuated to the rear and evacuated hundreds of wounded soldiers from the frontlines. During the same period of time, our district mobilized more than 35,000 mandays to support the frontlines and, in a short period of time, completed the construction of 75 kilometers of trenches and various combat clusters within the district.

The youths of the various nationalities have eagerly fulfilled their military obligations: since 1976, we have exceeded the plan norms in the various phases of induction by 2 to 6 percent. The rear area policies have been implemented well.

Upholding the revolutionary tradition of the locality and by closely linking the buildup of the armed forces to the production and business units and coordinating economic development with the strengthening of national defense potentials, Van Chan is building the district into a powerful and steadfast, combat ready military fortress that will insure victory over every act of aggression of the Chinese expansionists.

In the process of building the agro-forestry-industrial economic structure within the district, Van Chan has achieved initial results; generally speaking, however, economic development is neither uniform nor balanced. In the coming period, we must give our attention to overcoming the following weaknesses:

1. Animal husbandry, especially livestock production, has not been given appropriate attention. The cooperatives have not increased their raising of the species of large livestock, consequently, the draft buffalo herd was smaller in 1979 than in 1975. The size of the collective hog herd has not increased. The failure of livestock production to develop has affected crop production due to the shortage of fertilizer for the intensive cultivation of rice and tea.

2. Industry and the handicraft trades, especially the handicraft trades within the agricultural cooperatives, have developed slowly. Despite the very large potentials

and very large requirements, the existing sources of raw materials in the locality have not been developed well. In order to put a large amount of area under the cultivation of cassava within the collective economy, we must have implements for processing cassava that do not break after harvesting; this is the only way to incorporate cassava in the grain consumed by humans and support collective hog production. At present, however, Van Chan has no cassava processing industry. The quantity of cassava processed within cooperative member households is not significant.

3. The rate of afforestation is slow, the protection of the forests is still marked by many shortcomings and forest fires, although they have been reduced in number, still occur on an annual basis, thus affecting forest resources and the regrowth of forests.

4. The continuing shortage of grain is the main obstacle at this time to the effort to broaden the division of social labor and provide more labor for the production of raw materials for industry and industrial production. Self-sufficiency in grain has still not been achieved within the district; each year, the state must still supply the district with more than 3,500 tons.

Upholding their revolutionary tradition, the party organization and the people of the various nationalities in Van Chan District will be determined to overcome the weaknesses mentioned above. On the other hand, it is suggested that the various levels and sectors provide additional guidance and assistance to us in the effort to build the agro-forestry-industrial structure within the district so that we can contribute more and more to industrialization.

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THE STRUGGLE ON THE FRONT OF CULTURE, LITERATURE AND ART IN THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

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[Article by Ha Xuan Truong]

[Text] Our entire country is in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism; in the South, five different economic segments still exist and society is still being heavily influenced by U.S. neo-colonialism. The struggle to resolve the question of "who defeats whom" in the period of transition between socialism and capitalism, together with all the other remnants of neo-colonialism that are always opposing and fighting socialist transformation and socialist construction, is a fierce struggle. Culture, literature and art are a front, one that reflects this struggle, and, due to its characteristics, the struggle on the front of culture, literature and art is a prolonged struggle that assumes many different shapes and forms. The ideological resistance is the sharpest and strongest resistance.

The struggle against the decadent and reactionary culture, literature and art continues to be an intense struggle in Ho Chi Minh City and a number of other localities and is one aspect of the struggle to resolve the question of "who defeats whom" on the front of culture, literature and art in our country.

Since 30 April 1975, together with the great victory won in liberating all of the South and together with the tremendous political prestige of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat state, two cultures, two literatures and two arts have existed side by side: socialist culture, literature and art have been established in the North and exerted much influence in the liberated areas of the South in past years and the U.S. neo-colonialist culture, literature and art which dominated for many years in the South, especially in the cities. Ever since that day, the struggle to abolish the harmful vestiges of neo-colonialist culture, literature and art has been carried out at the same time as the effort to transform and establish socialist culture, literature and art. The private theatrical companies and singing groups have been organized into collective organizations under the guidance of the cultural agencies of the state. All movie films of the U.S.-puppet period have been confiscated and replaced with Vietnamese films and films from the fraternal socialist countries. The movie houses and printing plants have gradually been placed under the management of the state. The circulation of decadent and reactionary books and magazines is prohibited. Our press, radio stations and wired radio networks have deeply analyzed

the reactionary viewpoints and exposed the sinister schemes of the U.S. imperialists to use culture, literature and art as tools of enslavement and demagoguery. Scientific conferences and forums on neo-colonialist culture have been held. While carrying out transformation, we have launched and developed activities in socialist culture, literature and art. Although not many clubs and cultural halls have been established, they have made a positive contribution to creating a wholesome atmosphere for cultural activities. Film festivals, theatrical performances and professional and mass musical performances have provided occasions for encouraging art activities to develop along socialist lines. In summary, the cultural achievements we have recorded in the South in the past 6 years have not been small. These achievements have begun to change the face of culture in the southern provinces and gradually abolish the remnants of the neo-colonialist culture.

However, facts show that the struggle to combat the decadent and reactionary culture and establish the new culture, literature and art is not only being carried out in the South. This struggle is being waged throughout the country; of course, the intensity of the struggle varies from place to place and there are differences between the South and the North. The commercial tendency in bourgeois art has crept into socialist art. Under various forms of collectives, many singing groups still seek to "please their patrons" as the singing groups of past years did. The decadent and reactionary culture has even emerged in Hanoi, in the port city, etc. Some of our core cadres in the field of art have become decadent; although this number is very small, it is a serious phenomenon.

While we have failed to meet many of the requirements involved in establishing socialist culture, literature and art, bourgeois and neo-colonialist culture, literature and art have continued to attack us. In some areas, they have pushed us back and, in other areas, they have created confusion for us. The danger is that our enemies are using our forms of activity and our people to serve their sinister scheme. Some comrades and some localities think that fighting the decadent and reactionary culture is the work of the southern provinces or only the work of Ho Chi Minh City. This is a mistaken viewpoint. We must clearly realize that the poisons of bourgeois culture and the resurrected remnants of the neo-colonialist and feudal culture are being used by our enemy to sabotage us in many cities and towns and in some of the rural areas in both the North and the South. Ideological sabotage, sabotage in the form of culture, literature and art have become the most important and insidious aspect of the comprehensive war of sabotage being waged by the U.S. imperialists and the Beijing expansionists against our country. The struggle to resolve the question of "who defeats whom" between socialism and capitalism in the period of transition in the field of culture, literature and art is a fierce and extremely complex struggle in view of the specific historic circumstances of our country and is a struggle to win each person, each soul.

The present struggle against the reactionary and decadent culture, literature and art raises three matters: 1) the struggle to resolve the question of "who defeats whom" in the field of culture, literature and art in the period of transition is a law; 2) our old enemy, who is now in collusion with our new enemy and has not abandoned the scheme of invading and occupying our country, is using culture, literature and art to sabotage the effort of our people to protect the fatherland and build socialism;

3) the leadership of the party and the management of the dictatorship of the proletariat state on the front of culture, literature and art must, as a result, become increasingly responsive and be provided on a regular basis.

The law of culture, literature and art in the period of transition in our country is the law of the struggle between the two ways of life, between socialist culture and capitalist culture under the specific circumstances of our country, a country that experienced two long and extremely fierce wars of resistance, a country that then had to fight two new wars, a country that is always being surrounded, attacked and undermined by its enemies. In an economic and social situation such as the one that exists now, especially in the South, where the base still exists for the exploiting classes, where the "free" market is still widespread and where ordinary tastes still exist, it is difficult to avoid the resurgence and emergence of negative phenomena in culture, literature and art. The problem we face is how to limit these negative phenomena, these remnants of bourgeois and feudal culture to the lowest level possible in order to eventually totally abolish them and not allow them to become tendencies that could overpower the socialist tendency, which is still not strong throughout the country and is still new in the South. In this struggle, the emergence of "two-sided phenomena" (or multi-sided) is easily understood. A sincere play, film, song or even a sentence can be used in a distorted manner; such distortion is inevitable when the work of art is vague or lacks party spirit. The enemy is always looking for every way to turn what is ours into something that is theirs as well as turn our people into people who work for them. In order to win victory for the socialist culture, literature and art, we must mobilize every force to concentrate its efforts on building the new culture, literature and art in the fields of creative works, performances, theory, criticism, training and the organization of management. On the other hand, we must wage a determined struggle against every negative tendency and phenomenon, limit and eventually abolish the conditions that give rise to these negative phenomena. This work is not the work of one sector, but is work that must be performed by many sectors, by all of society in a steadfast and long-range manner. Recently, in Ho Chi Minh City and a number of other places, some literary and art activities, such as the "youth music movement" and the "political songs" movement, have been misdirected and many decadent cultural, literary and artistic phenomena have been reborn under many "legitimate" and illegitimate forms. The causes of this situation are our lack of vigilance and our failure to realize the arduous, complex nature of the struggle on the front of culture, literature and art in the period of transition to socialism. The recent policies and measures adopted by the Ho Chi Minh City Communist Party Committee to combat the decadent and reactionary culture are both correct and necessary. The speeches by Vo Van Kiet, the secretary of the City Party Committee, have had the effect of reorienting the guidelines of and awakening the party organization and cultural, literary and artistic circles which, over the past 2 years and more, have been somewhat lax in the struggle on the front of culture, literature and art; some persons have even divorced themselves from the spirit of the party and the people in their work in the field of culture, literature and art.

Also in the recent past, some specialized cadres, failing to grasp the functions of culture, literature and art of teaching ideology and aesthetics and training the new man and failing to correctly understand the action taken to broaden business

activities in cultural, literary and art activities, have allowed pure business and economic thinking to overpower the objectives in the management of culture. The Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee has adopted specific policies, such as providing incentive for the production of art products for exportation, supplying to publishing agencies hundreds of tons of paper for the printing of books for teenagers and children and strongly investing (in the nature of subsidies) in creative activities. Regardless of the circumstances, all cultural, literary and artistic work must be placed under the leadership of the party, must take one direction, that is, must be socialist culture, literature and art of a rational nature that deeply reflects the spirit of the party and the people. Of course, in order to develop such a culture, it is necessary to struggle and build for a long period of time.

The struggle on the front of culture, literature and art does not only occur between ourselves and the enemy, but also occurs among the people; it lies within the category of revolutionary ideology. This characteristic is very evident under the present conditions of our country. If there is a characteristic of the struggle on the front of culture, literature and art in our country at this time, it is the struggle against the acts of sabotage being conducted by the U.S. imperialists in collaboration with the Beijing expansionists. They are an enemy who has much experience, are a wicked and malicious enemy who combines various forms of overt and covert activities, legal and quasilegal activities and uses their reactionary and decadent culture, literature and art to oppose our people's socialist construction while scheming to cause the Vietnam Communist Party, which is the factor that determines the victories of the Vietnamese revolution, to lose its prestige. On the basis of the remnants of the neo-colonialist culture that they established during their period of rule in the South (which include tastes, lifestyle and so forth), they have rallied former lackeys and established new reactionary forces both "overseas" and within our country. Materials confiscated by us in the past year verify how malicious their schemes and actions are. They include piles of leaflets and tens of thousands of psychological warfare letters of all types brought to our country in every possible way. They include poems, satirical folk verses, jokes and the "Vietnamese society" shows on the western radio networks, which specialize in distorting and discrediting Vietnam. They include various forms of "newsletters" and "letters of guarantee" along with seasickness pills in order to encourage and entice persons to flee overseas. They include thousands, tens of thousands of provocative, exciting music tapes from the West and "songs" by emigres that have been mass produced, sold and spread to our country, especially Ho Chi Minh City. They include hundreds of counters and stands that store and rent reactionary, decadent books, hundreds of thousands of which have been confiscated by us; hundreds of cases involving pornographic films, hundreds of coffee houses that have been warned, closed or prosecuted for disseminating decadent cultural products and spreading the decadent lifestyle; volumes of reactionary poems destined to be secretly shipped from our country to cause a stir overseas; "classes" and "music units" organized for sinister purposes, etc. All of these attempts to discredit, to provoke, to rally forces against socialism in Vietnam, although they have been modernized in terms of their contents and technical aspects, bear the "fingerprints" of the U.S. imperialists and international reactionaries. Nowadays, they are employing many more sophisticated means: a jacket, a teshirt can also be a means for spreading the thinking of "worshipping the United States," of "admiring the United

States," a means for stimulating a return to the old style of life. A notebook, a calendar, a piece of paper used to wrap merchandise are also used by them as a means of propaganda. Nothing they do surprises us. Many of our works of art, especially works designed to criticize the negative aspects of our society, have been used by them as two sided weapons; they have nullified the positive effect of our legitimate and necessary criticism while distorting and turning this criticism into opposition against us. Therefore, we must expose their tricks and, if necessary, severely punish those who serve as their lackeys, those who unconsciously support them. However, the best measures to be employed in the struggle on the front of culture, literature and art are education and persuasion designed to raise the masses' level of awareness of ideals, of building socialism by many different means, thereby generating correct public opinion and a sense of voluntary action among the people--especially among youths and intellectuals--to work together to establish the new, socialist culture, literature and art and not tolerate any form of degeneration, decadence or reactionary behavior. Launching individual phases of struggle is necessary; however, the measures employed on the front of culture, literature and art primarily deal with matters in depth in a determined but patient manner that has enlightenment as its objective. We must take the initiative and adopt a plan for waging the struggle in conjunction with building, building what we want in a correct manner that complies with laws is the basis for victory in the struggle.

The general laws as well as the laws of each field of activity in the period of transition in our country have not been fully studied and the majority of new policies are designed to meet immediate requirements. Work on the front of culture, literature and art is long-range, strategic work. Several decades are needed to create a new style of cultural life, a new cultural psychology, a new literature and art. And, during this period of time, negative phenomena can still arise and some of these phenomena will emerge time and time again because their origins lie in the habits, attitudes, lifestyle and so forth of the old society and because the capitalist world is always looking for ways to attack. In view of our country's circumstances, acts of sabotage by the U.S. imperialists and the Beijing expansionists are a constant factor. If we do not firmly maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat on this front, if we are not vigilant against their insidious schemes, the remnants of the neo-colonialist culture and everything else that is backward will become a force supporting their reactionary schemes, a force that will not only seriously undermine social life, but also seriously harm the political life of the country. The U.S. imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries are unwilling to accept defeat. By many methods, including methods involving culture, literature and art, they are always counter-attacking us, attacking our new social order, attacking the persons who are building this social order. The struggle against the decadent, reactionary culture that is now taking place in Ho Chi Minh City and a number of other places is a struggle of a cultural and ideological nature as well as a struggle of a distinct political nature. As a result, it is necessary to understand the close relationship between the schemes of the enemy and that which is backward and decadent; at the same time, however, we must precisely define that which is caused by the enemy and that which is backward and decadent in society.

We face the requirements of broadening the scope of creative activities as well as the appreciation of art and improving the methods of artistic activities. The line of

our party on culture, literature and art encourages every attempt to find and support the new and the persons who guide the implementation of this line are persons who cultivate creativity and nurture and support the formation and development of the new; however, the question we face is: what is the new? In culture and art, the basic issue is not whether something is old or new, but whether it meets the educational and aesthetic needs of the people. The issue is not what the origin of something is, but where something is leading us and what it does to broaden our knowledge and intelligence, to bolster our feelings and character. The issue is not whether something is suitable or unsuitable to our people in terms of whether they will buy it or not, but what something provides, what it contributes to the development of the culture, literature and art of the nation of Vietnam.

Finally, our struggle against the decadent, reactionary culture, literature and art at this time is also part of the overall struggle between the socialist system and the capitalist system in a decisive period: capitalism, led by the U.S. imperialists, who are collaborating with the Beijing expansionists and the other reactionary powers, is looking for ways to win back the positions it has lost and regain its position as international gendarme. Due to our specific historic circumstances, our country is about one-half century behind the fraternal socialist countries. While the fraternal countries have entered the stage of building developed socialism, Vietnam is still in the initial stage of the period of transition. The laws of culture are not the same as economic laws; however, a country's level of cultural development cannot be separated from its economic and social situation. We must resolve the problems and perform the jobs that we have in the period of transition while coordinating on an international scale in order to contend with practically all of the problems being encountered by the fraternal socialist countries, which have achieved a higher level of development, in the struggle against the bourgeois culture, against the cultural schemes of the imperialists and other reactionary powers. This makes the struggle on the front of culture, literature and art during the period of transition in our country more complex and decisive and makes it even more necessary for each of us to heighten our party spirit, zeal and skills.

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THE STRUGGLE ON THE CULTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL FRONT IN HO CHI MINH CITY

BK310940 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 81 pp 43-47

[Article by Truong Quoc Minh--translation previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 213, 4 Nov 81, pp K6-K10]

[Text] The struggle to oppose reactionary and decadent culture and to build a new culture in Ho Chi Minh City has recently taken place in a lively and widespread manner.

The various profoundly significant addresses (footnote: "Determination To Win on the Cultural and Ideological Front", Ho Chi Minh City Publishing House, May 1981) of Comrade Vo Van Kiet, secretary of the city party committee, on this occasion have expounded the importance, complexity and fierceness of the struggle on the cultural and ideological front in a populous and recently liberated area.

The general public in Ho Chi Minh City and throughout the country has voiced its sympathy and great support for this timely mopping-up operation, considering it a response to the legitimate and urgent demands of the people of all strata who want to eliminate all cultural rubbish left by the former society in order to build a healthy cultural and spiritual life in this city, abundant in glorious traditions, which has the honor of bearing beloved Uncle Ho's name.

The recent restoration of some neocolonialist cultural activities in Ho Chi Minh City has been strongly condemned by the general public. The people in various city wards and subwards have actively cooperated with the mass organizations and administration to detect and wipe out all dens dealing in indecent culture. Thousands of cases of violations have been investigated and dealt with severely. A large volume of evidence including both new and old "cultural work" of the imperialists and their reactionary henchmen has been seized. Ruffians and criminal cultural dealers have been gradually prosecuted before the people's court to be duly punished.

Through this struggle, all people have a chance to understand more clearly the long-term harmful effect of neocolonialist culture. By the same token, they have realized the need to constantly heighten their vigilance against the enemy plots and tricks in the cultural and artistic field.

Realities have shown that both new and old colonialism together with 30 years of its successive wars of aggression in the south have bequeathed the former Saigon-Gia Dinh City -- now Ho Chi Minh City -- extremely serious consequences in all fields. Apart from untold difficulties in production and economic life are countless social evils generated by the extremely insidious "cultural" policies of the imperialists and their henchmen. The Saigon and Western press formerly estimated that the number of drug addicts, ruffians, robbers, thieves, prostitutes, orphans and "outcasts" had been at one time up to half a million.

In the past few years, the compassionate and conversional policy of educational reform adopted by the city party organization and administration has helped large numbers of the former regime's victims extricate themselves from the temptations of neocolonialism, giving them a new, significant life beneficial to the society. Under the new socialist regime, the establishment and development of a new culture has begun to give some good results definitely changing the cultural and moral lives of the city people.

Obviously, it is impossible to liquidate overnight all the lingering harmful influences of the neocolonialist legacy which deeply impregnated a segment of the people.

Through the years of a long war, contempt of labor, dependence on society, depreciation of human dignity and disregard of morality has become the familiar way of thinking and living for a class of city people who used to live on dollars. The psychology of admiring and loving foreign and weird things and manners, and of striving to satisfy base sensual feelings was imposed on the people, especially youths. Selfish individualism and a depraved hedonistic life was encouraged and developed in the society. Even more harmful was that patriotism and national pride gradually withered at a time when numerous people, seriously affected by the "psychological warfare" poison, admired and feared imperialist power.

Although the enemy's ruling apparatus has been smashed, its cultural poison still lingers in the new society and continues to destroy the thinking and feeling of those who still miss the lifestyle under the old regime. It always bides its time to spread out its influence among the broad masses.

Failing to correctly realize the risk, the agencies in charge of cultural organization and management merely neglected their struggle on the cultural and artistic front for only a short period, and backward and decadent culture has already reared its head again under several forms. At first it appeared under concealed, disguised and half overt and half covert forms. Then it gradually came out into the open and started to hold sway in disregard of the administration's regulations.

Born of the lively mass movement of healthy literature and arts, the "youth song" troupes have gradually deviated and become prey to the cultural dealers by copying the crazy types of former U.S.-puppet "pop songs." While the people are engaging in the struggle against the expansionistic threat from the Beijing reactionaries and are toiling to build the country, the musical tunes and words of some new "compositions" have stirred up soft and romantic feelings in youth, creating a psychology of uncertainty and unreality which does not conform to facts of life.

It is not accidental that the golden musical tapes of the former regime as well as those from "overseas" of the Vietnamese reactionaries in exile and the latest Western jazz music have flooded the city in tens of thousands of mushrooming coffee shops. Many reactionary types of decadent books, banned from circulation for a long time, have now appeared in book stalls.

At the same time, from four to five million surreptitiously printed books of nonsense have infiltrated families and schools, aiming at teenagers and children, let alone hundreds of types of political, cultural, religious and fortune-telling books rife with reactionary characters, depravation, superstition and mysteries which have been openly mailed from the imperialist and capitalist countries. Blue movies and pornographic photos have also been traded by unscrupulous people. This situation has quickly led to the emergence and development of brothels and gangs. Many youths have chosen to lead a life of debauchery, refusing to fulfill their obligations to the country. Finally, inveigled by bad people, they have fled aboard.

We cannot indeed say that the recent rebirth of decadent culture has been masterminded merely by some profit-seeking merchants, involving no imperialists nor international reactionaries. Neither can we say of course that all these dirty operations have been organized by the enemy. Nevertheless, we must realize that in the cultural and social fields, the imperialists -- especially the Americans and the Chinese expansionists together with their reactionary lackeys -- can easily cooperate with those unscrupulous cultural dealers to sabotage us and seek profits.

Unfortunately, there still are many people who have failed to correctly assess the enemy's cultural and artistic plots and acts in its general war against the socialist revolution in our country.

Noteworthy is that at a time when all types of enemies are coordinating with one another to attack us in several ways and their noxious culture is taking root, some of our cadres and party members have become seriously depraved, degenerate and deviant. They have run after illicit money by cooperating with the bad people to revive and deal in all forms of base and decadent culture. Bought off by money and girls, some of them have protected and cooperated with the ruffians and liberal cultural dealers, trampling on the cultural and moral values of the nation. They must be indeed severely punished for their criminal acts.

The struggle on the cultural and ideological front that was recently launched in Ho Chi Minh City rightly reflects the general public's indignation at all forms of reactionary and decadent culture.

The working class and the laboring people in the city -- the people who day and night are producing material and moral wealth for society -- resolve not to accept a situation in which some people indulge themselves in debauchery, thereby causing trouble for society. The people of all strata, especially old people and women who are concerned with their children's happiness and future, have strongly voiced their protests, requesting the administration to take action to eradicate this harmful cultural legacy of the enemy.

This very fierce struggle on the cultural and ideological front has awakened frivolous and unrealistic people, making them vigilant against the dangerous and perfidious cultural activities of all forces hostile to our nation.

It is regrettable that some people who consider themselves as "culturally knowledgeable" still adopt an indifferent attitude by staying outside of the struggle to wipe out neocolonialist culture. Not only have they refused to cooperate with the masses in the struggle but at times they have said something very unpleasant to the ears.

At the beginning, they said that the cultural vestiges of the former society were neither so great and harmful nor so terrible that such a noisy mop-up operation should be conducted. To do so was merely "making a mountain out of a molehill." They even went so far as to sow suspicion and doubt by asking: "Is the policy of cultural struggle aimed at distracting the people from the present economic difficulties?" Faced with undeniable proof, a large mass of reactionary decadent cultural works which have been seized, they changed their tune, ridiculing the revolution as powerless in cleaning up the cultural rubbish of the former society. Even though the struggle was aimed at the imperialists and their reactionary henchmen, these people seemed reluctant to support the struggle and wanted to attack other targets.

It is really unreasonable to assert that we cannot use strong measures in this struggle to suppress and punish those professional poisoners and saboteurs of the people's cultural and moral lives and that we must deal with them in a "cultural and delicate manner."

While the general public should have been made to understand this matter thoroughly and urged to condemn the noxious neocolonialist culture, some people have criticized revolutionary culture and arts as uninspiring, unattractive and unfashioned, ridiculing our artistic shows of national character as conservative and inopportune. There have been scattered claims for freedom to enjoy any kind of cultural work. Some of the claimants are so immoral as to say: "Better to love a prostitute (meaning capitalist culture) than a shrew (meaning the revolutionary culture)."

These erroneous views and attitudes only benefit the reactionary forces hostile to the revolution in our country. They are harmful to our people's revolutionary struggle.

Although these erroneous views and attitudes are quite rare, they clearly indicate the complexity of the struggle on the cultural and ideological front. They must be criticized and corrected. Nevertheless, we should first clearly understand what V.I. Lenin used to say:

"In general, there will be shallow people who, out of frivolity or blind habits, want to protect the viewpoints circulated in a given capitalist circle.

"No, in politics, the important question does not involve those who directly protecting which viewpoints but those who will benefit from such views or such proposals." (Footnote: Lenin: "Cultural and Literary Discussion," Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, page 90)

The struggle on the cultural and ideological front that was recently launched in Ho Chi Minh City is only a first step. Although a heap of rotten "cultural" rubbish has been wiped out, the city is still not clean. At present, those unscrupulous people dealing in decadent and reactionary culture have shrunk from their open activities and shifted to clandestine operations, using perfidious tricks of camouflage and disguise. Consequently, the struggle must continue. The responsible agencies must rely on the people's forces to detect, wipe out and eradicate the remaining dens of neocolonialist culture.

This struggle is very complicated. Much time is required to get rid of all the cultural and ideological influence of the former ruling regime over the people completely. The struggle is even harder and more fierce in Ho Chi Minh City. The city is not only a place where all kinds of reactionary viewpoints and ideologies, as well as the backward and decadent lifestyle of colonialists, imperialists and their ruling lackeys prevailed for decades, but is also a vital target at which the enemy who is trying to oppose the revolution in our country is taking careful aim. We understand that not only Ho Chi Minh City alone but the entire country is responsible for checking and defeating the enemy's cultural and artistic plots and tricks.

Through the actual struggle our people have realized all the more clearly the unbelievably harmful effects of neocolonialist culture. The enemy's cultural poison in peacetime is very dangerous as it gradually erodes, putrefies and completely destroys the human soul in a very insidious manner. The people are very indignant at and hateful of the cruel acts perpetrated by the cultural criminals. In our fierce struggle against the enemy we should definitely not think of granting any leniency to those who have intentionally carried out enemy plots to intensively attack us in the cultural and ideological field.

The present struggle on the cultural and ideological front in Ho Chi Minh City is clearly a relentless class struggle between the revolution and counterrevolution and between wholesome progress and degeneration. It is also the struggle between socialism and capitalism.

In this fierce struggle, no one can stay in the middle and nurture the illusion of seeking a third way to reconcile the differences between two antagonistic ideologies. It must be asserted that culture and arts in this country must necessarily be based on a Marxist-Leninist stand and view and must follow the line of the VCP. Moreover, no other culture and/or art must be allowed to impregnate the moral life of our people.

More than ever before, the socialist revolution requires that all of our cadres, party members and patriotic people fully realize their role in and responsibility to the struggle on the cultural and ideological front by resolutely opposing all unhealthy cultural manifestations and by strenuously protecting and developing the cultural and moral values of our nation.

THE VICTORY OF MARXISM-LENINISM IN THE SCIENCE OF HISTORY OF VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 81 pp 48-54

[Article by Van Tao]

[Text] The nation of Vietnam has a glorious history of thousands of years of struggling to build and defend the country and a long standing, developed science of history.(1) However, the science of history of Vietnam only became a genuine science of history with the birth of the party of the working class and Marxism-Leninism.

In fact, the birth of Marxism-Leninism brought to an end the period of viewpoints that considered history to merely be the recording of history, that is, the recording of historic events. The task of the Marxist science of history is to deeply research and discover, on the basis of the viewpoints of dialectical materials and historical materialism, the essence, the laws of development of history and to gradually fill in the holes in our understanding of history in order to bring us increasingly close to historical truth with a view toward reconstructing the true face of the history of Vietnam, which was distorted by the feudalists and the imperialists, and discovering the essence of the traditions of the nation and the victories and experiences in the process of struggling to build and defend the country, thereby helping to mold the scientific world view and revolutionary philosophy of life, cultivate the patriotism and self-reliance and intensify the struggle of our people today to build and defend the country.

On the basis of clearly understanding this task and these work guidelines, the science of history of Vietnam has, under the leadership of the party, coordinated with related sectors in organizing the research of basic issues in the history of Vietnam and has recorded achievements worthy of pride.

In coordination with the other fields of science, the science of history of Vietnam has researched and verified the origins of the nation of Vietnam and proven that the age of the Hung Kings was an age that actually existed in Vietnamese history.

Archeological scholars have excavated, researched and discovered many cultures that had their origin and developed continuously in North Vietnam during the first and second millennia B.C.

Scholars in ethnology have discovered a system of ancient customs that has existed since before the birth of Christ to the present day among ethnic Vietnamese.

Scholars in anthropology have, on the basis of information derived from the skeletons and skulls of ancient persons in Vietnam in the New Stone Age and the Bronze Age, verified the very early existence of natives: "Indonesians," "South Asians," "Ancient Indochinese" or "the predecessors of South Asians"(although they are called by different names).

Scholars in linguistics have recorded the existence of a local language, the "early Viet-Muong" language, which developed into the Viet-Muong language in North Vietnam during the periods preceding and following the birth of Christ.

Folklore scholars have recorded a system of legends on the origins of the Vietnamese, legends that were born locally and long ago.

And, historians have verified the natural, close relationship between the community of Vietnamese in the early centuries following the birth of Christ and the community of Vietnamese in North Vietnam before the birth of Christ and verified that the waves of migration of Chinese into Vietnam primarily occurred only after the birth of Christ.

All of this information helps to prove that the origin of the Vietnamese nation was primarily in the indigenous population of long ago and included the brilliant age of the Hung Kings and the Red River civilization, the symbol of which was the Dong Son culture, and helps to reject the mistaken theories that the Vietnamese migrated from China or from the Pacific islands, from Malaysia, etc.

The formation of the nation of Vietnam has been the concern of many scholars. The viewpoint endorsed by most scholars is that the nation of Vietnam formed at a very early date, before the emergence of capitalism, formed with a unified territory, a unified Vietnamese language, a unified Vietnamese culture and a unified and strong Vietnamese national spirit characterized by deep patriotism and an ardent love of the race. All of this proves that the country of Vietnam was one, the nation of Vietnam was one. The only question that remains is that of when the nation was formed. On the basis of the concept of nation presented by Marx and Engels, some persons maintain that the nation of Vietnam could have formed in the age of the Hung Kings. Some persons place the formation of the nation in the 10th and 11th Centuries. Other persons place it in the 15th Century. The opinion that the nation of Vietnam formed in the 18th Century has been revised with the result that the 18th Century is considered to be the true period of formation, while the beginning of this formation can be placed earlier, in the 10th, 11th Centuries or later.

The formation of the socialist nation of Vietnam has also begun to be researched. The first factor concerning which there is agreement is that the socialist nation of Vietnam began to form in 1945; here, the factors of territory, language, culture, economy and so forth have been examined in an objective and cautious manner.

The tradition of military struggle against foreign aggression in the history of the nation of Vietnam is the field of research that has recorded the most achievements.

Some 30 projects have been printed in book form and more than 700 research dissertations have been published. These projects have basically had the purpose of presenting the historic position of this tradition, considering it to be one of the important factors in the formation of the nation of Vietnam, the formation of the central, Vietnamese feudal state (besides the factor of harnessing water), the formation of the spirit of national unity and the unification of the country. This tradition has been inherited and increasingly developed upon in the continuity of history, from the strategy and tactics in the struggle against foreign aggression of our forefathers to the present day, from the victory of the war of resistance against the 500,000 troops of the Tan aggressor army in the 3rd Century B.C. to the recent war of resistance against the Chinese expansionist aggressors.

All of these research projects have made a contribution to affirming the national, scientific and revolutionary nature of Vietnamese military tradition in the course of its brilliant development.

Special projects in the economic and cultural history of Vietnam have also begun to be researched. As regards the various socio-economic forms in Vietnam, there are many persons who maintain that the classical system of slave ownership (the European style) never existed in Vietnam, even though a special form of slavery, the servant, did exist.

Practically all scholars in Vietnamese history have confirmed that the stage of development of the feudal system in Vietnam began during the period of the Dai Viet civilization in the 10th, 11th Centuries and later and was characterized by the virulent development of the sense of nationhood and economic, cultural and social development together with brilliant feats of arms against foreign aggression. However, exactly when the feudalization of Vietnamese society began and the period of time that marked the decline of this system are still subjects of debate. In addition, there are some scholars who maintain that research should be based on the "Asian mode of production" rather than the "feudal" concept because feudalism is more western in nature than oriental.

The colonial, semi-feudal form of economy in Vietnam is a matter now being debated. Some persons maintain that it is a colonial-feudal economy, others call it a colonial-semi-feudal economy and still others maintain that it should only be called a colonial economy because it was the dominant form and was part of the capitalist economic form in the stage of imperialism.

Many persons are also giving attention to the people's democratic economic system. The question being raised is whether this system lies within the category of the socialist economic form or is a special intermediary form of economy.

The history of the Vietnamese revolution under the leadership of the Vietnamese working class is a field of research that is absorbing the intelligence of the mass of scholars in Vietnamese history.

As the Vietnamese revolution wins more victories, the need to understand the working class of Vietnam and its position, role and historic mission among the working people becomes increasingly large. The working class is the class leading the revolution and is one of the two main force armies of the revolution.

Many historians in our country have cooperated with a number of foreign historians, especially Soviet historians, to research this matter and have clarified a number of matters regarding the birth of the Vietnamese working class. Practically all of them confirm that the modern Vietnamese industrial worker emerged at the end of the 19th Century; however, the Vietnamese working class had to experience a process that extended from the end of the 19th Century to the start of the 20th Century in order to become a "class of itself" and then rapidly became a "class acting for itself" beginning in the years following World War I; and, it was not until 1930, when the party of the working class was born, that it fully became a class acting for itself.

Immediately after its establishment, the party of the Vietnamese working class set forth the correct revolutionary line of brandishing the banners of national independence and socialism. The science of history of Vietnam helped to clarify the relationship between the characteristics of the formation of the party and the origin of the line of the Vietnamese revolution as well as the victories resulting from this correct and creative line.

In the process of clarifying the position, the role and the historic mission of the Vietnamese working class in its leadership of the Vietnamese revolution through its vanguard party, the science of history of Vietnam has never separated this historic event from the position and role of the great President Ho Chi Minh, the wise leader of the class and, at the same time, the supreme leader of the nation. He correctly accepted the essence of Marxism-Leninism at an early date, became our first communist, participated in founding the French Communist Party, worked tirelessly in the international communist and worker movement and founded the genuine Marxist-Leninist party of the Vietnamese working class. The vanguard revolutionary party founded and forged by him has led the Vietnamese to victory after victory; at the same time, it has also contributed to stimulating the advance of the three revolutionary currents in our times. New advances are recorded in the research of President Ho each year; however, his career and personality are still a storehouse of extremely rich material for our country's historians to use in order to further clarify the stages of Vietnamese revolutionary history from the time that the party and President Ho came on the scene.

Ever since the party was established as the Indochina Communist Party and began leading the revolution, the history of Vietnam has turned a new page. Revolutionary movements led by the Vietnamese proletariat in this stage of history have not only been the subjects of research in the field of the nation's history, but also the subject of research of party history and the history of the Vietnamese people's army.

On the basis of the principle of Marxism-Leninism that the masses write their own history, the science of history of Vietnam, which consists of the fields of study mentioned above, has focused its energies on researching and confirming the role of collective ownership of the working people under the leadership of the party of the working class.

The Soviet Nghe-Tinh movement has been researched and a number of projects have been published in the form of books or dissertations. These projects have been researched

on both the central level and the Nghe-Tinh local level, both at home and overseas, in the Soviet Union and France with the constructive contributions of Vietnamese historians. These projects have helped to clearly establish the strength of the first mass movement under the leadership of the party, the revolutionary creations of the movement, the brave spirit of sacrifice of the revolutionary masses in the struggle and the significance of the movement as the first training ground of the revolutionary masses under the leadership of the party as well as the international significance of the movement.

The 1936-1939 movement is also the subject of research by a number of scholars, research designed to shed light on the second revolutionary training ground, one that embodied much that was creative in coordinating the democratic struggle with the national struggle, coordinating overt, legal struggle with clandestine, illegal struggle, coordinating the requirements of the nation with the obligation to unite internationally against fascism, against war and one that made a positive preparation for a new movement, the movement to launch the August Revolution.

The 1939-1945 August Revolution campaign was the history of the victorious struggle of the masses under the leadership of the party, was the process of coordinating armed struggle with political struggle to topple the ruling apparatus of the imperialists and feudalists and establish the people's democratic state led by the working class.

The history of the 9 year (1946-1954) war of resistance against the French was also the history of the unyielding, brave struggle by the people, the history of waging a war of resistance while building the country; this period of history marked the start of the establishment of the right of the working people to be the masters of society, the masters of their own lives and laid a favorable foundation for the advance to socialism. The war of resistance was victorious; the Geneva Accords were signed. North Vietnam was totally liberated and began advancing to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. Historical research projects on "The 20 Years of Socialist Construction in the North," "The Working Class in the Socialist Revolution," "The Alliance of Workers and Farmers," "The Class of Collective Farmers," "Revolutionary Heroism in Production and Combat," and so forth made positive contributions to the great change in Vietnam from a society of classes to a society in which there is no exploitation of man by man.

While North Vietnam was advancing to socialism, South Vietnam was temporarily under the control of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The spirit of the Vietnamese "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" did not permit the enemy to turn back the wheels of history. The entire nation arose in the fight. The North, which was determined to advance to socialism regardless of the situation, served as the firm rear base for the struggle to liberate the South and reunify the country and played the most decisive role in this struggle; steadfast, tenacious South Vietnam arose in combat and played the most direct role in this struggle.

Even in the flames of war, dozens of historical projects deeply researched and exposed the nature of U.S. neo-colonialism and the schemes, tricks and unavoidable defeat of it in South Vietnam. At the same time, numerous projects recorded the

revolutionary creations, the heroic qualities and the impressive feats of arms of the Vietnamese in the great war of resistance against the United States for national salvation.

The science of history of Vietnam has clarified the process of our development to a pinnacle of the spirit of being the masters of the country, the masters of the nation's destiny in coordination with the spirit of struggling to become the masters of life in the face of harsh natural conditions and cruel enemies, thereby painting an unparalleled historical picture of the creative labor, the combat and the victories of the nation of Vietnam. This pinnacle is the spirit of socialist collective ownership of today.

The history of the nation of Vietnam in the present stage cannot be separated from the history of the development of the three revolutionary currents in the world. For this reason, the effort to research and disseminate world history, especially the history of the international communist and worker movement, has become an indispensable task of the agencies that research, teach and disseminate historical information in Vietnam. Many scholars have given their attention to researching, teaching and disseminating historical information on the countries of Laos and Kampuchea and then the history of the neighboring countries, China, India and the countries of Southeast Asia, the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the non-aligned movement and, in particular, the national liberation movements that are developing toward socialism. The majority of research agencies has continued to focus its efforts in the research of world history on the socialist movement and the international communist and worker movement, primarily the history of the great October Revolution and the history of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, with particular attention to the history of the Cuban revolution. These subjects have not only been researched by professional historical research agencies, but also by propaganda and training agencies, educational agencies, foreign affairs agencies and so forth in order to make a positive contribution to implementing the plans for comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries in the present stage.

Together with establishing the true features of history through investigation and research designed to resolve the unanswered scientific questions concerning the history of Vietnam, Vietnamese historians have also attached importance to criticizing and refuting reactionary viewpoints that sully and distort Vietnamese history while correcting the misconceptions about Vietnamese history of foreign historians who lack the conditions needed to deeply research Vietnam.

To begin with, Vietnamese historians exposed the colonial, feudal historical viewpoints expressed in a number of history books written by ghost writers for the colonialists, such as Tran Trong Kim's "A Brief History of Vietnam." In addition, Vietnamese historians have criticized and exposed a number of reactionary viewpoints, such as the viewpoint concerning the "polarity" of Vietnam, which was used to support the scheme to permanently partition Vietnam; the reactionary viewpoint concerning the origin of the nation of Vietnam, a viewpoint which holds that the Vietnamese only migrated from the North or from the South and which is nothing more than a scheme to

reject the indigenous nature of the nation of Vietnam and the unique nature of Vietnamese culture; the viewpoint that emphasizes the role played by Confucianism in Vietnamese culture, etc.

More recently, the persons working in the field of Vietnamese history have concentrated their efforts on criticizing and exposing historical viewpoints reflecting aggressive expansionism and big-country hegemony expressed by the ghost writers for the "emperors" of China in past years and the reactionary clique now in power in the Imperial City.

The ideological struggle in this field of learning has helped to heighten the party spirit, the scientific nature and the militant nature of the science of history of Vietnam.

There are other achievements that have been recorded by the science of history of Vietnam in past years under the light of Marxism-Leninism. They include the increasing importance attached to collecting, collating, translating and publishing historical materials not only in the Han-Nom language, but also in French, Latin, English and so forth. They include the acceleration of the movement to research and compile information on local history and the history of specialized sectors. They include the constantly increasing international activities of Vietnamese historical circles as a result of the objective requirements of cultural exchange and the position, a position very worthy of pride, of our country's history in the history of mankind, etc.

The methodology of the Marxist-Leninist science of history has brought about significant changes in Vietnamese historical work. The quality of research projects and writing has constantly been increased. The criticism and introduction of domestic and foreign historical works have been intensified and the serious, cautious and scientifically objective nature of these efforts has been constantly increased. As a result, the unity within historical circles is being strengthened more with each passing day. At present, research and training in the methodology of the science of history are being directed toward understanding and implementing the principle that historical work reflect the party spirit and be scientific in nature. At the same time, on the basis of the strong development of the science of history in our country, we must delve deeply into the methods of determining the subjects of research of the science of history in each sector, determining the degree of reliability of the historical information contained in various historical materials and providing training in and applying the inter-sector method, which is also called the "multi-subject" method, in historical work, with importance attached to sociology and mathematics. All of this has the purpose of helping us to recognize historical truth, define the laws of history more precisely, compile and disseminate historical information more scientifically and facilitate deeper research among the masses.

In summary, under the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, the Marxist science of history of Vietnam has helped to reconstruct the true history of Vietnam and defeat the reactionary viewpoints of the imperialists, feudalists and compradore bourgeoisie lackeys of the imperialists in past years and of present international reactionaries, viewpoints that distort and sully the history of Vietnam, thereby helping to strengthen

the legitimate pride of the Vietnamese in their glorious history. It has helped to heighten the spirit of independence, the spirit of self-reliance and the spirit of always moving forward in order to keep pace with the most progressive trends in the history of man and helped to mold the spirit of being the masters of nature, the masters of society, the masters of ourselves. It has helped to intensify the building of the new social system, the new economy and the new culture and the molding of the new socialist man in Vietnam.

By means of historical materials on the love of peace and justice in independence and freedom and the tenacious, unyielding struggle against every aggressor, expansionist and big country hegemonist, the science of history of Vietnam has clearly proven that Vietnam has always been a factor of stability in Indochina and Southeast Asia, not a factor disrupting stability as is now being falsely claimed by the enemy, thereby making a positive contribution to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in the world.

Developing upon the victories it has already recorded, the science of history of Vietnam is continuing to delve deeply into the traditions of our nation and the historic experiences of our people in the process of struggling to build and defend the country with a view toward actively supporting our two strategic tasks at this time, successfully building socialism and firmly protecting the Vietnamese socialist fatherland. Scholars in the history of Vietnam are now working on three basic projects of the Vietnamese historical sector, namely, "The History of the Nation of Vietnam," "The Cultural History of Vietnam," and "The History of the Working Class and Worker Movement of Vietnam." The science of history of Vietnam has also devoted an appropriate force to researching world history in order to further clarify the smooth combination of genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The science of history of Vietnam is actively contributing to the establishment of a progressive science of history of mankind under the light of Marxism-Leninism.

FOOTNOTES

1. The first written history was "Dai Viet su ky" by Le Van Huu, which was written in 1272.

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A REVIEW OF THE VARIOUS JOURNALS IN THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 81 pp 55-59

[Article by Nguyen Thanh]

[Text] The party considers journals, as well as newspapers, to be an effective weapon, to be an organ of training that raises the theoretical and political qualifications of cadres and party members in order to meet the increasing demands of the revolutionary situation and tasks. Against the background of illegal activities, quasi-legal activities or legal activities and during the period of struggle under the domination of the imperialists and their lackeys as well as since it began leading the revolutionary government, our party has always made every effort to overcome every difficulty in order to publish party journals.

The forerunners of the Vietnam Communist Party also published journals: the Indochina Communist Party, which was established in 1929, published the JOURNAL OF THE COMMUNIST; the Annamese Communist Party also began publishing its journal, the BOLSHEVIK REVIEW, in that year.

After the Vietnam Communist Party was born, we published RED JOURNAL Number 1 on 5 August 1930, which was typed on 13 x 19 centimeter stencil for printing. We published a journal before publishing a newspaper. (The newspaper THE STRUGGLE, which was the central organ of the party, was first published on 15 August 1930). In the "introduction" printed in issue number 1 of the RED JOURNAL, it was stated: "1. This journal will continue to be published indefinitely. There is no definite publishing schedule; the journal might be published once a week, once every 10 days or once every half month. 2. The material in the journal will either describe work methods or experiences of other countries, present world news, criticize our work and so forth; whatever material is available will be published." Some issues of RED JOURNAL only dealt with one subject, for example, issue number 1 only dealt with clandestine activities; some issues dealt with many matters. In late 1930, RED JOURNAL ceased publication.

Shortly thereafter, on 1 February 1931, the first issue of COMMUNIST REVIEW was published. In the "introduction" printed in issue number 1, COMMUNIST REVIEW pointed out: the revolutionary movement in Indochina has developed strongly and the imperialists and feudalists are making every effort to annihilate our party and destroy the revolutionary movement. Our party is only 1 year old, our cadres and

party members have little experience and many problems face the party and the region at a time when we do not have a journal to meet the demands of the situation; this is a major shortcoming. COMMUNIST REVIEW is being published to rectify this shortcoming. The main purposes of COMMUNIST REVIEW are to explain the policies of the Communist International and our party and strongly attack erroneous thinking, opportunism and factionalism in order to achieve a unity of thought and action within the party." The review presented the experiences in struggle of our party and the fraternal parties, printed articles researching the political and economic situations in Indochina and the world, required that party members practice self-criticism and proposed innovations for advancing the movement in the correct direction. "Therefore, each and every party member must enthusiastically participate in the work of COMMUNIST REVIEW, must regularly express his opinions, contribute his experiences concerning and debate important issues, practice self-criticism..."(*) The review also performed the task of preparing for the national congress of the party.

COMMUNIST REVIEW was only circulated within the party. It was published for only a short time. After the members of the Party Central Committee fell into the hands of the enemy, COMMUNIST REVIEW had to cease publication.

Following the campaign of terror conducted in 1930 and 1931, some party cadres working overseas, concerned about the decline of the revolutionary movement at home and the heavy losses to the party, made every effort to restore the base of the party and launch the movement again. One of the jobs they performed was to publish a journal. In June 1933, they, too, published a journal entitled COMMUNIST REVIEW, calling it the "theoretical organ of the Indochina Communist Party." This COMMUNIST REVIEW played an important role in restoring and developing the party, re-establishing liaison lines, conducting research in order to summarize several experiences of the Indochinese revolution in past years, combating the Trotskyites and the supporters of nationalist reformism and preparing for the national congress of the party (it printed the complete text of the draft of the Political Report, the Party Program and Party Statutes and provided guidance to the basic level with regard to discussing and reflecting their opinions to the upper level). After publishing 22 issues and completing its glorious historic task in an extremely difficult period for the party, COMMUNIST REVIEW ceased publication at the 1st National Congress of the Party, which was held in Macao in March 1935.

In early 1934, under the personal guidance of Le Hong Phong, the Overseas Committee of the Party was founded. In June 1934, the committee published BOLSHEVIK REVIEW as the "organ of the Overseas Committee of the Indochina Communist Party." BOLSHEVIK REVIEW was born and published at the same time as COMMUNIST REVIEW, from June 1934 to March 1935, under the unified guidance of the Overseas Committee. After the 1st Congress of the Party concluded, BOLSHEVIK REVIEW was called the "theoretical organ of the Indochina Communist Party."

BOLSHEVIK REVIEW had the tasks of explaining the proceedings of the party congress, researching the struggle movements of the laboring masses within our country, translating a number of articles printed in the journals of the Communist International, presenting the arguments of Lenin concerning peasants, religions, the party and so forth. After the 7th Congress of the Communist International, BOLSHEVIK REVIEW

*See: COMMUNIST REVIEW, Number 7-1981, pp 58-59.

translated and printed a number of the primary speeches at the congress and presented the speech by our party's delegation. The lessons and experiences learned and gained in the struggle of the international communist movement were presented by the review on the occasion of major holidays: the October Socialist Revolution, the Paris Commune and so forth. The issue of struggling against the Trotskyites and nationalist reformism within the Vietnamese revolution was dealt with in a regular column in the review.

BOLSHEVIK REVIEW ceased publication in January 1937. In order to easily slip through inspections conducted by intelligence agents, the form in which the various journals were published was constantly changed. Every copy had a false cover, the cover of a popular short novel, so that it could be easily carried from place to place and not draw much attention.

The journals were also regularly sent to the office of the Communist International by secret routes.

In the prisons, the chapters of the party also published both newspapers and journals. In the Hoa Lo Prison in Hanoi, the prison journal was published in late 1930. On Con Dao, the party chapter published an internal journal entitled COMMON OPINION, which was edited in prison house number 2, where many of the outstanding cadres of the party were detained, copied by hand a few times and then sent to prison house number 1 in order to be sent to the various installations; this journal was circulated from 1933 to mid-1936. Journals in prison became a forum for theory and a means for providing the cadres of the party with training in theory as well as a means for strengthening revolutionary optimism, struggling against the erroneous and reactionary trends of theory and politics that circulated in and outside the prisons and preparing cadres for activities after leaving prison.

In the period of the democratic front, the plenum held by the Party Central Committee in March 1938 decided that the "Party Central Committee needs a clandestine journal to explain issues that cannot be discussed in public books and newspapers." It was very regrettable that when it was engaged in quasi-legal and legal activities, our party published numerous books and newspapers dealing with the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism and the political line of the party but did not publish any journals.

When World War II broke out, our party shifted to clandestine activities. The Party Central Committee, the regional party committees and the provincial party committees published clandestine newspapers and, after the Viet Minh front was established, the central committee and many provincial committees of the Viet Minh published newspapers on a rather regular basis. In 1943, the Party Central Committee began publishing another journal entitled COMMUNIST REVIEW, which was primarily directed toward middle level cadres. Two issues of the review were published: number 1 on 28 February 1943 and number 2 on 24 September 1943, which were reproduced by lithography. At that time, the very fierce war being fought in the Soviet Union against the aggression by fascist Germany was being attentively followed by the entire world; at home, the revolutionary movement against the two strata of oppression, exploitation and terror of the French imperialists and the Japanese fascists was

constantly developing. COMMUNIST REVIEW analyzed the strategic and policy issues of the Indochinese revolution and dealt with the task of making the leadership of the party strong enough to complete the task of winning national independence. Internationally, the review focused on analyzing the great war of national defense of the Soviet Union and confirming the inevitable victory of the Soviet Union and the democratic forces of the world, even though they were experiencing years and months filled with sacrifice and hardship. Issue number 2 of the review printed an article by General Secretary Truong Chinh entitled "The Dissolution of the Communist International," which clearly stated the reasons for the decision to dissolve the Communist International and the influence of the dissolution and the attitude of our party following the dissolution of the Communist International.

Following the 1945 August Revolution, our nation entered the long and heroic war of resistance against the French colonialists. The Party Central Committee published a journal entitled INTERNAL ACTIVITIES, which was the "party's central organ for training in work and theory." The first issue of INTERNAL ACTIVITIES was published in August 1947 and the journal ceased publication in March 1950. This was the first journal of the party to be printed in thousands of copies. INTERNAL ACTIVITIES played a major role in theoretical and organizational work and in guiding the implementation of the positions and policies of the party during this period. In its "introductory note," INTERNAL ACTIVITIES wrote that it would "always be loyal to Marxism-Leninism, guide each and every cadre in complying with the line of the party set forth during the war of resistance, reject all erroneous tendencies and reveal both strengths and weaknesses in order to strengthen and develop the party, in order to make the party a party of the masses. The journal will review the experiences of the various sectors in order to help party members perform their work well." Truong Chinh wrote the most important articles printed in the journal concerning the line and policies of the party.

In the mid-1950's, when our nation's fight against the French colonialists was developing strongly, internal activities could not, "in view of its format, fully perform" its new task. In keeping with the resolution of the 3rd National Conference of the Party (January and February 1950), the Party Central Committee published COMMUNIST REVIEW, "the organ of the party for providing training in work and theory," which was edited by Truong Chinh; however, only two issues were published: number 1 in July 1950 and number 2 in August 1950.

In the war of resistance, due to difficulties encountered with paper, ink and transportation to the remote zones and provinces, the number of journals printed at the printing plant of the central committee was limited, consequently, a number of zone party committees used their printing facilities to reprint INTERNAL ACTIVITIES and COMMUNIST REVIEW, which were widely distributed among their party organizations.

Many zone party committees, interzone party committees and regional party committees also published theoretical and political journals of their localities during the years of the resistance against the French: the Zone 12 Party Committee published the BOLSHEVIK REVIEW, the Viet Bac Zone Party Committee published the STRONG ADVANCE JOURNAL, the Interzone 4 Party Committee published STUDIES, the Nam Bo Regional Party Committee published the journal EXPERIENCES, which was later renamed RESEARCH, etc.

With the victory of the war of resistance against the French colonialists, our country's revolution entered a new period and began to simultaneously carry out two strategic tasks: building socialism in the North and struggling against the imperialists and their lackeys in order to complete the liberation of the nation and reunify the country. Our party and our people faced a new and extremely large and complex task that required the intensification of the teaching of theory and politics to cadres, party members and the masses. The 7th Plenum (enlarged) of the Central Committee, which was held in March 1955, decided to publish the journal STUDIES as "the theoretical and political journal of the party" in order to "assist the research of policy and the teaching of ideology and begin to develop the theoretical work of the party"; this journal was primarily directed toward middle level cadres. The first issue of STUDIES was published in December 1955.

Whereas the previous journals of the party were only circulated internally, STUDIES was the first journal to be published in large quantities and widely circulated both within the party and among the masses; it was the first journal to be published monthly; it provided to cadres, party members and the revolutionary masses, even those at the most remote places on the battlefields fighting the United States, with very important spiritual nourishment.

STUDIES heightened its theoretical and political nature by discussing all matters pertaining to social life in the North, the struggle against the United States and their lackeys and party activities, by providing training in the proletarian ideology, by opposing non-proletarian ideologies, by introducing the experiences of the fraternal socialist countries, by discussing even matters related to the communist and worker movement and the national liberation movement in the world, by opposing the various types of opportunism and by protecting the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

During the wars of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, the CENTRAL OFFICE of South Vietnam published VANGUARD JOURNAL. The various zone party committees in the South also published their own theoretical journals.

After the war of resistance against the United States won total victory, the 4th Congress of the Party met to set forth the domestic and foreign affairs lines of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and establish the tasks involved in building the party in the new stage of our country's revolution. On the basis of the tasks of the revolution in the new stage and on the basis of the resolution of the 4th Congress of the Party on changing the name of the party to the Vietnam Communist Party, the Political Bureau decided to change the name of STUDIES, the organ of theory and politics of the party, to COMMUNIST REVIEW in January 1977. At present, COMMUNIST REVIEW is continuing to perform its historic task.

Today, COMMUNIST REVIEW is being published monthly in quantities larger than all of its forerunners and being widely distributed both at home and in many countries of the world; its contents are constantly improved as is the quality of its articles; it plays an important role in the activities and the theoretical, ideological and political struggle of our cadres, party members and people and has been closely associated with the growth of the party and the glorious victories of our country's revolution.

SOME TRAITS OF FRATERNAL LAOS

Hanoi HAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 81 pp 60-64

[Article by Thao Hien]

[Text] The familiar aspects of the history, geography, population, customs, economy, culture and so forth of this close neighbor and fraternal country have been discussed by many persons. In the major libraries and the huge archives in Paris, Washington, Tokyo, Beijing and so forth, in addition to books, newspaper articles and research projects, there are also volumes of documents and reports with quoted sources of information and data, the completeness of which would seem unsurpassed anywhere in the world. However, it is incorrect to say, on the basis of this huge collection of information, that the persons at one place or another have a full understanding of a particular country. Two imperialist powers and their armies of lackeys went to Laos, travelled into its deep jungles and climbed its high mountains, some white colonialists "mixed with the masses" by eating ethnic meals, buying jewelry and taking "native wives"; many colonialist officials became the authors of books on Laos; yet, one after the other, both imperialist powers and their corporations had to pack up and leave, leaving behind "unfinished careers." The Chinese expansionists, in the guise of "comrades" once brought in an entire road construction army together with a fifth column that laid in "permanent ambush"; in the end, however, when their true identity was revealed, the "envoys" who prepared for their scheme of expansionism were also forced to leave.

It was not a matter of the grapes being too ripe to pick! Rather, it was a matter of the fox being driven off, being forced to leave. The Chinese expansionists might have known very much but there was one thing that they did not know, namely, the qualities and strength of those who forced them to leave!

The Great Strength of Three and One-Half Million Persons

The imperialists and the expansionists always consider ethnic minorities to be subjects to be ruled or targets of their aggression. The books, newspapers and documents of France and the United States usually describe a Laos that is sparsely populated, has a natural economy, uses rudimentary and primitive farm implements, has a low level of production and consumption, etc. There is not one document, not one research project that talks about the potential strength of a united national community, a community of love and devotion living on slightly more than 230,000 square kilometers

of land blessed by nature. When they were driven off by the people of Laos, the Beijing expansionists threatened that the nearly 1 billion Chinese living at the headwaters of the Mekong River could kill the more than 3 million people of Laos merely by urinating (later, in order to sound a little less unsanitary, they would say by "merely spitting"). This is Beijing's stick. But, the Chinese carrot also smells of big country chauvinism. If Laos were to take China's side, the entire country of Laos could be well fed and well clothed merely by means of each Chinese consuming a little less rice and cloth! After the 3.5 million people of Laos, together with the two fraternal countries on the Indochina peninsula, defeated the two imperialist powers and became a victorious people, became the total masters of their fatherland, the Beijing expansionists continued to maintain this disdainful attitude!

Revolutionaries armed with Marxism-Leninism uphold the virtue of humility but, on the other hand, clearly realize the tremendous strength and noble qualities of their nation and of fraternal nations. This is the source of the optimism and the confidence in victory that are felt even when the forces of the revolution are still small and encountering countless difficulties and challenges. At the start of the 1980's, our Lao friends have the opportunity to look back over the course they have travelled; it has been 35 years since they seized political power and began the war of resistance and one-half century since they received the light of Marxism-Leninism. Many of the comrades who travelled this historical course could not help but be surprised by the strength of their nation and the extraordinary growth of the party leading the revolution and of each revolutionary.

From a purely quantitative point of view, 3.5 million persons is not a small number. If they are conscious of the destiny and future of their nation and voluntarily unite in struggle in accordance with a correct revolutionary line, 3.5 million persons can become an invincible force. Marxism-Leninism closely links every revolutionary nation to the community of revolutionary nations in the world. The strength of these 3.5 million persons is thus multiplied many times. Realizing their own combined revolutionary strength and closely linking it to the combined revolutionary strength of our times, this is the cause and effect relationship of a correct, truly Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line. No longer theory, the victory of the Lao revolution over the past several decades, the steadfastness and confidence in victory of the people of Laos in the face of today's powerful enemies, in the face of the historic task of building and protecting the socialist fatherland are living reality, are eloquent proof that shed light on the characteristics of the new age.

Creative and Unique

To date, no research project has fully presented the creative and unique aspects of the Lao revolution. However, everyone near and far is, to some extent, aware of the fact that the long struggle and the victories of the Lao revolution possess special characteristics. Every victorious revolution contributes something special to the storehouse of experience of the world revolution. A number of documents of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and several works in the nature of summaries by General Secretary Kayson Phomvihane provide us with guidelines for gaining a deeper understanding of and admiring the creative and unique aspects of the Lao revolution.

It can be said that one of the valuable experiences of the fraternal party is that of seizing the opportunity for winning victory. Concerning the matter of seizing opportunities and the profound realities of the struggle, a struggle waged under many different forms and by many different methods, there is much that is of interest to theoreticians, journalists, historians and persons who write plays, films and textbooks in both countries.

When we have an opportunity to review history and look at that which lies around us and seem to see something new in a familiar event, it is a source of untold admiration: in Southeast Asia, while the German fascists were being defeated in the West and the Japanese fascists were surrendering in the East, there were uprisings in the countries of Indochina. In August, we in Vietnam seized political power throughout the country; in Laos, our friends staged uprisings in the capital and the provinces. In September, Vietnam issued its Declaration of Independence; in October, Laos issued its Declaration of Independence. And, the two fraternal countries, utilizing their young, small forces, waged long wars of resistance together, gradually won victory together and ultimately won final victory together.

Not only in Southeast Asia, but also among the colonial countries of the world, in general, Laos was the first country to prepare to seize the opportunity and stage an uprising, was a country that struggled bravely and won glorious victory. Examined in view of the special characteristics of Laos, this historic truth alone suggested major research projects to researchers and has made us deeply proud of the country and its fraternal people.

Recently, on the occasion of the unsuccessful coup d'etat in Thailand, many persons recalled an historic event to which it could be compared. In 1973, by signing the Paris Agreement, the U.S. imperialists accepted defeat in Indochina, thus causing their lackeys within the region to panic and fall apart; the masses were strongly inspired. In Thailand, there were spontaneous uprisings by the students and people of Bangkok to topple two reactionary field marshalls who were lackeys of the United States. The imperialists thought that the domino effect would cause the collapse of the reactionary regime in Thailand following the collapse of the lackey regimes in Indochina. However, the revolutionary opportunity was missed because the Thai Maoist party "adhered" to its guideline of "using the countryside to surround the cities" and was loyal to Beijing's line. Meanwhile, the Lao revolution moved rapidly forward, expanded the liberated zone and strengthened its revolutionary forces in the cities in order to deal the decisive blow and win total victory in concert with the final offensive thrust by Vietnam in 1975.

Pride in Their Historic Mission

One of the major crimes committed by the Beijing reactionaries has been to collaborate with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers in activities designed to sabotage the revolution in Indochina and thwart the revolutionary forces of the masses in Southeast Asia. The thrust of their effort has been directed toward opposing the revolution in the three countries of Indochina. The genocidal regime in Kampuchea, which was a product of Beijing, and the aggression on the southwestern border and the northern border of Vietnam are clear examples of this effort. In Laos,

the Beijing reactionaries have collaborated with the U.S. imperialists and the various types of lackeys within the region in many areas from military intimidation and political and ideological sabotage to economic and cultural sabotage, to preparing the conditions for fomenting rebellions, subversive activities, peaceful evolution and so forth. The struggle by the people of Laos to combat and gradually defeat the scheme of the enemy is no less arduous and fierce; however, from the outside, it appears as though no struggle is occurring at all. This struggle, although only marked by gunfire on rare occasions, is a very complex and arduous struggle that requires especially high revolutionary qualities: constant vigilance, steadfastness in the face of every challenge, the establishment of a stand concerning friends and enemies and the maintenance of a correct domestic and foreign political line in order to advance the revolution.

The Beijing reactionaries and the other enemies are constantly opposing the political line of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party. While the party has shown the people the true nature and every scheme and trick of the enemy, the enemy has been looking for every way to confuse some of the people by saying that the people of Laos have many enemies as a result of the political line of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, that if they adopted a neutral line sympathetic toward both sides, Laos would receive multilateral aid and life within the country would rapidly improve. All persons of revolutionary conscience and experience are in complete agreement with the party and are not being deceived by the enemy. The reply to the cunning argument of the enemy has been clearly stated, has become the consciousness of the entire party and all the people: for the past several decades, Laos and the fraternal countries of Indochina have manned the forward position of the socialist community in Southeast Asia and been worthy of that position; the victory of the Lao revolution and the victories of the other revolutions in Indochina have helped to weaken imperialism and strengthen the forces of revolution in the world, are a tremendous source of inspiration to progressive mankind, have changed the balance of power in Southeast Asia and are a source of direct inspiration to the peoples of the countries in this region. For this reason, it is very easy to understand why the Beijing reactionaries and other enemies were defeated in Laos and the other countries in Indochina in which they have collaborated to insanely oppose the Lao revolution. By undermining the correct political line of the Lao revolution, the enemy seeks to use the greatest pride of the peoples of the Lao ethnic minorities and deprive them of the weapon that they used to win every victory in past years and are using to win victory today.

A nation that has waged a long revolutionary struggle, won glorious victory, is close to the party that is leading it and is proud of its historic mission is steadfastly moving forward and standing shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal nations on the Indochina peninsula to win victory in the new stage of the revolution.

Vietnamese-Lao Affection Has Become a Law of Life

As the enemy has intensified the use of intimidation along the northern border of Laos and sent in commandoes to commit acts of sabotage in the South and as Thailand has closed its western border, the militant solidarity between Vietnam and Laos has become stronger than ever before. The people of the Lao ethnic minorities stood shoulder to shoulder with the people of Vietnam in the tenacious fight over the past

several decades and are maintaining and developing upon the accomplishments of the revolution in the new stage.

In the past, many Lao and Vietnamese cadres fought the French and the Americans together in the Nam Thao, Plaine de Jarres, Xieng Khouang and other campaigns; today, young troops of the two countries stand shoulder to shoulder maintaining the border. Elders in the villages have related to their children their memories of fighting the French and the Americans and say: whenever there are difficulties, Laos and Vietnam become even closer. Their leaders on the central level have also frequently said to their cadres and the people: whenever Laos encounters difficulties, Vietnam is the first country to run to provide assistance. This was true in the past and continues to be true today. Loyal affection has become a law in the lives of the two fraternal nations!

The enemy is making every effort to undermine the solidarity of the fraternal countries on the Indochina peninsula and undermine the special relationship between Vietnam and Laos by means of many sophisticated and cunning forms and tricks. However, the two fraternal parties, the two fraternal nations, which have experienced challenges in the history of their uniting in struggle against the common enemy, have constantly displayed high revolutionary vigilance. The comrades in Laos have referred to the scheme of the enemy in the following way: the enemy is trying to break one chopstick in the middle of a bundle of chopsticks, to cut one old tree, one young tree in the middle of an entire forest. Our comrades and compatriots in Vietnam, imbued with the thinking of our party, constantly remind one another to maintain the fraternal affection between Vietnam and Laos as though it were the apple of our eye. The loyal and special affection between the two fraternal countries, whose destinies are closely linked together, is being strengthened by both sides, shall endure forever like the Truong Son Mountain Range and is being expressed in revolutionary actions, in practical work being performed within the militant alliance and the comprehensive cooperation between Vietnam and Laos.

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INDIA: AN IMPORTANT FACTOR OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN ASIA AND THE WORLD

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 81 pp 65-70

[Article by Luu Quy Ky]

[Text] More than 30 years ago, India, which was writhing under the yoke of domination of British imperialism and French colonialism, presented a harsh picture to the world: the Ganges River was a river of tragedy and India was a poor country in which millions of persons were the victims of floods, drought and disease each year. At the end of the last century, many patriots and revolutionaries often repeated a saying filled with meaning: when the British colonialists stepped foot in India, the bright white fields of flowers (of cotton plants) turned the color of dried bones. And, they predicted: India would be one of the first places to launch a revolutionary movement against imperialism because the law "wherever there is oppression, there is struggle" is a law of the development of the history of all nations!

In August 1947, after many centuries of struggling against the feudal and colonialist regimes, India won its independence and freedom. As Asia underwent fundamental changes following the victory of the Soviet Red Army in routing the Japanese fascists in Manchuria, independent India made rather rapid progress in its effort to build the country in peace time. Today, India is a large country, a country that occupies an important position in the world arena, especially in Asia and among the non-aligned countries, and is making positive contributions to the cause of peace and the friendship of nations in the world.

A Crucible of Mankind Becomes A Country with the Stature of a Continent

As a nation state, India was formed long ago. The banks of the Ganges River, which is called the mother of India's rivers and which has its origin in the snow covered Himalayan Mountains, were one of the crucibles of mankind and one of the first areas to be settled in the large country of India of today.

Today, India consists of 22 states and 9 subordinate territories, measures more than 3 million square kilometers (nearly 10 times the size of our country), has a population of roughly 700 million (13 times the size of our country's population), and is the second most densely populated country in the world. (It has been estimated that its population will reach 1 billion by the start of the 21st

Century). Due to its size and population, India has the stature of a continent, consequently, many persons call it the "Indian subcontinent."

Geographically, India lies in South Asia and faces the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean; to the north, it shares a common border with Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bangladesh and Burma; in the center of the country are the important home ports on aviation and maritime routes from the west to the east and vice versa, such as Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and so forth; to the south lies the Indian Ocean.

As regards humanity, India is one of the richest and most diverse countries in the world. In addition to Hindu, the main race (which is of Aryan origin), hundreds of other races swept into India in the several thousand year history of foreign aggression, including the Kushans, Mongols, Phoenicians, Pathans, Greeks, Romans, Persians, Monguls, Anglo-Saxons, Arabs, Chinese, French and so forth. Some 844 different languages are spoken in India, 15 of which are considered official languages and 47 of which are spoken by 100,000 persons or more. Because so many different languages are spoken, the people of India use English as the universal language for trade.

More than 3,000 years ago, this subcontinent was the point of convergence of many civilizations, religions and cultures. The first book of mankind--The Vedas--was written in India.

It is difficult to determine exactly how many religions, philosophies, lifestyles and styles of temples there are in India. The major religions are: the Hindu religion, Buddhism, the Moslem religion, Jainism, Sikhism and Kitoism, each of which has its own place of worship; their temples, shrines and churches blend with one another in the villages and cities.

Thousands of years ago, religious philosophers in India introduced man's consciousness to the three sacred gods: Brahma (the Creator), Vishnu (the Preserver) and Shiva (the Destroyer). On the basis of these three gods, three different social forces can be distinguished: progressive, backward and reactionary. This has become a source of endless inspiration to philosophy and art in India.

In every locality of India, one can see unparalleled architecture, sculptures and paintings; interesting dances and songs and poems of many different forms that deal in depth with thinking; a colorful and unique style of dress and so forth. All of these are the heritage of a past that is 5,000 to 6,000 years old, a heritage in which fraternity, love and a fondness for art have deeply permeated each family, each working person.

In view of the tremendous importance of its geographical position and population, its important strategic position, its long standing spiritual and cultural values and its working people filled with creativity, the Republic of India is a great nation, one to which the peoples and governments of the countries of the world and our country attach very much importance.

A Poor, Backward Agricultural Country Becomes a Developing Industrial Country

The image of a poor, starving and disgraced India under the yoke of feudal and colonial domination is gradually being erased. Only in independence and freedom have the people of India had the conditions needed to build and develop the country. It was Jawaharlal Nehru who, when he became prime minister of the Republic of India, discovered the characteristics and the tremendous capabilities and potentials of his fatherland, which he recorded in his famous work: "The Discovery of India." And, citing the "need for an independent, autonomous economy," he set forth a plan for overcoming economic backwardness on the basis of "nationalization, planning, industrialization..."

After more than 30 years of freedom from the domination of colonialists and feudalists and building the country in peace, the Republic of India has undergone significant changes. By using the old base left behind by the British colonialists, developing its rich natural resources, utilizing the strengths of its tropical and temperate climate and tapping the spirit of diligent and creative labor of its people, India has recorded tremendous achievements.

According to data published by the Statistical Center of the government of India in 1980, agriculture has developed rather rapidly. Between 1960 and 1979, the amount of area under cultivation increased from 133 million to 144 million hectares; cereal output increased from 82 million to 131 million tons (prior to 1947, cereal output was 50 million tons per year); the number of villages served by electricity increased from 22,000 to 233,000 and the percentage of the country served by electricity now exceeds 60 percent.

Industry has experienced extraordinary development. Whereas the index of industrial output was 55 in 1960, it increased to 100 in 1970 and 150 in 1979. Thus, compared to 20 years ago, India's industry has increased by nearly 300 percent and agriculture has increased 50 percent.

The output of a number of important sectors has increased significantly. Between 1960 and 1980, coal output increased from 56 million to 114 million tons, petroleum output increased from 0.45 million to 12 million tons, cement output increased from 8 million to 19.5 million tons and so forth.

India has made major efforts to develop its communications and transportation: it now has 61,000 kilometers of railroad, 11,000 locomotives and more than 500,000 railway cars. Over the past 20 years, India has increased the size of its road network nearly three-fold. In particular, agencies and enterprises as well as private individuals use automobiles produced by India. India has also begun to manufacture aircraft and is capable of building ocean and coastal ships of the 10,000 ton class.

Many large cities, such as Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and so forth, are clearly industrial centers. Not long ago, India only exported agricultural products such as tea, jute, cotton fiber, spices and so forth; today, it sends to the world market more than 3,000 industrial products. The development of culture, education, public health, physical culture and sports has also been unique in certain respects. One point deserving of

attention is that the total number of artistic films produced by India each year exceeds the number produced by the United States.

India has recorded its first achievements in the research of nuclear energy and outer space as well as in the fields of medical science, biology and so forth (India has seven satellites in outer space and is cooperating with the Soviet Union in preparation for sending humans into outer space).

Together with the development of industry, the bourgeoisie has grown; the working class has constantly grown in size and its quality has constantly improved.

However, there is still much that India must do. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has observed: because the country is so large and because of the very severe poverty left behind by the old system, India cannot be considered to have won even half the battle!(that is, not completed one-half of the building of the country). This is easily understood: how could India, in only a little more than 30 years of independence, complete the extremely large and difficult historic tasks of supplying food, providing health care, building housing and schools, providing jobs and meeting the material and cultural needs of nearly 700 million people? This is a major challenge, "an extraordinary task," as emphasized by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, one which India is focusing its efforts on performing.

The Homeland of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

Even before India became independent, Jawaharlal Nehru, the great leader of India, participated in international activities to unite with the peoples of Asia and Africa and struggle with them against imperialism and colonialism. Today, India still resolutely denounces the U.S. imperialists for strengthening its military bases in the Indian Ocean, especially on the island of Diego Garcia, considering it to be "a direct threat to the coastal states and the hinterland of India."

As soon as it was born, the infant Republic of India made contributions to peace and friendship among nations. In the 1950's, while the peoples of many countries were making every effort to heal the wounds of World War II, the U.S. imperialists, with an atomic bomb in one hand and the "Marshall Economic Aid Plan" in the other, insanely launched a cold war and make preparations for a hot war. At the time, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries set forth a peaceful foreign policy, exposed the bellicose scheme of the imperialists and established and expanded the world peace movement. Against this background, the proclamation by former Prime Minister Nehru in New Delhi of the five principles of peaceful coexistence was an event of historic significance. These five principles formed the basis for the 10 principles of the Conference of Asian and African Countries held in Bandung in 1955. The Indian government made an important contribution to the Bandung conference and the conference was considered the foundation of the present day movement of non-aligned countries.

The government of India headed by former Prime Minister Nehru was one of the first governments in the world to implement a policy of non-alignment and a policy of not joining the aggressive military blocs established by the imperialists and

colonialists. Indira Gandhi, who has continued the undertaking of former Prime Minister Nehru, has also directed the efforts of the government headed by her toward the struggle to maintain the movement of the non-aligned countries in exact accordance with the goals initially adopted by it. (This was further proven at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries held in New Delhi early in 1981).

Deserving of attention is the fact that, due to the historic circumstances of the country, the leaders of India quickly recognized Beijing expansionism and the global reactionary strategy of China. At a meeting of Indian intellectuals and diplomats to discuss India's policy regarding China, which was held in the capital New Delhi on 9 August 1980, Mr. K.R. Naryanan, the former Indian ambassador to China and assistant dean of Nehru University, repeated the words spoken by Prime Minister Nehru in 1963 concerning China's military attack against India in late 1959: "China's true goal is to force India to accept a political solution that will bring India's policy within the orb of the global policy of China. If this does not happen, China will exert all of the pressure it can upon the Indian government and create internal confusion within India because China considers India to be the main obstacle in their plan to rule all of Asia."

India was also the victim of the "punitive expeditions" launched by China, which many Indian intellectuals derisively call the "pedagogical war."(*) In a book entitled "India's Foreign Policy"(**)(the author of which was a former foreign minister of India), it states: "...Following the 1962 war, a foreign minister reported to me that the supreme leader of China sent word to him that 'if the Indians do not learn their lesson'(the lesson being 'taught' to India by China), China will teach them some more, teach them forever."

Having endured the suffering of wars of aggression and today being pressured by the imperialists from the Indian Ocean, the Beijing expansionists from the North and the reactionary powers in Pakistan and Bangladesh, the people of India have a very deep love of peace and desire to live in peace so that they can build their country. Expressing this legitimate aspiration, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said: "...The common trend of the world is the trend toward peace. The task of India and of all peace loving countries is to struggle to reduce tensions, find solutions to limited wars and prevent a new global conflict."

Following a foreign policy that supports peace and friendship among nations, the Republic of India naturally has good relations and increasingly broad economic cooperation with the peace loving countries that are determined to safeguard peace, including the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the progressive democratic countries.

In view of its large stature, abundant potentials, large population, important strategic position and positive foreign policy, the great Republic of India is an important factor contributing to the establishment of peace, stability and friendship in Asia, in particular, and the world, in general.

The Long Path of Indian-Vietnamese Friendship

The peoples of the two countries of Vietnam and India have long enjoyed a beautiful and stable friendship.

More than 2,000 years ago, after Buddha meditated at the foot of the Bo tree at the Hang Temple west of Calcutta, many Indian monks spread the religion to the countries of Southeast Asia, including the three countries of Indochina. Buddhism, with its doctrine of "mercy, fraternity and not injuring any living creature" and its thinking concerning "cause and effect," was accepted by our people in a creative manner consistent with the style and soul of the nation of Vietnam and were transformed into "love others as you love yourself," "the inhabitants of a country must love one another" and "there is goodness in kindness, evil in violence," which are part of the ethics of our nation.

Later, many Indian laborers migrated to our country to live and work. For a long time, Vietnamese of Indian origin or overseas Indians have lived in harmony with our people.

At the start of this century, when the peoples of the colonial, semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries and the dependent countries began to become enlightened and search for a course of national salvation, the leaders of Vietnam and India met and acted together for the sake of the independence movement of the peoples of the countries of Asia and Africa. The main feature of this relationship was the great friendship between President Ho Chi Minh and the three generations of comrades-in-arms who carried on Nehru's undertaking and led India down the path of struggling for independence and building the country. Concerning the visit made by herself and her father, Prime Minister Nehru, to Vietnam in 1954, Indira has said: "To my father, it renewed the friendship with President Ho Chi Minh that was started in 1926; to myself, it was a trip that left me with deep impressions..."

In the 1950's, India was the first country to recognize the Democratic Republic of Vietnam after the socialist countries and fulfilled its international obligation on the International Commission to Inspect and Supervise the Implementation of the Geneva Accords on Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, the head of the government, visited Hanoi for the first time shortly after North Vietnam was liberated following the victory of Dien Bien Phu.

While our people were waging the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, the movement against U.S. aggression in Vietnam among the people of India was very intense. India also recognized and established diplomatic relations with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

When our country was attacked by the Beijing expansionists, India was one of the places that strongly voiced the sentiment "hands off Vietnam!" and was one of the countries that provided us with valuable economic, scientific and technical cooperation and assistance.

The Indian government's early recognition of the Kampuchean Revolutionary government headed by President Heng Samrin was of major importance and significance, not only to the people of Kampuchea, but to the peoples of Vietnam and Laos as well.

The policy of the Indian government toward South Asia and Southeast Asia also conforms with reason and sentiment, expresses respect for independence, peace and stability within the region and opposes the intervention, aggression and expansionism of great nation hegemony: "It is our hope that the countries of South Asia and Southeast Asia resolve the problems they have with one another through negotiation." This policy has been welcomed by the people of Vietnam as well as the peoples of many other countries.

The friendship between the two peoples of India and Vietnam is a long, stable and constantly growing friendship. The basis of this friendship, as observed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, is that "the people of India feel many good sentiments and admiration for the people of Vietnam. We strongly supported the struggle of the Vietnamese for independence, freedom and the reunification of their country... The visit to India by Premier Pham Van Dong in 1980 strengthened the sincere and friendly ties between our two countries... I hope that our two countries will always stand shoulder to shoulder in the cause of peace and international friendship."

The words spoken by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi reflect the sentiments and aspirations of the people of India. In all of the states of India, we can hear a rather universal opinion being expressed:

"Vietnam is not simply the name of a country. Vietnam has become an adjective that awakens the deepest emotions in everyone who desires independence and freedom, who admires unparalleled bravery, in everyone who loves his country, loves the truth and protects the dignity of man. Vietnam has experienced the greatest of challenges and defeated the aggression of the largest and most cruel enemies. This should be a good lesson to persons who harbor sinister schemes. Regrettably, there are still those who have not gained experience..."(1)

The beautiful sentiments of the peoples and the foreign policies of the two governments are the basis of the firm friendship between India and Vietnam. This friendship, which has been challenged, can only become more beautiful with each passing day.

FOOTNOTES

* Guerre pedagogique.

** Xomalia PVT Limited Publishing House, Bombay-New Delhi, 1979.

1. All passages in quotation marks in this article are excerpts from an interview that the author had with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on 9 April 1981 in New Delhi.

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