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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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NEW STEPS IN THE COOPERATIVIZATION MOVEMENT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese Nov 81 pp 1-5

[Article by Pham Van Dong. Capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The implementation of the new contractual system in agricultural cooperatives has had a positive effect on promoting the development of production and has yielded encouraging results in the last 5th-month spring crop season. Facts have shown that the new contractual system marks a new developmental step in the cooperativization movement that is closely linked to the development of agricultural production in our country.

1. THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL MEANING AND IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESENT CONTRACTUAL MOVEMENT

Recently, the new contractual movement has developed very quickly and broadly, mobilizing millions of peasants to engage enthusiastically in production. They have worked in an interested, voluntary and self-conscious manner in a spirit of real mastery and with a seething impetus. This is a mass revolutionary movement in agricultural production.

We should continue to study and discover new ways to further enrich this revolutionary campaign theoretically and practically. As Lenin said: The revolution is a festival and an undertaking of the masses. Its effect is described by Karl Marx as follows: Once great concepts have impregnated broad segments of the masses, they will generate a great invincible material force. We must adopt a proper attitude to direct this seething revolutionary movement which is taking place in all the rural areas of our country. The general public expects the new contractual movement in agricultural cooperatives to manifest the socialist revolution in the countryside. It is vitally significant in both the short and long terms. It is closely linked with the entire process of advancing toward improving the management and organization of cooperatives and perfecting the socialist production relations in the countryside; contributes to the development of agricultural production; and is inseparable from the socialist revolutionary cause of our entire country.

The new contract movement has raised many new problems with respect to the management and organization of cooperatives, to specialized and intensive cultivation, to technical equipment and to the material and technical bases of cooperatives. These are problems which we must be aware of and must urgently resolve as demanded by the people.

At the same time, we must pay the utmost attention to overcoming the unavoidable errors and shortcomings as well as the difficulties and complexities facing a movement that is developing at a fast rate and on a large scale in different regions of the country (including those localities where agricultural cooperativization is being carried out along with the development of agricultural production). We must face the fact that the new contractual system has been implemented improperly, poorly and even erroneously in some localities, having some adverse effects. We must promptly detect these shortcomings and errors and help the units involved overcome them, permitting all localities and cooperatives to advance firmly in the right direction.

We can clearly see that the new contract movement in agricultural cooperatives is of profound significance in several aspects. We should pay attention to two issues related to this contract movement.

First, as stated above, this movement requires that we resolve the problems concerning the management and organization of cooperatives, and problems concerning technical equipment and the material and technical bases of cooperatives. These are problems related to the three revolutions: The revolution in production relations, which is closely connected with the development of productive forces; the ideological and cultural revolution which cannot be belittled; and the scientific and technical revolution, the key of the three revolutions. We must clearly see and clarify this matter in order to enrich the theoretical and practical aspects of this new contract movement in agriculture.

Second, the new contract movement in agriculture is linked to a very important policy of our party to implement the socialist collective mastery of the laboring people. Facts have shown that wherever the new contractual system is implemented well, the socialist collective mastery of the laboring people there is gradually manifested and the masses are liberated from "ties" and restrictions in order to truly exercise their mastery over production and distribution. It must be stressed here that mastery means socialist collective mastery. Some comrades, nevertheless, are still worried that the conclusion of contracts with individual workers would risk leading the movement toward individualism. In a socialist society and in the present movement of agricultural cooperativization in our country -- especially in the north where cooperativization has been implemented for several years now -- collectives and individuals have closely cooperated with each other to grow at the same time. Collectives here do not mean many individuals but are the sum total of socialist men. Uncle Ho once taught us: There must be socialist men before socialism can be built.

If the movement for contracts with groups of workers and individual workers in agricultural cooperatives is led, guided and administered well, it will certainly give rise to a countless number of socialist men who are attached to our beautiful socialist collectives and regime. In the process of building socialism to advance toward communism, individual development is a condition for collective development. We are not worried at all about the surge forward and growth and the heightening standard of comprehensive knowledge of people living under a socialist regime. On the contrary, this is what we want and think of day and night with a view to creating the necessary favorable conditions for such a development.

In this spirit, the new contractual system in agricultural cooperatives must be considered the initial stage of a revolutionary course which leads to the improvement, development and perfection of production relations and productive forces. These are very necessary to our socialist construction.

2. DISTRICT AREAS

It is a policy of strategic significance to make districts the vital areas in which our party and state can build cooperatives and accelerate agricultural production.

It is vital for us to build districts into areas where the production, distribution and circulation of grain, foodstuffs and certain types of consumer goods under district management will be implemented. This is to enable districts to satisfy to the highest degree possible the needs of the local people of various strata. For us, this is the most rational economic process to be implemented immediately and on a long-term basis. In this spirit, we must regulate distribution and circulation on a provincial scale. Additionally, districts must fulfill their obligations toward the state vis-a-vis the quotas of goods, especially grain and foodstuffs. This inevitable contributory duty should not be treated lightly. Only through these activities can districts gradually guarantee and improve the well-being of their people. It should be noted that only when districts fulfill their obligations more satisfactorily toward the state can the latter provide grain and foodstuffs more satisfactorily for the people in various cities and especially for cadres, workers, soldiers and their dependents. By satisfactorily carrying out these tasks, we will be able to build a stable economy and life. This will enable us to concentrate on accomplishing many essential tasks in our cause of achieving socialist industrialization and defending the socialist fatherland.

For its part, the state must provide districts with those means of production and those consumer goods which the cooperatives and people in these districts need in accordance with those policies now in force, including the policy on two-way exchange of goods. At present, we are still experiencing a shortage of goods and the related management is still not good enough. The implementation of two-way contracts is therefore still unsatisfactory. We, especially those responsible sectors at the central level, must strive our utmost to give more attention to the two-way exchange of goods in order to boost agricultural and industrial production. Both agricultural and industrial production must be directed toward serving the people's livelihood. To achieve a combination of agricultural and industrial production is precisely to achieve worker-peasant cooperation in the political and economic fields.

All of these matters have been discussed among us several times in detail. When asked about this, however, those comrades at the provincial level and especially at the district level appear to know nothing. I do not know if this is a result of their lack of knowledge or of their reluctance in its implementation. Why don't the responsible cadres in various districts -- the areas known by everyone to be very important -- boldly take responsibility for activities concerning production, distribution and circulation in their districts? Those comrades at the central level also do not have a clearly defined concept and are indecisive in providing technical equipment for districts.

They are unaware that districts are regarded as centers where technical equipment will be provided to agriculture and where technical and managerial cadres will be sent in accordance with the unified state plan. Altogether our country has approximately 400 districts. We must search for a way to classify districts according to (their sizes and) various factors in order to determine an economic and technical plan for them, to build material and technical bases for them, to give them technical equipment, and to provide cadres -- technical and managerial cadres -- for them. In summation, it is imperative that all the sectors at the central level and all the provinces must regard districts as centers where technical equipment will be provided for agriculture. They must regard building material and technical bases for districts as building material and technical bases for agricultural production cooperatives in order to gradually establish an agroindustrial economic structure in districts with realistic results.

3. BUILD NEW SOCIALIST RURAL AREAS

The practice of a product-contract system in agricultural cooperatives and the building of districts and new socialist rural areas are closely related. For some decades now, the north has been building new socialist rural areas. At present, this is being carried out on a national scale. The results obtained in building the northern rural areas economically, culturally and socially and in terms of a new type of men are very encouraging. These results are the flowers of our country's socialism. They eloquently testify to the fine objective of our party and state, which is to build a bountiful, happy and healthy life for the people at a time when the national economy has not fully developed and when the production force is not yet strong enough. Foreigners who visit our cooperativized countryside have expressed surprise and admiration at the new population centers, housing areas, schools and public health centers, and so forth. All the tasks that we have performed to implement the new contractual system in agriculture and to build districts and new socialist rural areas are closely connected with one another. It is necessary that we kill two birds with one stone. Moreover, these are theoretical and practical matters worthy of our attention. All comrades of agricultural and economic sectors and of the party and state agencies either at the central or local level are dutybound to participate in this revolutionary cause. Those who conduct research in the natural and social sciences, work for the press or perform in the cultural and artistic fields must contribute to this great revolution that is taking place daily in front of our eyes. If all of us concentrate properly on accelerating this revolution, we will certainly make valuable developmental steps in the revolution. These steps will be more valuable than ever before because we are encountering a host of difficulties in our economy and livelihood. By accelerating the new contract movement properly, while at the same time striving to gradually resolve all the problems arising from the movement, we will make an important step toward developing agricultural production and building districts and the new socialist countryside which constitutes an area of stable support for the SRV in its building and defending socialism and a valuable mainstay in the socialist industrialization of our country.

4. REDISTRIBUTION OF THE WORK FORCE ON A NATIONAL SCALE

Manpower is the most valuable asset to every socialist country. Rationally redistributing the work force on a national scale in order to exploit land, jungles, seas and other natural resources of the country to the fullest is a demand in our fundamental strategy to develop vigorously and steadily the agricultural sector and some other economic sectors.

In the current situation of our country, we must gradually reduce the overconcentration of people in the Red River Delta where the land area is very small, and must redistribute the work force to those sparsely-populated areas where the land is vast and fertile and where there are conditions to expand the areas under cultivation. Ha Nam Ninh is a case in point where there is an annual population increase of 10,000 people or so. Responsible comrades over there have sent many people to build new economic zones. The number of people who have been sent, however, is very small compared with the rate of population growth. What has happened in this province -- as well as in other overpopulated provinces in the Red River Delta where land is scarce -- will further worsen the country's irrational distribution of population and labor and the waste of manpower and land. Therefore, along with maintaining a rational rate of population growth through the practice of family planning, we must attach great importance to the redistribution of the population on a national scale. Under a socialist regime, an intelligent, brave and creative people as us will never allow the irrational distribution of population and manpower to be prolonged. We must be very strict with this problem. All the leadership and authoritative organs at the central level must urgently and seriously study this problem while preparing plans for the next 5 and 10 years.

This is a great, difficult and complex task which requires determination, perseverance and great efforts in terms of organization, management, leadership and investment. In other words, it requires the adoption of uniform and effective measures. We should select several provinces and districts as places from or to which people will be sent. In accordance with the "state and people work together" spirit, the state must do its utmost to contribute to the redistribution of the work force on a national scale while the people in those localities involved in the sending and receiving of people must make active contributions regarding this task.

This is a strategic arrangement beneficial to the economic, social, defense and security domains which must be implemented immediately and on a long-term basis. It could be a permanent arrangement applicable to the younger generations of the Vietnamese people for their comfortable and happy lives forever.

Even one of us -- comrades from the central agencies to comrades of provincial, district and cooperative levels or those who are carrying out tasks relating to cooperatives, agriculture, districts, rural areas and those who work in the fields of information, press, literature and art -- must realize that it is our duty to contribute to this important revolutionary movement. At the same time, we must not overlook our mistakes, shortcomings, unsatisfactory work and failures in the movement. We must maintain a high degree of vigilance against these deviations. Reality has proven that mistakes and shortcomings -- sometimes serious -- cannot be avoided in a broad mass movement which develops quickly. As a result, we must watch for and promptly discover all shortcomings and deviations and then overcome them. Our party requires us to hold discussions to achieve unanimity and acquire a united impetus and action from all echelons. This will give strength to the implementation of party lines.

The V.P. Central Committee and the government want us to make our utmost efforts to contribute positively to the present revolutionary movement in the rural areas. We must follow, gradually evaluate and summarize the activities of this movement in order to acknowledge at the proper time all achievements for the public and, at the same time, discover deviations for prompt action.

That's what the situation is! That's what the problem is! Let us strive to fulfill our responsibilities!

THE MAKING OF LAWS DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION IN VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 61 pp 6-10

[Article by Professor Nguyen Ngoc Minh]

[Text] The 7th Legislature of the National Assembly recently elected by our people has the task of fully developing the role played by the highest state executive agency of the people in the effort to strengthen and perfect the system of collective ownership, implement the new Constitution and establishing a system of laws in order to concretize the Constitution.

At the first session of the 7th Legislature of the National Assembly, General Secretary Le Duan, on behalf of our party, said:

"Strengthening the socialist system of law is a pressing requirement in increasing the management effectiveness of the state, upholding the right of collective ownership of the people and fulfilling the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This requires that we urgently build, supplement and gradually perfect our state's system of law, especially the system of economic law, to insure that the implementation of the basic tasks that have been set forth is supported well."(1)

Making laws for the country is large-scale work that encompasses many fields of activity in the realms of both theory and practice. It is based on the needs of the revolution in each stage of history, reflects the nature of the party and the class, is of a high scientific nature and, at the same time, reflects the national traditions of Vietnam. Only by making laws is it possible to meet the needs of building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland.

Our legislative work is being carried out under conditions in which our country is advancing from an economy in which small-scale production predominates to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. In addition, our country only recently won total independence. The entire country has been in the period of transition for slightly more than 6 years. Therefore, the transition to socialism in Vietnam involves special difficulties and the tasks of transformation and building are more complex. These tremendous difficulties and these new factors have greatly influenced the work of making unified and socialist laws.

As regards the state, Marxism-Leninism and the realities of the world revolution have long confirmed that in the period of transition to socialism, the state can and must be a dictatorship of the proletariat state.

In essence, the states of the socialist countries are the same; therefore, the laws of these countries lies within the category of proletarian laws. However, due to different historic circumstances, the dictatorship of the proletariat state in each country has its own special characteristics. These characteristics are also manifested in the making of laws within each country during the period of transition.

In many countries that have been following the socialist path, a foremost task of the dictatorship of the proletariat state is to wipe out the remnants of capitalism. In Vietnam, although the bourgeoisie is not a large class, the compradore bourgeoisie are very reactionary. In the South, as a result of living for 2 decades under the neo-colonialist system of the United States--an extremely reactionary and bellicose system--the Vietnamese compradore bourgeoisie became closely linked to the war machine and the extremely barbarous methods of exploitation of the American capitalists and it itself was extremely cruel. Therefore, the dictatorship of the proletariat state in Vietnam must be strong enough to annihilate this class.

In Vietnam, the non-socialist factors developed from private, small-scale production. The Vietnam dictatorship of the proletariat state must turn these non-socialist factors into socialist factors. The methods employed cannot be the same as those employed against the bourgeoisie, rather, it requires steadfast persuasion and no less determination.

Another very important characteristic that we have not fully analyzed in the recent past is that in those countries that have experienced the stage of capitalist development, the working class, as Lenin pointed out, can utilize its inherent sense of organization and discipline within the system of large-scale production; at the same time, it can make use of the scientific and technical achievements recorded by capitalism. In these countries, the strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat lies in the sense of organization and discipline of the large class of manual workers created by large-scale industry; moreover, the working class in these countries has widespread conditions for making use of the cultural, scientific and technological achievements of capitalism.

In Vietnam, because we have not experienced the stage of capitalist development, the sense of organization and discipline of society is still very weak; moreover, the cultural, scientific and technological achievements of the old society were not significant. In advancing from an economy that is characterized primarily by small-scale production, our workers have yet to develop the sense of organization and discipline and are unaccustomed to the disciplined lifestyle of heavy industry. And, cultivating these habits involves more than a few difficulties.

Toppling the old ruling class was something that we could do rapidly with a high degree of revolutionary spirit. As Lenin said, we were able to do this "by means of the momentum of revolution." However, building is a long-range process requiring steadfast determination.

For the purpose of suppression, strength lies in revolutionary violence. There is strength in the armed forces, in the organs of dictatorship, in the law enforcement apparatus and in the awareness of the masses who are conscious of their right of ownership.

economy has no roots in the old society. Within the overall system of law of the entire country, the system of legal law occupies an especially important position. The resolution of the 4th Party Congress and many resolutions of the Party Central Committee have stressed this point. Over the past several years, when delving into the work of building the socialist economy, we have been increasingly hampered by the lack of a system of economic law.

Fourthly, we must draft laws for combating negative phenomena. A universal situation during the period of transition is the existence of many negative phenomena: they have their origins in the old society and have developed and, in particular, become complex as a result of our lack of management experience.

In Vietnam, capitalism did not reach a high stage of development but the comprador bourgeoisie is very reactionary. Together with the ills left behind by the neo-colonialist system of the Americans and the puppets in the South, the decadent tricks of the bourgeoisie and imperialists are very numerous: profiteering, hoarding, smuggling, fraud, disruption of the market, the manufacture of fake goods, etc. Misappropriation, the theft of socialist property and the theft of property belonging to citizens are also rather widespread.

There are also more than a few remnants of the feudal mode of production: conservatism, selfishness, narrowmindedness and a desire for special rights and privileges.

However, even more persistent, even more difficult to transform are the rudiments that give rise to new negative phenomena, which might be the result of the adverse influence of small-scale production. These are petty ways of thinking, the habit of doing as one sees fit, the lack of organization and discipline, anarchy, seeking personal gain and turning public property into private property.

The development of these negative phenomena in recent years within our country has been the combined result of many factors added together.

On this basis, we realize even more that a law against negative phenomena must occupy a suitable position within our system of law. This law will be an effective weapon whereby we can struggle against negative phenomena and gradually eradicate or limit them to the lowest possible level.

Of course, we must also have laws pertaining to national defense, security and socialist construction in the fields of ideology, culture and society, which every socialist country must have.

However, due to the special circumstances of Vietnam, circumstances in which we are at peace but face the possible outbreak of a war and in which the Beijing expansionists and the U.S. imperialists together with the international reactionary powers are pursuing sinister schemes against Vietnam, against the socialist countries, it is even more necessary for us to show special concern for drafting laws on national defense, security and fighting the reactionary and decadent culture.

In our age, the drafting of laws has become a science. The laws of our state must highly reflect the nature of the party and be highly scientific in nature. These two aspects do not contradict each other in any way, rather, they are very closely united.

The line of the party is the soul of the law. All five of the types of laws that we draft must thoroughly reflect the line and viewpoints of the party. If we stray from this line, the law will lose its direction.

Moreover, laws must also reflect the characteristics of the nation. Because, the law is closely linked to society, to man, to the way of thinking, to the lifestyle of a nation. To build the new, the progressive and combat the reactionary and the backward, we must do so on the basis of Vietnamese society, Vietnamese man.

Thoroughly imbued with the line and viewpoints of the party, with a firm grasp of the science of law, with a firm grasp of the characteristics of Vietnamese society, Vietnamese man and by examining the experiences of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, we will surely gradually establish a system of law that meets the requirements of our country's revolution in this new stage.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Tat ca vi To quoc xa hoi chu nghia, vi hanh phuc cua nhan dan," [Everything for the Socialist Fatherland, for the Happiness of the People], COMMUNIST REVIEW, No 7-1981, p 16.

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'THE COLLECTED WORKS OF LENIN' --A PRICELESS STOREHOUSE OF THOUGHTS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 81 pp 11-16

[Article by Pham Thanh]

[Text] The publication of "The Collected Works of Lenin," 55 volumes, in Vietnamese has been completed.

This is a major cooperative project between the Soviet Union and Vietnam in the field of publishing, a project carried out by the Su That Publishing House of Vietnam and the Progress Publishing House of the Soviet Union in accordance with an agreement signed by the governments of Vietnam and the Soviet Union on 27 October 1971. It is also a very valuable gift from the communist party, government and people of the Soviet Union to our party, government and people.

To date, "The Collected Works of Lenin" have been published five times in Russian in the Soviet Union. They were first published in 20 volumes (26 books) consisting of 1,500 works by Lenin between 1920 and 1926. Between 1925 and 1932, they were published for the second and third times, consisting of 30 volumes containing 2,700 works. In 1941 and between 1946 and 1950, they were published for the fourth time, consisting of 35 volumes containing 2,927 works and two research volumes; later, 10 additional volumes were added. "The Collected Works of Lenin" were published for the fifth time in many different phases and consisted of 55 volumes containing 3,000 documents and two research volumes.

In Vietnam, between 1961 and 1971, we published "The Collected Works of Lenin," which consisted of 35 volumes translated from the fourth publication by the Soviet Union. Beginning in 1972, in keeping with the agreement signed by the government of Vietnam and the Soviet government, Vietnam assumed responsibility for translating into Vietnamese the 55 volumes of "The Collected Works of Lenin"; the Soviet Union assumed printing responsibilities. The publishing plan implemented by the publishing agencies of Vietnam and the Soviet Union was completed 4 months early, thereby recording an achievement to celebrate Vietnam's 36th National Day and the 5th Congress of the VCP.

The 55 volume "Collected Works of Lenin" is the fullest collection of Lenin's work published to date. It is a priceless storehouse of thoughts. It can be called "a

miraculous brochure" in which the communists of all countries can find answers in the nature of principles, truly scientific answers to the basic questions facing them, find a compass for their actions.

"The Collected Works of Lenin" introduced to us the entire theory of Leninism, that is, of Marxism in the age of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, in the age of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. As a result of this theory, Marxism underwent a major stage of development and became Marxism-Leninism.

This valuable collection of books shows us clearly and fully how Lenin developed all three constituent components of Marxism: philosophy, political economics and scientific socialism. At the same time, the collection also shows that Lenin set forth many theoretical viewpoints that laid the foundation for the other fields of socialist science, such as economic and social management, sociology, party building... On the basis of summarizing the practical experiences in socialist construction in the Soviet Union during the initial period, "The Collected Works of Lenin" reflect the entirety of the extremely profound and comprehensive activities, the brilliant innovations and the tremendous contributions of Lenin in all fields of theory and practice.

Through this storehouse of theory and experience, "The Collected Works of Lenin" provide to we communists an effective weapon in the great revolution to seize political power, build socialism and communism and bring mankind from the "realm of the inevitable" into the "realm of freedom" forever.

Educated and forged by the revered Ho Chi Minh, the communists of Vietnam creatively applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning continuous revolution in two organically linked stages, the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, on revolutionary violence and on armed uprisings and, as a result, advanced the Vietnamese revolution to a victory of profound historic and epochal significance.

As is the case with the revolutionary principles of Lenin concerning the stage in which the proletariat has yet to seize political power, the Leninist principles on the socialist revolution are of universal significance, not peculiar to Russia, as the various enemies of Marxism-Leninism still proclaim. Rejecting the arguments that deny the universal significance of the experiences of the Russian revolution, Lenin said: "Today, we have before us a very profound international experience which clearly proves that a number of the basic characteristics of our revolution are not only of local significance, of special, national significance or of significance for Russia, but of international significance." And, in order to avoid all misunderstanding, Lenin emphasized that this "international significance" was to be taken "in the most narrow meaning of the term," that is, as "meaning the events that have occurred within our country are of international value or are in the nature of historic inevitabilities that will reoccur on an international scale and must be recognized as a number of basic characteristics of our country's revolution that are of international significance"(Collected Works, Volume 41, p 3).

Following the October Revolution, on the basis of his new understanding of the new stage of the revolution, Lenin delved deeply into the realities of the socialist

revolution in order to gradually determine its laws, its stages of development and creatively resolve the host of problems regarding the socialist revolution and the period of transition.

Lenin developed upon the theory of Marxism concerning the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which are the central issues in the revolutionary theory of Marx; he considered the dictatorship of the proletariat to be a class struggle conducted under new conditions and by means of new forms of organization; he confirmed that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the highest form of democracy, a form 1 million times more democratic than bourgeois democracy; he confirmed that the Soviet is the form of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and predicted that there would be many different political forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the future. At the same time, he resolutely opposed every argument of the opportunists and reactionaries that distorted and denied the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to protect the backbone of Marxism, the touchstone of each revolutionary.

Lenin set forth the platform for socialist construction in the Soviet Union and charted the course of socialist and communist construction as electrification and industrialization, socialist transformation, especially the transformation of the private economy of farmers through cooperativization, carrying out the cultural revolution and molding the new man.

Lenin clarified the leadership role of the proletariat, the only class that has the destiny of leading all of the working people in building the new system, in which there is no exploitation of man by man; developed the theory concerning the alliance of workers and farmers and considered the alliance of workers and farmers under the leadership of the working class to be the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and set forth the basic arguments concerning party building when the party is in political power.

Lenin also creatively resolved the nationality question and the question concerning the right of nations to self-determination in a manner consistent with the principles of proletarian internationalism and struggled against every manifestation of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism, thereby upholding the international obligation of the first socialist state to the world revolutionary movement.

In every field of endeavor, Lenin waged a steadfast, unrelenting struggle against bourgeois ideology, against revisionism and opportunism at home and abroad.

Here, the great service performed by Lenin was that he turned scientific socialism in theory and dreams into scientific socialism in reality, in everyday life. In Lenin, socialism was manifested in specific targets, measures and actions together with the daily, concrete results achieved by the laboring masses. "To us, communism is no longer a platform, no longer a theory, no longer a task; today, to us, it is the detailed work of building" (Collected Works, Volume 41, p 484).

The Collected Works of Lenin not only provide us with a deep understanding of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism in many fields, but also equip us with that which is most valuable, namely, the Marxist methodology, the revolutionary and scientific

method that Lenin understood and brilliantly applied in order to resolve every specific question faced in life. This is what is most important to us.

On the basis of the viewpoint that truth is concrete and revolution is creative, Lenin, in each period of time, carefully studied international circumstances and the situation at home as well as the comparison of class forces at home and abroad and established the goals, guidelines, tasks, strategies and tactics of the revolution in a manner consistent with this situation. In this way, Lenin proposed extremely clear-sighted policies. Prior to the October Revolution, he sometimes advocated participating in Parliament and sometimes advocated boycotting Parliament; sometimes he advocated taking advantage of rare and valuable opportunities to carry out the revolution by peaceful means and at other times he resolutely supported armed uprisings, etc. With the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin shifted from anti-imperialist war slogan to the slogan of protecting the fatherland. In the struggle against the imperialist powers, Lenin brilliantly applied the strategy of compromise. Following victory in the civil war and the resistance against armed intervention, he shifted from a war time communist policy to the new economic policy; in the work of building the country, which was filled with difficulties and complex problems, he saw through to the key, decisive factors in life in order to change the situation and move the country forward.

Lenin's methods were the methods of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, methods that are truly revolutionary and scientific, fully objective and comprehensive, fully developed and specifically historic. With these methods, Lenin supplied to us models of the way to view things, to analyze things and reach correct conclusions and the art of determining the necessary factor that must be grasped in order to resolve problems in every different set of circumstances.

With these methods, Lenin creatively carried out numerous complex and difficult tasks of the Russian revolution. In particular, following the October Revolution, Lenin constantly taught that the communists of Russia must display a high degree of initiative and creativity. He said: the founders of scientific communism did not give us specific instructions about how to build socialism and communism. The task of Russian communists, the persons who are taking the lead in the work of creating a new social order, is to turn the ideals of communism into reality and find, on their own, specific forms of organization and stages of development for this creative endeavor.

Studying "The Collected Works of Lenin," we also see the extremely bright example set by his life. It can be said that the brilliant intellect and the overflowing revolutionary sentiments together with the noble virtues of the father of the world revolution were closely intertwined and are clearly manifested in this priceless collection of his works. Lenin gave us a model of the communist's philosophy of life. Never resting for one moment in his life, he contributed all that he had to the proletarian revolution. He wrote books, made speeches, held meetings, performed his work, met with the masses and so forth; he thought and worked continuously, even when he was ill. He fought every enemy with the utmost determination, held a harsh attitude regarding every shortcoming and mistake and had immense love for his comrades and people. At times of extreme difficulty and hardship, his will was truly unshakable but his wisdom and vigilance were always moving toward new horizons. He possessed a scientific, urgent, concise, thorough and detailed style of work and

conducted thorough inspections. He lived a pure, simple life and set examples in everything he did.

Studying "The Collected Works of Lenin," we clearly see that after the October Revolution, as a result of the aftereffects of the 4 years of war and the 3 years of civil war and armed intervention by the imperialist countries and as a result of the low level of development of the economy, in which there were still many remnants of small-scale production, Soviet Russia found itself in an extremely difficult situation. The economy experienced a serious decline and the railroad transport sector, the metallurgy industry and the fuel industry were in a desperate situation. The majority of plants and factories had no work, many mines and small enterprises were inundated by water and industry lacked both fuel and raw materials. The agricultural situation was also extremely bad: the amount of area under cultivation had declined, crops were unstable, livestock herds declined and grain output once only reached 55 percent of grain output in old imperial Russia. The country lacked food, fuel and raw materials. Famine threatened and diseases were spreading. The situation in the industrial centers was in an especially serious situation. Some could find no work and returned to the countryside to work in handicraft trades or even engage in speculation. The attitude of the peasants was also very bleak. They were skeptical of the economic policy of the Soviet government. Under these circumstances, speculation, bribery, smuggling and other social ills developed. The difficulties of the country were reflected within the party. Some party members who had not been forged and who were not firm in their views wavered and vacillated; others became deviant and fell by the wayside. However, the vast majority of the people Soviet people, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the great Lenin, continued to have confidence and bravely followed the path of building the new life.

On the basis of calmly and scientifically analyzing all of the situations mentioned above, Lenin reached important theoretical conclusions. He pointed out that the difficulties of Russia during the period of transition were objective difficulties that originated in the backward situation of Russia at that time. He said: "The more backward a country is when it must, due to the vagaries of history, begin to carry out the socialist revolution, the more difficulties this country will encounter in shifting from capitalist relations to socialist relations" (Collected Works, Volume 36, p. 6). At the same time, he pointed out that only when socialism has been successfully built and the socialist economy, the backbone of which is heavy industry, has been created is it possible to overcome these objective difficulties. Until that time, the communist must have a full understanding of the characteristics and nature of the period of transition, unwaveringly adhere to his stand, make every effort to learn and grasp the laws of the economy and society and develop suitable forms and measures of transition in order to win victory in the struggle to resolve the question of "who defeats whom" with a view toward completing the historic tasks of the period of transition. Lenin diligently looked for forms and measures of transition and attentively listened to the experiences of the masses in order to constantly improve his line and policies. He said: "We still must do things over many times, revise them when we are finished and then start over from the beginning. In each stage, in each step forward of our production forces and culture, we must improve and modify our Soviet system" (Collected Works, Volume 44, p. 170).

Clearly, although present international circumstances are much more favorable, the difficulties being faced by our country now are, in many ways, similar to the difficulties encountered by Russia 60 years ago. The words of advice spoken by Lenin to the Russian communists at that time are very suited to us today.

In the initial stage of the period of transition, on the basis of correctly analyzing the characteristics of the present situation, our Party Central Committee has issued numerous resolutions on building the economy and defending the fatherland and developed suitable forms and measures for moving the country forward.

These resolutions represent the creative application of a host of principles of Leninism concerning the period of transition; socialist industrialization is the central task throughout the entire period of transition but developing agriculture is the central task during the initial stage of the period of transition in order to lay the foundation for industrialization; the existence of different economic segments is an objective inevitability during the period of transition, consequently, in order to carry out economic development, it is necessary to have suitable stages, forms and measures of transition for each period of time; providing material incentive so that the worker, for the sake of his own vital interests, concerns himself with the results of his labor and smoothly combining the three interests are matters in the nature of laws during the period of transition to socialism; strengthening the economic alliance of workers and farmers is an essential prerequisite to strengthening the base of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the application of the principle of democratic centralism in the leadership and management of the economy and in the formulation of economic plans must be consistent with the gradual development of the economy, in general, as well as of each economic sector, in particular, with special importance attached to smoothly coordinating the formulation and implementation of the plan from top to bottom and bottom to top in order to uphold the rights of the central level with regard to basic issues and, on the other hand, boldly tap the initiative and creativity of the locality and the basic level; throughout the period of transition, it is necessary to be fully conscious of struggling to resolve the question of "who defeats whom" between socialism and capitalism, between the socialist way of life and the capitalist way of life, necessary to firmly maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people in order to steadfastly wage this struggle in every field and by every means possible with a view toward gradually and steadily advancing society to socialism, etc. By implementing these resolutions and directives, we have begun to achieve encouraging results.

On the basis of these new achievements, our entire party and all our people are making every effort to emulate in production, work, combat readiness and combat in order to celebrate the 5th Congress of the Party in a practical way.

We now have the fullest collected works of Lenin in Vietnamese that we have ever had. The more we study this priceless storehouse of thoughts, the more we will learn about the science of revolution, the more confident and energetic we will be. This is very important if we are to correctly understand and creatively apply the line and policies of the party, turn them into the actions of the masses, into everyday reality and advance the cause of building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland to brilliant victory.

PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH, THE PERSON WHO STARTED AND CULTIVATED VIETNAM-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 81 pp 17-21, 54

[Article by Phan Ngoc Lien and Trinh Vuong Hong]

[Text] At the start of the 20th Century, the Can Vuong movement was crushed. Neither patriotic scholars nor bourgeois revolutionaries could find a way to advance the struggle of our people for independence to victory. The Vietnamese faced a crisis regarding the line they should follow. It was "in this seemingly inescapable darkness" that Uncle Ho left to find a way to save the country in 1911.

At the start of his search for a path of national salvation, the teacher Nguyen Tat Thanh (that is Uncle Ho) suddenly left the Duc Thanh School in Phan Thiet and went to Saigon where he attended a maritime workers training school and then worked as a machine worker for the Ba Son Factory. Through this work, Uncle Ho decided that his path lay with the laboring people, moreover, with the industrial worker. This was a very significant beginning. In his subsequent trips through many countries of Europe, Africa and America, Uncle Ho was a laborer and participated in the revolutionary struggle of the working class. Having pondered and made a study of the social situations in many countries, he reached an important conclusion: "Although the color of their skin differs, there is, in this life, only two races of people: the exploiters and the exploited. And, there is only one true friendship: proletarian friendship." (1) He forged himself to be a true worker who possessed the world view of the working class and, through his practical activities during these trips, "he cultivated for himself profound knowledge as well as extensive, deep revolutionary feelings." (2)

Returning to France, Uncle Ho, through his social activities and theoretical research within the militant corps of the French working class, came into contact with the progressive literature of the world, including Russian literature, and, at the same time, gradually moved closer to Marxism-Leninism. A number of works by L. Tolstoy left a strong impression on Uncle Ho. Later, he would relate how he "became a student of the great Russian author." (3) Through L. Tolstoy and the characters in his works, President Ho developed empathy with the Russian working people.

The October Revolution occurred while Uncle Ho was in France and had "a remarkable attraction"(4) for him. With the special sensitivity of a revolutionary, Uncle Ho made every effort to support the October Revolution, even though he "did not fully understand its historic importance" (5) at that time.

However, the milestone marking the strong change in the feelings and thinking of Uncle Ho came when he read Lenin's "Thesis on the Nationality and Colonial Questions." The contents of the thesis expresses thoughts and feelings that he had long held; it was "like a wondrous light that substantively deepened all of the revolutionary knowledge and feelings that he held within himself for so long." (6) Recalling the excitement he felt, he later wrote: "Lenin's thesis made me very excited, enthusiastic, clear and confident! I was so happy I cried aloud. Sitting alone in my room, I spoke in a loud voice as though I were speaking to the masses: 'suppressed and suffering compatriots! This is what we need, this is our path of liberation.'" (7)

Thus, in Uncle Ho, ardent patriotism had been combined with a love of the proletariat and the desire to liberate the nation had been closely linked to the brilliant future of communism, the first victory of which was the socialist system born in Soviet Russia. This feeling became even more intense when Uncle Ho was able to learn about the Soviet country and Lenin firsthand.

In 1923, despite the dangers, he travelled to the country of Lenin. The Soviet people warmly welcomed him.

During his first days there, Uncle Ho paid "the most attention to the socialist system of Russia." (8) He saw that although the country still faced many difficulties as a result of 5 years of world war and civil war, the social system was a vastly superior one. He observed: "If Russia is not a paradise for everyone yet, Russia is a paradise for children." (9) This was a dialectical, revolutionary view, one that expressed truly sincere feelings toward the country and people of the Soviet Union.

Having come into contact with the reality of the Soviet Union, Uncle Ho "could not help but compare Russia...to Vietnam, which had been enslaved for several decades." (10) He observed that, in their history of defending their country, the Vietnamese had continuously struggled against and won victory over the aggressive expansionists of China under the Tong, Nguyen, Minh and Thanh Dynasties in order to save themselves while protecting the nations of Southeast Asia from genocide. The heroic people of Russia had also frequently defeated German, Swedish, French and other aggressors; the famous battle of Poltava in 1709 was evaluated by F. Engels as "a clear affirmation of the inviolability of Russia." The Vietnamese left the city of Thanh Long in order to inflict a heavy defeat upon the Nguyen army, allowed the Thanh army to "sleep for one night" in Thanh Long in order to annihilate them and used large piles of bamboo from Giong Village to light the enemy just as the people of Russia "set fire to their own cities" (11) and used quarterstaves--"the clubs of the people's war"--to drive Napoleon's army from the country. Both nations had experienced great peasant uprisings, such as the Tay Son uprising in Vietnam and the Pugachev rebellion in Russia.

Thus, Uncle Ho realized as soon as he stepped foot in the Soviet Union that both nations had won victories over large imperialist powers, the enemies of mankind, and had experienced many earthshattering uprisings against class oppression.

Shortly after Uncle Ho arrived in the Soviet Union, he learned that Lenin had died. "This sad news made many people cry. I, too, cried." (12) Grief-stricken over this tremendous loss for which nothing could compensate, Uncle Ho, the representative of the people of Indochina and the only foreigner and colonial subject to be so honored, wrote an article entitled "Lenin and the Colonies," which was printed in the special farewell to Lenin edition of PRAVDA Newspaper: "Lenin has died! This news has hit everyone like a clasp of thunder rolling across the fertile plains of Africa and the green fields of Asia. It is true that the black people and yellow people still do not know who Lenin was or where Russia is... But all of them, from the peasants of Vietnam to the hunters in the jungles of Dahomey have heard it said that, in a distant land, a nation has driven off the exploiters and is now managing its own country without the need for landowners and plenipotentiaries. They have also heard it said that this country is Russia, that these persons are brave, the bravest among them being Lenin. This is enough to cause them to deeply admire and be filled with warm feelings for this country and its leader.

However, this is not all. They have also learned that this great leader, after liberating the people of his own country, wanted to liberate other peoples.

...When he was alive, he was our father, teacher, comrade and advisor. Today, he is a bright star lighting our way to social revolution." (13)

These words expressed condolences to the Soviet people, expressed the respect not only of Ho Chi Minh, but of all Vietnamese, of all oppressed peoples before the coffin of Lenin; this grief would become a remarkable strength for struggling to implement Lenin's thinking: liberating the colonial peoples.

... , the meeting between Uncle Ho, the representative of the working class and people of Vietnam, and the Soviet people was inevitable. It involved a unity of ideals in the present struggle that had its depths in the glorious past of the two nations. It was this that created the feelings of Uncle Ho and the friendship between the people of Vietnam and the Soviet people, a friendship that has become increasingly strong, pure and warm. The foundations of this friendship had always existed but it was not until Uncle Ho came into contact with the great Soviet people that the flow of Vietnam-Soviet friendship began.

From the time he first visited the Soviet Union (1923) until he returned home to fully lead the revolution (1941) Uncle Ho frequently reviewed his studies of his revolutionary activities in the Soviet Union. His feelings for the country and the people of the Soviet Union deepened with each passing day. In his position as member of the Far Eastern Bureau in charge of the Southern Department of the Communist International, from which he was active in the international communist and worker movement and the national liberation movement, he nurtured among the oppressed peoples warm feelings and deep gratitude for as well as absolute confidence

...the Soviet Union... of the Soviet people. When... of our people, Uncle Ho... the path of the bourgeois revolution... "Russian path" because... the Tsar, capitalists and landowners and has... every effort to help the workers and peasants of all countries and the... revolution in order to topple all... in the world."(14)

...in order to introduce the Russian October Revolution and socialist... in the Soviet Union to our compatriots, Uncle Ho wrote the "Diary of... which employed the style of a journal and prose that was easily... understood, interesting, vivid and suited to the cultural level of... Each chapter was followed by several lines of poetry that... the entire chapter, such as:

...something unusual,
...free men."(15)

...for the Soviet Union was also manifested in his determination... to protect Lenin and the Soviet Union against every act of distortion... in his absolute confidence in the country of Lenin. During the... revolution, Uncle Ho always gave his attention to cultivating... these feelings among our cadres, party members and people. When the... difficulties, when they were in the prisons of the... Uncle Ho and the communists of Vietnam always believed in the... future of the country and the world, always remained loyal to... and always thought of the Soviet Union. This was one of the... that helped everyone to overcome the difficulties being faced... Thinking of the Soviet Union while in prison, the communists of... about the country of the Soviets and "felt extra-..."; before sacrificing their lives, they would write in blood... the slogan: "Long Live the Soviet Union!"

...following the success of the August Revolution, especially from 1944... Uncle Ho frequently paid visits of friendship to the Soviet Union... conferences or ceremonies commemorating the October Revolution... with the various strata of the Soviet people and wrote articles... the history and experience of the Soviet Union in its struggle and its... Through these diverse activities, he helped... the Soviet Union, preserve the purity of Marxism-... while introducing the country and people of... the Soviet Union. As a result, the peoples of the two... understanding of each other and their friendship became... Nurturing these feelings for the Soviet Union, Uncle Ho always... to display profound gratitude; this feeling, which is "deeply... is one of the noble virtues, is a tradition of the loyal Vietnamese... with gratitude to the Soviet Union, our... have always believed that they must "make every effort to... their national obligation to the... of other countries."(17)

response, the people of the Soviet Union have displayed especially warm feelings for Uncle Ho and the Vietnamese. When he first visited the Soviet Union, even though the country was encountering towering difficulties at that time, Uncle Ho was very warmly received. And, when Uncle Ho discovered the citadel of revolution, the Soviet people quickly recognized in him a genuine, outstanding revolutionary and, through him, recognized the nation of Vietnam and its unique culture. In December 1927, in an article entitled: "A Visit with a Communist International Soldier: Nguyen Ai Quoc," the Soviet poet and journalist O. Mandelstam wrote: "From Nguyen Ai Quoc emanates a culture, not European culture, but perhaps a culture of the future... The Vietnamese people are a simple and civil people. In the subtle suggestions and quiet speech of Nguyen Ai Quoc, I saw tomorrow, saw the quiet prospect of world friendship as vast as the ocean."(18) The Soviet people have always shared the joys and sorrows of our people. When hearing that Nguyen Ai Quoc had died in a Hong Kong prison on 26 June 1932, the Communist International and the Far Eastern Communist College in Moscow held a funeral ceremony, many letters, poems, commentaries and books were written and countless meetings were held in the Soviet Union to remember him. And, through Uncle Ho, Vietnam acquired an increasingly important position and was especially admired by the Soviet people. "In recent years in the Soviet Union, no country has been introduced to our thinking more and with such warm feelings as Vietnam."(19)

From June 1923, when they first welcomed Uncle Ho, to the present day, during the days when the Vietnamese revolution had yet to win victory, in the wars of resistance against the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists and the Beijing expansionists and in the work of building and protecting socialist Vietnam, the party, government and people of the Soviet Union have constantly provided our people with comprehensive, effective and unselfish assistance. Facts have proven the heartfelt words spoken by I. V. Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and chairman of the Supreme Soviet: "To the communists and all the people of the Soviet Union, uniting with Vietnam has always been a requirement of the heart and mind, always been a way to express the unwavering faith of our party and people to the principles of internationalism."(20)

In the course of diligently searching for the path of national salvation in order to meet the pressing needs of the country's history, Uncle Ho also found for the people of Vietnam a totally reliable friend in the people of the Soviet Union. This was also the first great service performed by President Hu, namely, closely linking the Vietnamese revolutionary movement to the international worker movement."(21)

Vietnam-Soviet friendship, for which Uncle Ho laid the foundation and worked so hard to cultivate, is a manifestation of the proletarian international spirit. This spirit of friendship has become increasingly strong and grown because it is a friendship between the working classes and people of the two countries, because one ideal, the communist ideal. "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin in Soviet Russia and Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, the great leaders of the revolution, laid the foundation for our two states, stimulated, in a decisive way, the development of our two countries and set forth the line for us to follow"(22) because the two nations have similar traditions and culture and share the same ideal.

...celebrating Vietnam-Soviet friendship. Lenin has always taught our party members and people to be forever grateful to the communist party, government and people of the fraternal Soviet Union, grateful to the great Lenin and carry out the nation's revolutionary task well while fulfilling their international obligation.

As they commemorate the October Revolution and recall their history, the people of Vietnam shall even more than militant friendship between Vietnam and the Soviet Union, and remember even more the great President Ho Chi Minh who worked so hard to cultivate this friendship and cause it to blossom and bear fruit. Loyal to the revolutionary cause of Lenin, determined to follow the course of the October Revolution and happy over the victories won by the Soviet people in the work of building the material and technical bases of communism, the people of Vietnam shall forever follow the teaching of the revered President Ho Chi Minh:

"The happier we are today,
The more we should recall the days of difficulty and adversity.
We should recall them in order to learn from the Soviet people.
We should recall them in order to record our gratitude to the Soviet people." (3)

FOOTNOTES

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3. Ho Chi Minh: "Bang loi ken goi" [Appeals], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, Volume II, p. 130.
4. Lu Lam: "Va di dung va ke an o" [A Conversation During a Stroll], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p. 12.
5. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap" [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964, Volume II, p. 174.
6. Address by Truong Chinh at the ceremony commemorating the 90th anniversary of the birth of President Ho Chi Minh, QUAN DOI NHAN DAN Newspaper, 20 May 1980.
7. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"...p. 17.
8. Truong Chinh: "Cuong sai truyen va doi hoai dong cua Ho Chi Minh" [Stories about the Active Life of President Ho], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p. 17.
9. Ibid., p. 13.
10. Ibid., p. 9.

11. Ibid., p 58.
12. T. Lan: "Vua di duong vua ke chuyen"...p 20.
13. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap" [Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, pp 191-192.
14. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"...Volume I, p 255.
15. "Nghien cuu hoc tap tho van Ho Chi Minh" [A Study of the Poetry and Prose of Ho Chi Minh], Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1979, p 130.
16. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"...Volume II, p 522.
17. "Bao cao chinh tri cua Ban chap hanh trung uong Dang tai Dai hoi dai bieu toan quoc lan thu IV" [Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 180.
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19. N.I. Ni-cu-lin [Vietnamese phonetics]: "Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the Birth of Vietnamese Revolutionary Literature and Vietnam in Russian Literature in the Second Half of the 19th Century," TAP CHI VAN HOC, the Institute of Literature, No 3-1974, p 37.
20. L.I. Brezhnev: "Selected Speeches and Writings," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1979, pp 11-12.
21. Le Duan: "Duoai la co ve vang cua Dang, vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi, tien len ganh nhung thang loi moi" [Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 8.
22. L.I. Brezhnev: "Selected Speeches and Writings,"...p405.
23. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap,"...1960, p 757.

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THE REVOLUTIONARY AND SCIENTIFIC NATURE OF LEADERSHIP WORK

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 81 pp 22-28

[Article by Tran Huu Tien]

[Text] The essence of the revolutionary undertaking of our working class and people is revolution and science. Each victory, each step forward by our country's revolution over the past half-century and more has been the result of the close coordination of the revolutionary and scientific nature of the line of the party and the creative revolutionary activities of the masses.

The socialist revolution, which is the greatest, most profound revolution in history, demands that this revolutionary nature be developed as highly as possible in coordination with the strictest possible scientific nature.

How is this revolutionary nature expressed?

Lenin emphasized that "revolution involves overturning and crushing the main, most basic elements of the old social order." (1) Therefore, a revolutionary nature is primarily expressed in struggling without compromise to win victory over every class enemy and eliminate every obstacle and everything that is outmoded to insure that the cause of liberating the working class and laboring people is advanced to total victory.

The most vivid manifestation of a revolutionary nature at this time is steadfastness in one's thoughts and actions in order to successfully build socialism and firmly protect the socialist Vietnamese fatherland, thereby helping to increase the strength of the three revolutionary currents of our times.

Revolution is a concept that is not only the opposite of "counter-revolution" and of "reformism," "opportunism" and "revisionism," but which also does not tolerate "utopianism," "conservatism," "vacillation" or the "petty bourgeois revolutionary mentality."

A revolutionary nature must be manifested in actions and the results of actions. If we only view a revolutionary nature as a moving force, but do not give attention to its results, we very frequently can only talk about revolutionary zeal, which is an indispensable factor but not the essence of a revolutionary nature.

It is necessary to clearly distinguish between the revolutionary zeal and revolutionary steadfastness of the proletariat and the "petty bourgeois revolutionary mentality," which is "unstable" by nature and is "in all basic issues, far removed from the conditions and essential requirements of a thorough class struggle by the proletariat." (2) Rather, a revolutionary nature must be based on the specific, objective conditions of the class struggle and a clear awareness of the basic interests of the class in order to establish the line, guidelines and measures and insure that the revolution moves forward under specific circumstances and in specific stages.

A revolutionary nature, of itself, requires a scientific nature. Moreover, these two concepts frequently intertwine with and even permeate each other. It would be entirely reasonable to say that the entire revolutionary undertaking of the working class has been the greatest undertaking of science. However, a revolutionary nature and a scientific nature are not synonymous because these two concepts express different aspects of the same thing, of the same essence.

When we talk about a scientific nature we are talking about the sum of the thoughts and actions of a revolutionary entity that knows how to consciously apply the objective laws of nature and society and, as a result, correctly resolve the problems raised by the realities of the revolution and stimulate the advancement of the revolution.

A scientific nature is expressed in a correct world view, the dialectical materialist world view, in revolutionary objectives and ideals that are consistent with the requirements of the cause of liberating the working class and oppressed and exploited peoples from the yoke of capitalism and building socialism and communism and in correct and creative revolutionary methods.

A revolutionary nature and a scientific nature have separate requirements which, although not entirely the same, are similar.

Historically, revolution and science have become increasingly unified. In today's age, the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism, we have all of the objective premises needed for unifying revolution and science. However, these two natures do not always go hand in hand. As we have seen, the revolutionary sentiments, will and energies of a particular person might very possibly not be combined with a scientific nature or be combined with a nature totally lacking in science.

The struggle of the international working class against the bourgeoisie did not involve a unity of revolution and science from the very outset. From the time that it was born, the working class has been a class that has had a revolutionary nature: its economic position and the process of struggling against oppression have imbued workers with extremely valuable class attributes; however, they could not develop a scientific nature on their own. Marx and Engels were the first persons to "teach workers to know themselves and be conscious of themselves and to replace dreams with science." (3) Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, the working class became the class that truly represents revolution and science.

The revolutionary nature and the scientific nature of the revolutionary undertaking of the proletariat cannot be separated and are of equal importance. Of course, under each specific set of circumstances, there are times when we emphasize one aspect or the other as a result of the objective demands of the revolution. However, placing emphasis upon one aspect does not mean that we can give light attention to the other aspect. It must be remembered that, within each specific entity, revolutionary attributes control scientific attributes; there are also times when the opposite is true. There are cases in which scientific truth cannot be recognized due to a lack of revolutionary zeal. There are also cases in which persons become increasingly divorced from the revolutionary stand of the working class as a result of clinging to mistaken, subjective thinking instead of grasping objective laws.

Building socialism and protecting the socialist fatherland involve a thorough class struggle to resolve the question of "who defeats whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism and the reactionary powers. This is also a sharp struggle between the thoroughly revolutionary nature of the working class and every manifestation of bourgeois and petty bourgeois thinking, such as individualism, "leftist" and rightist opportunism, petty bourgeois wavering, etc. This struggle demands that the corps of cadres and party members possess fine revolutionary qualities, most importantly loyalty to the fatherland, to the ideals of communism and to the revolutionary philosophy of the working class, Marxism-Leninism. This struggle also demands that we overcome conservatism, overcome our unwillingness to abandon outmoded ways of thinking and working, our unwillingness to support the new, to be receptive to the new; we must also overcome the petty bourgeois "impetuosity" of only acting on the basis of subjective, shallow considerations instead of on the basis of reality.

The socialist revolution, more than any other revolution, demands that revolution go hand in hand with science. This requirement is especially urgent because we are advancing to socialism from a system of small-scale production that encompasses countless remnants and influences of feudal, colonial society. The experiences of the past years have proven that our achievements as well as our problems in economic activities have been directly and deeply related to our scientific nature. Our party has established the correct basic lines and guidelines but, in the implementation of these lines by means of specific plans and measures, we have adopted correct policies as well as incorrect policies. There have been manifestations of impetuosity, such as establishing economic plan norms that are too high and not fully based on the specific conditions of our country...; at the same time, there have been manifestations of conservatism in maintaining management measures and mechanisms that are no longer suitable, such as price policies, distribution-circulation policies, etc. These shortcomings indicate that it is not a simple matter to maintain the scientific nature of everyday revolutionary activities, especially in the economic field.

Exaggerating the impact of revolutionary spirit, of "pure" revolutionary will, especially in economic construction, is a symptom of the malady which Lenin called "communist arrogance," which is a malady of persons who are genuine revolutionaries but who "exaggerate revolutionary spirit" and "forget the limits and conditions of a successful and appropriate application of revolutionary methods." (4)

At present, in order to heighten our scientific nature, we must perform many jobs in a well based and systematic fashion. However, we must first take determined steps to overcome the manifestations of bureaucratic remoteness from reality, which leads to individualism of many different forms. In fact, it is impossible to be scientific, even if one "wants" to be scientific, if one fails to firmly assess the situation and lacks precise information.

The requirement regarding the revolutionary and scientific nature of a leader is that we must become the revolutionary and scientific nature of the activities of tens of thousands of people. For this reason, every decision by a leader, be it correct or incorrect, "leftist" or rightist, realistic or illusory and so forth, is implemented in an objective manner in the activities of the masses, regardless of the motive, zeal or will of the leader. To determine whether a decision is revolutionary and scientific in nature, it must be placed within a very specific set of circumstances to determine which problems it resolves for the revolution. A vivid example of this is the "new contract" in agriculture. Is shifting from "centralized" labor to "decentralized" labor revolutionary and scientific? This question has been asked by some persons. Under present conditions, the policy of implementing final-product contracts for laborers within agriculture is revolutionary and scientific. This assertion is not made on the basis of an abstract, formalistic viewpoint based solely on general feelings about socialism, about collective labor, but on a specific historical viewpoint concerning the period of transition; this viewpoint requires that we "build small, strong bridges"(5) in order to advance from a small farmer, small-scale production, handicraft economy to socialism. The new method of contracting insures close coordination between the laborer and the instruments of production, which are still primarily manual implements, thereby helping to overcome the problem of socializing labor in a "form for form's sake" manner, insure distribution in accordance with labor and encourage the individual, by means of material interests, to concern himself with production; on the other hand, it prepares the material conditions and premises for advancing to higher forms of management. However, we should not think of the new method of contracting as something that is perfect; in particular, we must clearly see the deviations that have been and are occurring in the process of implementation in order to promptly correct them.

Coordinating revolution and science in leadership activities is a matter of major importance. Experience has shown that in order to meet this requirement, attention must be given to establishing the following relationships of a universal nature:

First, there is the relationship between politics and the specialized skills of the leader.

This relationship is manifested in two areas: on the one hand, there is the coordination between the political qualities and skills of the leader and his ability to organize and manage as well as his cultural, scientific and technical qualifications; on the other hand, there is the coordination between political requirements and requirements of a specialized nature in each job and each specific task.

The performance of any political task demands that the requirements that are in the nature of laws governing the "specialized skills" in each particular field be met. On the other hand, resolving problems related to specialized skills also has the purpose of carrying out political tasks. Therefore, the leader must simultaneously grasp and apply two types of laws: the general laws of the socialist revolution, of the class struggle in the period of transition, economic laws and so forth; at the same time, he must possess the necessary knowledge of the impact of the laws of nature and the special laws of each specific field of endeavor. This is one of the bases for making correct decisions. In each specific job, it is necessary to establish the correct relationship between the general and the specific, between universal laws and special laws. If the decision of the leader is in conflict with demands that are in the nature of laws of specific fields, it will be difficult to implement this decision. For example, when establishing an enterprise, thought must be given to supporting our overall economic strategy and to a host of other matters, from matters of major importance to specific details; if any one of these matters is overlooked, serious consequences could result. Therefore, the leader must, on the one hand, rely upon the system of specialists; on the other hand, he must rely upon his own knowledge and experiences. Only a policy or plan that is politically correct and is well based in science insures the balance, synchronization and smooth coordination of the various components and units, unifies the general and the specific, avoids the problem of "not seeing the forest for the trees," and helps to resolve the problems of the strongest persons always having their way, of persons doing as they see fit and of conspiracy, which harm the overall plan and the specific plan of each component and each unit.

However, due to our circumstances at this time, a contradiction exists between the requirements of the political task and our very limited material capabilities. Resolving this contradiction requires the coordination of the revolutionary activism of cadres and masses with the initiative and creativity of the leader on the basis of a firm scientific foundation in order to discover "intermediary stages of development," stages of transition and so forth that are consistent with reality. This demands that the leader possess firm political skills and the necessary knowledge of the various specialized fields.

Secondly, there is the relationship between the leader and the specialists and scientists.

Demanding that the leader be as well versed in the various specialized fields as specialists are as well as demanding that specialists possess a strategic point of view and be as politically sensitive as a political leader are unrealistic and unnecessary. However, in one sense, the leader is also a "specialist" in leadership and the specialist is a person who performs "political work" by means of his specialized profession. The ultimate responsibility for every activity within the scope of leadership lies, of course, with the leader. The leader must have a general grasp of the relationships and the reciprocal impact of a host of factors so that he can make decisions from a farsighted and comprehensive point of view; at the same time, he must know, as Lenin often said, where "the main link that must be grasped is." Although we should not make this demand of persons engaged in specialized work, specialized cadres should not only be proficient in their

specialized job, rather, they must also have a necessary grasp of the relationship between their field of work and other fields. The close coordination between leadership cadres and specialized cadres is based on the objective requirements of leadership work and is one of the factors insuring the success of this work. In order to make correct decisions, the leader must know how to rely upon specialists, to listen to the opinions of specialists.

When presenting a rough draft drawn up by one's "advisors," leaders should guard against the tendency to only want the agreement, the "input" of other specialists and not wanting to hear opinions that are contrary to theirs.

For example, let us consider the case of the leader of a locality or sector who decides to build an economic project in accordance with a specific plan. The plan is drafted by a number of specialists under the personal guidance of the leader. It requires that certain economic and technical requirements be met within a given amount of time. However, several other specialists do not support the plan because it does not provide for absolute safety. In such a case, the decision to implement the proposed plan can only be made if it is determined that the objections to the plan are groundless. If this determination is not made and the decision is made to build the project, the leader has acted in a rash manner. Here, it is not absolutely necessary that the leader accept the opinions of the specialists who are in disagreement with him, rather, he must work with the specialists to re-examine the plan in order to make the best decision possible. In no case can the leader forsake his leadership authority and responsibility; however, he must clearly understand the limits of this authority and responsibility. A leader guides specialized cadres, helps them, inspects them and is responsible for them; in addition, he must avoid intervening in an unnecessary, trivial or gross manner in the "relatively independent" activities of specialists.

Thirdly, there is the relationship between the policy of the leader and the opinions of the masses.

Here, we shall not deal with all of the aspects of this matter, but only one, namely, the need to consider information received from the masses.

The revolutionary and scientific nature of a policy or measure adopted by a leader must be expressed in bringing about a revolutionary change among the masses through this policy or measure.

A policy or measure that satisfies the basic, deeply held aspirations and the legitimate, vital interests of the masses and which is propagandized and implemented well will surely be enthusiastically responded to by the masses and become a mass movement sooner or later. For example, the policies of applying the new method of contracting within agricultural cooperatives and paying piecework wages within industry prove this. Of course, even when the masses enthusiastically respond to a policy, the leader must still delve deeply into life, must still inspect the implementation of the policy in order to promptly correct any deviations that might occur; at the same time, he must think of ways to further improve his correct policy. On the other hand, if a policy or measure is adopted and the masses do not respond to

...mechanistically even though it has been propagandized and explained, it is important upon the leader to find the causes of the masses' lack of response. For this reason, it is necessary adopt a method for listening to the many voices of the masses. The masses do not always talk about their deeply held, legitimate aspirations in a clear and direct manner. They frequently state them in different ways, mainly in terms of concrete actions. From these diverse sources of information, the leader must analyze the situation in order to determine the essence of the masses' demands and grasp the legitimate requirements of the masses. On the outside, it might appear as though everyone is only stating his or her private aspirations, personal interests and very private aspects of their daily lives. However, behind this simple exterior, very basic issues might lie. The opinions expressed by them might suggest to leaders matters or solutions very worthy of concern. President Ho Chi Minh said: "The masses know how to resolve many problems in a simple, quick and complete manner, problems which talented persons and large mass organizations might ponder over and still not resolve." (6)

Regarding the matter of the "three interests," for example, it would be a mistake to think that each individual among the masses is only concerned with his private interests (that is, legitimate personal interests). As working people who are closely linked to socialism, the masses of our country, generally speaking, understand that, under the conditions of socialism, if the interests of the state and the collective are not satisfied, personal interests cannot be satisfied either. Therefore, it would be no less of a mistake to think that the matter of smoothly coordinating the three interests has, in actuality, already been satisfactorily resolved. Here, we not only need a correct understanding of the theoretical base of the issue, but, more importantly, we must delve deeply into examining everyday activities in order to promptly discover and rectify deviations that have occurred. With regard to distribution, the legitimate desires of the working people are to have their living conditions maintained so that they can replenish the labor expended in their work, be guaranteed "a job and food" and be able to improve their standard of living by performing additional work in order to increase the returns from production within the system of socialist production. There is nothing about these aspirations that is deserving of criticism; to the contrary, they are consistent with the requirements of developing production, strengthening the new socialist relations and raising the spirit of ownership of the laborer. The new socialist contracting satisfies these aspirations. It is absolutely not a matter of "following the masses."

Scientific theory provides us with correct methods for analyzing the opinions, suggestions, innovations and experiences of the masses. It would be a mistake to consider theory as being in opposition to the experiences of the masses and to blindly substitute it for studying and summarizing these opinions and experiences.

However, maintaining close contact with the masses and listening to the voices of the masses are one of the guarantees of the revolutionary and scientific nature of leadership and management activities.

There are a number of matters relating to the relationship between revolution and science in leadership work. We believe that these matters are among the matters which the persons engaged in leadership and management work are very concerned.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Vietnamese version, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 44, pp 275-276.
2. Ibid., Volume 41, p 17.
3. Ibid., Volume 2, p 5.
4. Ibid., Volume 44, p 276.
5. Ibid., p 189.
6. X.Y.Z: "Sua doi loi lam viec" [Changing Work Methods], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1954, p 82.

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CORRECTLY ESTABLISHING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CENTRAL ECONOMY AND THE LOCAL ECONOMY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 1, Nov 81 pp 29-35

[Article by Truong Son]

[Text] "Simultaneously carrying out central economic construction and local economic development and coordinating the central economy with the local economy within a unified national economic structure" are an important part of the economic construction line in our country established by the 4th National Congress of the Party. As a result of implementing this line in recent years, local economic development has recorded important achievements. In agriculture, which is the main element of the economy managed by the locality, the amount of farmland has been increased by 1 million hectares, the amount of area under cultivation has been increased by 1.4 million hectares and the output of grain and a number of industrial crops has increased. Agricultural cooperativization has virtually been completed in central Vietnam and the Central Highlands and the movement to establish production collectives is developing in the provinces of Nam Bo. Recently, the implementation of product contracts for laborers generated a productive labor movement of unprecedented intensity and enthusiasm. In local industry, the factories that were destroyed in the war have been restored, many industrial installations in the South have been transformed and a number of new enterprises have been constructed. Small industry and the handicraft trades have been restored and developed. Local industrial output value increased 22 percent in 1980 compared to 1975 and accounted for more than 60 percent of total industrial output value. Communications-transportation, capital construction and distribution-circulation have been developed and improved.

Generally speaking, however, the local economy as well as the central economy have been developing slowly, the relationship between the central economy and the local economy has not been satisfactorily established and many problems remain to be solved. The ministries have not properly fulfilled their function of managing their entire sector on a nationwide scale and the localities have not concerned themselves with the central economic installations that are located within the locality. This is not to mention the unplanned, economically inefficient development that has taken place in a number of localities.

In order to overcome the shortcomings mentioned above and continue to implement the economic line of the party well, it is necessary to research and correctly establish the relationship between the central economy and the local economy in exact accordance with the principle of democratic centralism in the areas of understanding, plans, policies and management.

1. Understanding

It is necessary to gain a deeper understanding of the party's line of "simultaneously carrying out central economic construction and local economic development within a unified national economic structure." Le Duan said: "Speaking from the point of view of its overall structure, the entire economy will grow on the basis of two key factors: the unified, nationwide economic-technical sectors and, secondly, the local economy." (1) Thoroughly implementing this line means concentrating on building the economic-technical sectors while accelerating the development of the local economy.

As the basic forces of the modern economy, the economic-technical sectors play an important role in developing science and technology, upgrading manual labor to mechanized labor, raising labor productivity, producing products of increasingly high quality and achieving increasingly high returns from their production. Therefore, taking positive steps to build the economic-technical sectors is a strategic policy in the immediate future as well as over the long range.

The economic-technical sectors must be organized in a unified, nationwide manner from the central to the local levels, from state-operated enterprises to cooperatives, along the lines of centralization, specialization, cooperation and federation; among these sectors, some sectors will primarily be managed by the central level, such as heavy industry, some will primarily be turned over to the locality for management, such as agriculture, and some will be developed by both the central economy and the local economy, such as light industry. Soon, we must accelerate the organizing of production federations, primarily federated enterprises and federations of enterprises (or corporations and general corporations) that operate under the cost accounting system in order to truly establish nationwide economic-technical sectors.

In an industrialized country, the role of the economic-technical sectors is basic and decisive. In our country, we are advancing from small-scale production and do not have any large-scale industry, consequently, in conjunction with building the economic-technical sectors, particular importance must be attached to developing the local economy and using the locality as the base for reorganizing production and everyday life.

The economic organizations managed by the locality consist of two types: one type is the basic forces that are closely associated with the economic-technical sectors throughout the country, which produce and distribute their products in accordance with the overall planning and plan; the other is the supplementary forces that are closely associated with local capabilities and needs, which produce and distribute products in accordance with the plan of the locality. Under the conditions of

transition from small-scale production, only by strongly developing the forces of the local economy, is it possible to develop each decentralized source of raw materials, make full use of social labor and produce many products to promptly meet the diverse needs of production and everyday life, needs that the central economy cannot encompass.

Thus, the central economy and the local economy are a unified entity contained within a unified national economic structure. There is no economic installation in the economic-technical sectors that does not lie within a certain locality and does not have certain economic relations with the local economy. Conversely, practically all of the economic installations managed by the local level have relations with the central economic installations within the unified economic-technical sectors. The central economy and the local economy assist each other. Strong growth on the part of the central economy will stimulate the development of the local economy. The development of the local economy will create the conditions for rapid agglomeration and centralization on the part of the central economy. As a result, simultaneously building the economic-technical sectors and developing the local economy will create a strength that will spread from the top downward, from the bottom upward, a strength that will be available on the spot and cause the economy to "blossom" and develop strongly. This is the theoretical and practical basis of our party's economic line of simultaneously building the central economy and developing the local economy, a line which we must deeply understand in order to implement it well. Tendencies that only emphasize the economic-technical sectors and give light attention to the local economy or call for local economic development with a "closed cycle" are divorced from the economic realities of our country and the economic line of the party, lead to restricting and curbing the creative talents of the masses and cause unnecessary difficulties in production and everyday life.

On Planning

Our planning has long been characterized by the shortcoming of bureaucratic centralism and a failure to uphold and guarantee the right of economic collective ownership of the locality and installation; therefore, planning has not developed the potential of the country or mobilized all the people to participate in socialist industrialization. To correct this shortcoming, it is necessary to establish a three-level planning mechanism and establish the correct relationship between the central economy and the local economy in planning.

The central level concentrates on planning the primary economic matters of national significance. These are matters that lie within the authority and responsibility of the central level, the correct planning of which is of very important significance in the development of the national economy. Specifically:

- Organizing combined, basic investigations of natural resources, arable land, the population and the labor force;

- Accelerating zoning and planning and laying the scientific bases for establishing guidelines and policies for the distribution of production forces, the redistribution of labor and the population and the distribution of production installations throughout the country and within each locality; formulating specific planning

for the development of the key industrial sectors and the specialized agricultural areas of importance to the national economy;

--Correctly establishing the major relationships within the national economy: between the accumulation of capital and consumption, transformation and construction, industry and agriculture, the central economy and the local economy, the economy and national defense, exports and imports and so forth; establishing and gradually perfecting a system of general balance sheets on the gross social product, national income, capital investments, social labor, the state budget, the monetary revenues and expenditures of the population, overall credit, the foreign currency balance, the balance of international payments, the balance of the primary types of materials and commodities;

--Preparing the conditions for establishing general financial balance sheets and inter-sector balance sheets in the form of material resource and value balances for a number of the most important products of the national economy;

--Researching the long-term socio-economic development strategy for 10-15 years and 20 years; formulating good 5-year plans apportioned for each year; preparing the conditions for formulating a number of socio-economic forecasts on the population and labor, scientific and technical needs and advances and the trend of development of a number of the most important economic-technical sectors; initiating research to support the formulation and the guidance of the implementation of the 1981-1985 five year plan;

--Promulgating uniform systems of economic-technical quotas and standards governing labor, materials, capital investment rates, deadlines for reclaiming invested capital and prices (fixed prices, current prices, exchange rates and so forth) to lay the basis for formulating and guiding the implementation of plans;

--Revising and improving planning procedures and methods, economic statistical and information procedures, cost accounting procedures, etc.

In order to broaden the authority and increase the responsibility in planning of the various localities, it is necessary to assign to the localities the responsibility of managing the following:

--Agricultural production and the grain balance (except in areas specializing in the large-scale production of industrial crops or areas whose natural conditions do not permit a grain balance to be established);

--The processing of agricultural products and the production of consumer goods, railway export goods or traditional export goods primarily from local raw materials;

--The production of ordinary building materials, machines, tools and spare parts;

--The construction of small-scale water conservancy projects, civilian construction and rural construction;

-Passenger and cargo transportation within the locality (including some inter-province transportation);

-The organization and management of the material and cultural lives of the local people.

In addition, the localities also have the responsibility of supplying raw materials, building materials, labor, grain, food products and consumer goods to and providing the infrastructure for the central economic installations within the locality.

On the basis of researching and integrating capabilities and needs on the basis of territory, the central level will assign to the localities several general norms on supplying grain, raw materials, commodities and labor, accumulating capital and so forth in order to support general needs; at the same time, it will provide the localities with some of the conditions required, such as capital, instruments of production, consumer goods, cadres and so forth to develop the economy and support the daily lives of the people within the territory.

These norms will be in effect for 5 years and will be apportioned for each year so that the locality can arrange its plans accordingly.

The central level can also research the possibility of assigning to the localities national income per capita norms so that the localities can emulate one another to achieve these norms.

On the basis of insuring unified, centralized leadership, in order to meet the requirements of the locality and fulfill obligations of the central level, the localities have the right to:

- Formulate and determine local economic development plans;

- Establish specific policies and take necessary measures to develop the local economy

- Decide matters regarding the organization of production and the organization of the local economic management apparatus in accordance with models provided by the central level;

- Engage in economic and scientific-technical cooperation with other localities as well as with the economic installations of the central level; some types of cooperation are carried out under the plan of the central level while other types are carried out under the local plan;

- Participate in export and import activities through suitable forms of organization under the unified administrative-economic management of the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

3. Policies

For a long time, many localities have not concerned themselves with that portion of the central economy located within the locality and have even maintained that it is a "heavy burden"; they have not wanted to supply agricultural raw materials to the central level and have looked for ways to keep these materials in order to process them or use them to develop local industry on the basis of self-sufficiency. Many ministries have also failed to concern themselves with the local economy. This is primarily because we have not adopted policies that establish a satisfactory relationship in terms of economic interests between the central and local levels, between industry and agriculture. Therefore, in order to rapidly correct this phenomenon, it is of decisive importance, in conjunction with taking educational and administrative measures, to adopt correct economic policies that smoothly coordinate the various types of interests.

--The most basic policy is to correctly implement the principles of cost accounting and distribution in accordance with labor: those localities that produce well should receive much while those localities that produce poorly should receive little. For example, in production and distribution, after fulfilling their obligation to deliver products to the central level (this obligation takes into consideration the land rent differential), the localities should have the right to use surplus raw materials and products to expand their production, improve the standard of living of the local people or export goods. Instead of trying to insure that all localities have the same standard of living, any locality that produces better, should enjoy a higher standard of living. For example, at a place that is skilled in sericulture, the people there should, after completing their obligation to export raw fiber, have additional silk shirts to wear; at a place that raises sugarcane and produces much sugar, the people should, after supplying sugarcane or sugar to the central level in accordance with their plan, be able to consume sugar over and above the unified, nationwide supply standard. Or, with regard to the budget, after balancing and adjusting the budget to match the conditions of each locality, the central level should stabilize the budgets of the localities for a period of time and the localities should manage their own budgets in accordance with the principle of maintaining a balanced budget, spending much if their revenues are high and spending little if their revenues are small without having to submit surplus funds to the central level or request additional funding from the central level if they lack money, except in special cases, which should be dealt with separately. Only in this way is it possible to provide incentive for the localities to display initiative and find every way to become prosperous on the basis of making good use of their labor and natural resources.

--It is necessary to research policies that bind the central economy and the local economy to each other so that the local economy benefits more as the locality increases its support of the central economy; there should also be policies by which the sector benefits when its ministry fulfills its responsibility toward the local economy well. These policies could be something along the following lines: if a locality supplies to the central level 1 ton of agricultural products (including grain, food products and raw materials), it will receive in its local budget a percentage of the value of this ton of agricultural products. Deserving of attention

is that this percentage must be large enough that the locality realizes that it benefits as a result of supplying raw materials to the central level or, at the very least, does not suffer losses compared to keeping these raw materials and processing them by less technical methods. Any locality that supplies many agricultural raw materials to the central level will be sold by the central level a certain percentage of the products processed from these raw materials for consumption over and above general standards. The central economic installations located within the locality must contribute to the local budget a certain percentage of their profits; thus, when the locality helps the central economic installations complete a higher percentage of their plan, more revenues will flow into the local budget. Conversely, the installations of the local economy must contribute a portion of their profits to the sector budget and, when the achievements of the sector are being evaluated, it is necessary to take this contribution into consideration, considering it to be a standard of management work.

4. Management

The division of economic management levels between the central level and the local level is not permanent, but will change depending upon the level of management. In the immediate future, this division can be as follows:

In production, the central level can directly manage installations that meet the following standards:

- Large-scale, modern technology, large investments;
- The use of raw materials from many localities or imported raw materials;
- Producing products that serve nationwide needs or export needs;
- Providing large sources of revenues for the state budget.

The economic installations managed by the locality, generally speaking, are installations that use local raw materials, serve local needs, are of medium or small scale, utilize ordinary technology and do not require large investments. However, a number of localities, especially the capital Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, still have a number of modern technical installations that use imported raw materials to produce products that serve the needs of the central level or export activities.

In transportation, the central level primarily manages railroads, ocean routes, civil aviation and a number of important highway and river routes; the localities manage the majority of the highways, river routes and rural communications-transportation.

In capital construction, the central level is in charge of industrial construction and the construction of a number of special cultural and public health projects that are of large scale and have high technical and artistic requirements; the localities

have the responsibility of carrying out civilian construction, rural construction and the construction of small-scale industrial projects.

In distribution and circulation, the central level has the responsibility of supplying to the locality various types of raw materials and supplies produced or imported by the central level and selling goods to the locality. The locality has the responsibility of purchasing agricultural products and industrial goods produced by the locality for supply to the central level and selling retail goods to the people.

The localities also have the right to export and import additional goods outside the plan of the central level under the guidance of the foreign trade sector and at a single center; only one locality that has many products or is near a port will act as the trade representative for one product or one market; the other localities will establish relations with this locality through suitable forms, such as joint businesses, individual purchases and sales, consignment and so forth.

As analyzed above, the central economy and the local economy are organically linked to each other; therefore, the division of management levels between the central level and the local level must comply with the principle of coordinating management by sector with management by locality and territory.

Management by sector involves the ministries directly and comprehensively managing the economic organizations subordinate to the ministry and providing administrative-economic management of the economic installations of the sector that are directly managed by the local level. The ministries provide unified management of their entire sectors throughout the country and perform such jobs as:

- Setting forth the long-term economic-social-technical development strategy of the entire sector;

- Formulating the economic-technical plans of specialized sectors and organizing the division of labor and cooperation in production between the central level and the local level and among the various localities;

- Formulating planning and plans for the development of the entire sector and instructing and guiding the localities in formulating plans that are consistent with the sector's plan;

- Researching and promulgating or proposing to the state that it promulgate policies and regulations concerning specialized sectors;

- Conducting scientific-technical research, training cadres for the sector and appointing and dismissing cadres who are under the ministry's management;

- Inspecting the activities of the entire sector...

Management by locality and territory involves the people's committees of the localities directly and comprehensively managing the economic installations of the

locality and participating in the management of the central economic installations located within the locality. The localities provide unified management of the economy within the territory and perform such specific jobs as:

--Formulating the plan for the development of the economy of the locality and the plan for the development of the economy of the territory (which includes the plan for the central economic installations within the locality);

--Organizing the unification and regulating the coordination of economic activities within the territory, such as the building of the infrastructure, the division of labor and cooperation in production and business, the organizing of everyday life and so forth;

--Supplying local labor and raw materials to the economic installations within the territory;

--Protecting production, protecting the environment;

--Inspecting the implementation of the policies and systems of the party and state by all economic installations within the territory.

Some persons maintain that because we have long failed to uphold the right of ownership of the localities, localism emerged and that the granting of such broad rights to the localities might cause the 40 provinces and municipalities to become 40 "kingdoms."

The long-standing phenomenon of localism is partially the result of incorrect thinking on the part of the localities and partially the result of laws that are less than strict; however, the most important cause has been the failure to uphold the right of ownership and satisfy the legitimate interests of the locality as a result of a management mechanism characterized by bureaucracy and subsidies. Now that a clear and satisfactory system has been defined, one that insures the correct implementation of the principle of democratic centralism in the relationship between the central economy and the local economy, this phenomenon will be corrected.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duang: "May van de ve kinh te oia phuong" [Several Matters Regarding the Local Economy], COMMUNIST REVIEW, No 10-1979, p 12.

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THE VARIOUS FORMS OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVIZATION AND PRODUCT CONTRACTS IN HAU GIANG PROVINCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 81 pp 36-38

[Article by Nguyen Kien Phuoc]

[Text] The majority of the farmers in Hau Giang, as well as the majority of the farmers in Nam Bo, in general, are middle farmers who began commodity production long ago and whose production has been closely linked to the market mechanism. In the long course of the revolutionary struggle, the farmers of Hau Giang have wholeheartedly followed the party in the fight for national independence. In the new period, they have the ability to accept the education of the party, embark on the course of agricultural cooperativization and advance to socialism. Because they cannot advance to socialism on their own, we faced the questions of how to carry out ideological education and which forms and stages should be employed to lead them down the path of earning their livings collectively.

In the recent past, on the basis of applying the line and policies of the Central Committee to the actual circumstances of the locality, Hau Giang selected suitable forms and stages of development. As a result, we assembled a portion of the farmer population in production collectives to earn their livings collectively and, at the same time, persuaded the majority of farmers to participate in other forms of transition, primarily production solidarity teams.

In order to prepare for cooperativization, Hau Giang Province launched a movement of the masses to abolish the various forms of exploitation and encourage "sharing" among farmers, thereby taking an important step in redistributing farmland and creating a favorable base for mobilizing farmers to earn their livings collectively. As a result, we distributed 26,500 hectares of land to 31,900 farm families that either had not cropland or lacked cropland and had to support themselves by working for hire, thereby reducing the percentage of these persons from 40 to 10 percent of the total number of farm families within the province. This effort is continuing.

As regards agricultural cooperativization, as of the start of August, 1981, Hau Giang had 942 production collectives, more than 2,000 production solidarity teams, two agricultural cooperatives and more than a dozen agricultural machine collectives. We have experience in organizing production collectives and other forms of transition

in all areas of the province, in the former resistance base area, the area once controlled by the enemy, the tidewater area and the freshwater area.

In the tidewater area, where nearly 30,000 Khmer compatriots live, the collectivization movement is being carried out in the form of production collectives. Long Phu District is a place that has a strongly developed movement to build production collectives, a movement that is strong in terms of both its size and quality. By June, 1981, Long Phu had established 276 collectives (90 of which are advanced collectives and good collectives) and 275 production solidarity teams, which account for nearly 50 percent of the farmland of the entire district. In the various production seasons, practically all of the collectives in Long Phu have displayed the superiority of the new production relations compared to working as a private farmer. Annual rice yield has increased gradually, the real income of collective members is higher than before and both the grain obligation and military recruiting are being successfully completed. In the villages and hamlets in which the establishment of production collectives has been completed, the face of the countryside has gradually been transformed and improved. The production collectives have been consolidated and developed; the district has not experienced a widespread disbanding of production collectives as other places have. Marked progress has been made in the work of strengthening and developing the organizations of the party, the government and the mass organizations on the basic level. Over the past 2 years, Long Phu has accepted 95 persons into the party. Long Phu has been able to achieve these results because it has a rather firm grasp of the objectives and requirements of agricultural transformation, carried out the redistribution of cropland well, mobilized farmers to begin earning their livings collectively, reorganized production, developed the potentials in its labor and arable land well, carried out cooperativization in conjunction with building small-scale water conservancy projects and quickly introduced new, high yield varieties of rice in main crop production, thereby causing agricultural production within the district, primarily rice production, to constantly increase, abolishing the pervasive hunger that once existed and firmly stabilizing the living conditions of farmers. In Long Phu District's movement to establish production collectives, Production Collective Number 6 in Khuan Tang Hamlet in the town of Long Phu is a model unit. Operating under the difficult production conditions of the acidic, tidewater area, where once only one, low yield crop was raised per year and the people lived in poverty, Production Collective Number 6 employed collective labor to build water conservancy projects, changed the allocation of rice varieties, processed organic manure and gradually initiated multicropping and intensive cultivation. By 1980, the average rice yield per season was 5.04 tons per hectare and paddy output had doubled compared to 1979. An average of 2 tons of paddy per hectare was sold to the state, with 1,000 kilograms per capita remaining after the obligation to the state was met.

In the freshwater area, the movement to establish production collectives and cooperatives has encountered numerous difficulties over the past several years and many collectives and cooperatives have been disbanded. Meanwhile production solidarity teams have been maintained and continue to develop. A number of production solidarity teams have been upgraded to production collectives; however, they have yet to collectivize farmland (as a result, they are called frame collectives) and still maintain the activities of a production solidarity team.

Whereas, in the districts of the alluvial, tidewater area, the production collective, as represented in Long Phu District, is the basic form of organization, it is not surprising that the production solidarity team is the universal form of organization in the freshwater area, where natural conditions are favorable and many middle farmers (with both cropland and orchards) who produce a large quantity of agricultural products live. The experience of many production solidarity teams that operate well shows that even though the private ownership of the instruments of production has not been abolished, this form of organization has begun to have a strong impact by stimulating the development of production, stabilizing and improving the living conditions of farmers, establishing economic relations between farmers and the state and creating the premises in terms of both material bases and cadres for steady advancement to the next stage of collectivization. The former "Collective Number 9" in Ke An Village, Ke Sach District, which is organized and operates as a production solidarity team, is a model of this form of transition.

"Collective Number 9" carried out production in accordance with the requirements of the state plan: with its experience in well coordinated intensive cultivation, especially in the use of new varieties and the construction of water conservancy projects, it made good use of the state's investment of fertilizer and petroleum products under two-way economic contracts and constantly raised the yields of both summer-fall and 10th month rice. Its summer-fall rice yields increased from 4.6 tons per hectare in 1979 to 5.4 tons per hectare in 1980 and 6 tons per hectare in 1981. Its 10th month rice yields increased from 4 tons per hectare in 1979 to 4.6 tons per hectare in 1980. "Collective Number 9" sold to the state an average of 3.6 tons of paddy per hectare of farmland. The living conditions of the families within the collective have been markedly improved. Within "Collective Number 9," although cropland is still under private ownership, the farmers, upholding the tradition of unity and mutual help, have redistributed income among the families of middle farmers and distributed cropland to poor families. Over the past several years, "Collective Number 9," by means of joint efforts and pooled capital, has established a number of material-technical bases for the collective economy; for example, it has purchased mechanical plows, mechanical harrows and pumps and its members have worked together to build two water conservancy canals. On the basis of operating under a plan and beginning to become accustomed to collective labor, "Collective Number 9" established output quotas and labor and supply cost ceilings for each field. These were important foundations upon which "Collective Number 9" could advance to collectivization; in May, 1981, "Collective Number 9" began collective production and immediately implemented product contracts.

In keeping with Party Secretariat directive number 100, the Hau Giang Provincial Party Committee guided a pilot project in the use of product contracts within a number of production collectives and cooperatives. As though it were a flow of fresh, clear water, the farmers of Hau Giang welcomed the product contract with laborers and put it to use rather rapidly. During this summer-fall season and 10th month rice season, 538 of the 942 production collectives and cooperatives within the 10 districts and the city operated under rice product contracts. This was very new work and the movement could not avoid spontaneity because there was not a complete understanding of the new management mechanism and cadres had not been trained; therefore, shortcomings developed at one place or another. Despite

this, the results that were achieved, especially in the collectives that complied with Secretariat directive number 100, were quite evident: the masses worked with enthusiasm, tried to meet and exceed the quotas assigned to them and did not abandon their fields and not work them as was the case before; production developed and collective members became closely linked to the collective economy. Clearly, through the use of the new form of contracts, socialist production relations, instead of being abandoned, have been further strengthened. Weak and deficient collectives that were on the brink of being disbanded were restored. Many private farmers voluntarily joined collectives and enthusiastically responded to the use of product contracts in agriculture. This can be considered a new trend, a trend that opens a new prospect for the cooperativization movement in the years ahead.

The establishment of new production collectives and the immediate implementation of product contracts will attract the mass of farmers. The best way to prepare the foundations for establishing collectives and immediately implementing product contracts is to widely develop the production solidarity teams and guide their operations in exact accordance with the requirements of a form of transition.

Suitable forms of transition that have been tested in practice and the experiences gained in the trial implementation of product contracts, these are the keys that will help Hau Giang overcome the tendency to waver and hesitate and the tendency to act impetuously and carelessly, which have caused a lack of progress and delays over the past several years, and advance the province's agricultural cooperativization movement strongly and steadily in the coming period.

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OVERCOMING THE REMNANTS OF FEUDAL THINKING IN YOUTH WORK

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 81 pp 39-45

[Article by Bui Ngoc Trinh]

[Text] In order to educate, train and develop the revolutionary shock role of the young generation in accordance with the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism and the line of the party on youth work, one of the important tasks set forth in Party Secretariat resolution 181 on the mobilization of youths is: "We must combat feudal thinking, the patriarchal style and other manifestations that impede the effort by youths to display initiative and creativity."

Thus, what is feudal thinking? How are its remnants impeding youth work? Why must we struggle to overcome its negative influences? These are questions that need to be answered.

Feudal society was built on the basis of the landowner class exploiting working peasants through land rents and hard labor. The ruling class consisted of the king, officials and so forth, who represented the landowners and established the feudal system of ideology with a view toward protecting the special rights and privileges of the feudal class.

Feudal ideology recognized a social order in which the king was at the top, officials were in the middle and the citizen was at the bottom. More than any other society, feudal society was a society of a hierarchical order. Everyone in society had a specific duty and could only act in accordance with that duty. Every change, every upheaval in the hierarchy was considered hostile by feudal thinking.

Feudal thinking recognized and supported the several key relationships in society. These relationships, which they called the three social bonds, were the relationship between the king and its subjects, father and son and husband and wife. The three pairs of persons in these primary relationships were not independent of one another, rather, one person in each relationship was subservient to another. The subject was subservient to the king, sons had to be subservient to their fathers and wives had to be subservient to their husbands. This thinking led to the formation of the attitude of having little regard for children, youths and women (because they were in subservient positions); to the patriarch mentality and the attitude of respecting leaders (because fathers, leaders and superiors controlled subordinates); and to the

attitude of respecting royalty and age (because only persons of royalty and old age were worthy of being leaders, superiors).

Feudal thinking emphasized courtesy. This courtesy, which was designed to support the affirmation and continued existence of the hierarchy of feudal society, was called culture. Feudal culture defined in detail the way of thinking, the feelings and every action in the behavior of persons within society, within the family and regarding himself. These rules were standards for uniformly evaluating and controlling everyone, not only in terms of their actions, but even in terms of their thoughts and speech.

Appearance, dress, speech, behavior and so forth were factors to which feudal culture attached full importance. Feudal culture only permitted each class of persons within society to adorn themselves, dress, speak and act in accordance with their duty. The highest principle of this rule can be described as follows: "Whatever belongs to a superior must be more beautiful, more noble and more impressive than that which belongs to a subordinate. That which belongs to a subordinate must be smaller, poorer and more modest than that which belongs to a superior." The feudal classes cultivated this culture in man in a painstaking, steadfast manner that began in childhood in order to develop among the succeeding generations a natural acceptance, an attitude of respect for and fear of the king and his officials, an attitude of inferiority and self-denial of one's independence and dignity.

Stressing culture, the feudal class wanted to perpetually preserve among the young generation a sense of naivety, humility, timidity and blind obedience to the ruling class, wanted the young generation to think as the king and his officials thought, to do what they were told. Every assertion of one's personality, every legitimate demand of youths, such as the freedom to love and marry, was curbed and prohibited. In contrast to the working class, which respects the new and likes improvement and progress, the feudal class found the model for its style of life in the distant past and among the elderly. Feudal culture valued the old and did not accept any change; therefore, it was characterized by thinking of the past and was extremely conservative. This is one of the most negative features of feudal thinking.

In our country, the process of building the country has virtually paralleled the process of defending the country. Throughout its several thousand year history, our country has always been threatened, encroached upon or invaded by the Chinese feudal powers; our people, while working their fields and terraces with hoes and plows, have also had to carry swords and knives and be ready to charge into battle. At times of peril, history has demanded that the largest, strongest and bravest force in society, the force that is most ready to sacrifice their lives, play an assault role. This force is youths. However, after driving off the foreign aggressors and establishing the national feudal dynasty, the ruling class, guided by feudal thinking, continue to have little regard for youths and women and fail to correctly evaluate or develop the positive role played by youths.

History also records that when he was young, the founder of the first national dynasty, Dinh Bo Linh, was a military leader in Ninh Binh. However, when he became emperor, Dinh Tien Hoang (Dinh Bo Linh) only trusted in and relied upon elderly generals, such as Bac and Dien, who possessed a conservative, slave-owner mentality.

The House of Tran waged three wars of resistance against the Nguyen army, mobilizing practically the entire young generation into battle; however, at the Dien Hong Conference, which was convened to discuss whether to establish a ceasefire or restore peace, rights were only granted to the elders, which made Tran Quoc Toan extremely angry.

The House of Le, in its 10 year war of resistance against the Minh army, also mobilized virtually all able bodied youths into battle. Fighting the enemy and recording major feats of arms were more than a few young, famous generals, such as Pham Van Xao, Tran Nguyen Han and so forth and even young women whose singing caused the enemy to "drink themselves to death"; however, during its period of greatest prosperity, the intricate examination system of the House of Le did not accept many youths into the ranks of scholars. The vast majority of the officials in the administration (some of whom passed their examination and some of whom did not) were adults.

In the countryside, the role and the position of youths were no better than they were within the imperial palace. Whereas the "village" is called the cell of Vietnamese national solidarity that preserves cultural traditions and defends the country of Vietnam, it was within this green cluster of bamboo that feudal thinking was tenaciously preserved. Here, the class structure, the distribution of territory and food, the usurpation of property belonging to others, the jealousy and animosity toward one another over a gift, over an official position were as old fashioned and bitter as they were within the imperial court. It was the private world of village officials, arrogant landlords and elders. Women were not called upon to perform any official duties. Young men were ordered about by their elders. They played the role of protecting, working for and serving their leaders.

When they utilized youths, the feudal class used the Confucian word "brave" to inspire feudal heroism among them with a view toward fighting foreign aggressors and protecting the system. To some extent, the arrogant landowners and the officials in the countryside also stimulated this heroism among youths in order to protect their immediate interests and maintain order and security in the countryside. However, along with the word "bravery," they also used the word "polite" to bind youths to them. Youths, due to the dynamism and lack of maturity and the fact they were not yet the beneficiaries of the intricate rules of society, were often "impolite." Once a youth was "impolite," he was nothing, even if he was "brave," that is, even if he had recorded a feat of arms in protecting the ruling class. Because, Confucius said: "A person who is brave but impolite is a person to be hated."

History, the feudal class never viewed youths as a creative entity, as an important force stimulating the development of society. They had a low evaluation of and even detested the dynamism and creativity of youths. They only used youths as cheap labor, as a tool to protect their class interests. This is not to mention the countless generations of young women whose human dignity was trampled upon by them through the concubine system, through barbarous forced marriages, thus destroying their happiness.

Today, the feudal system in our country has been thrown onto the trash heap of history. However, as Marx and Lenin pointed out: the thinking of a class generally has greater vitality than the class itself. The ruling class was buried by the revolution but its backward and reactionary thinking, as a result of being deeply rooted in society, still continued to emit their foul odor in the new life. We call this odor remnants. At certain times and places, these remnants rise up and have an impact upon society.

Although they are living under the new system, persons within whom the remnants of feudal thinking predominate generally have difficulty accepting the new. From their point of view, the new is more difficult than the old, times are harder now than they were in the past, children are not as intelligent as their parents, men are superior to women and so forth.

In the evaluation and utilization of youths, the influences of feudal thinking upon adults are also very prevalent at this time.

Among adults, there is a rather large number of persons, including some members and cadres of the party and cadres of state agencies and the Youth Union, who do not fully realize the outstanding contributions and the extraordinary growth of the young generations of Vietnam under the leadership of the party, even though they, themselves, are members of some of these generations.

In the one-half century of following the party in carrying out the revolution, four generations of Vietnamese youths have excellently completed the historic missions assigned to them by the fatherland and the people: opening the way for building the country, taking the lead in winning total victory over two imperialist powers, France and the United States, winning initial victory over the expansionism and big-country hegemony of the Beijing reactionaries and building and firmly defending the socialist Vietnam fatherland. In this process of glorious revolutionary struggle, the young generations have been forged and have rapidly matured both politically and socially. However, persons within whom the remnants of feudal thinking predominate still do not see the tremendous role played by youths in the revolution as a moving force and refuse to view youths as the persons to be educated by society, the creators of the new society and the main army marching into the future. These comrades disregard the extraordinary progress that has been made with regard to the socio-political awareness of youths and disregard the potential that youths have for marching into the future. To them, today's youths, even though they are cared for and educated by our party and system, are still socially and politically inexperienced; youths do not understand "principles," have not made contributions, lack experience in life, etc. That is, youths are still "inferior" to them in many ways.

This view together with the narrowminded, envious patriarchal mentality have led to a failure to give attention to training youths in order to accept them into the party, in order to promote them to positions corresponding to the requirements of the development of the revolution and the growth of youths, thereby creating the conditions for youths to fulfill their function as the reserve force of the party.

The Ha Nam Ninh Provincial Party Committee has reported that, for nearly a decade, many basic party organizations within the province have "silently" not accepted

outstanding Youth Union members into the party. The average age of party members in the rural party chapters is nearly 50 and is as high as 55 in some party chapters. In L.D. Village, the average age of the members of the party organization is very high but, between 1970 and 1980, not one youth was accepted into the party, even though the youth movement there is a very good movement and the Youth Union had trained many outstanding members and introduced them to the party.

In the South, the patriarchal mentality is even more widespread and even exists among more than a few cadres and party members. Many comrades not only have disdain for individual youths, but also disdain for the entire Youth Union organization. At the X. Middle School in Ho Chi Minh City, the party chapter issued a decision to disband the Youth Union chapter because it did not agree with the work that the chapter was performing, even though it was proper work. At the Y. School, because he did not endorse the criticisms offered by Youth Union members, the dean of the school issued an order to close the Youth Union office. In 1977, in K. District, the district party committee secretary met with the district Youth Union five times but four of these times were for the purpose of reprimanding the Youth Union as a father reprimands his children. Are not these grossly undemocratic actions manifestations of the remnants of feudal thinking?

In the economic field, persons who are heavily influenced by the remnants of feudal thinking do not fully see or do not want to accept the role of youths in creative labor. They are fearful of this or that innovation by youths, maintaining that they cause problems and even "show disrespect for elders," which reflects the attitude that "children cannot be better than their parents."

At many places, the assigned role of youths is only employed to "fight fires," to resolve immediate difficulties without ever giving thought to comprehensively training youths in accordance with the viewpoints of the party. Employing the labor of youths in an unplanned, very wasteful manner without giving attention to meeting the legitimate needs of youths is a widespread practice at many economic installations. According to statistics, a certain state farm in the North has a labor force that consists of 40 percent youths. This young labor force, by means of technological improvements and innovations, surpassed nearly 100 quotas and annually earns the state farm nearly 10,000 dong. However, of the 21 requests made by youths regarding matters pertaining to culture and their age group, such as requests for soccer balls, books, magazines, the construction of a club and so forth, only one request was granted: the establishment of a tennis field for a number of youths in the state farm office.

Zone X. In Kien Giang employed 1,000 youths for one-half of 1978 but did not purchase any oil lamps so that youths could read and engage in literary and artistic activities at night.

Even worse, at a number of places, such as the H. State Farm in Thang Binh Province, where 99.2 percent of the labor force is youths, the state farms have not only failed to give attention to the age-group interests of youths, but also looked for ways to reduce their daily material standards. When this was exposed, the responsible persons threatened and scolded the youths.

In recent years, due to the requirements of developing production, a number of economic agencies have given their attention to utilizing the scientific and technical skills of youths but still do not want to use youths in management. At present, youths do not constitute more than 2 percent of the management cadres in the material production sector. This is a very low percentage.

Are not the above mentioned deviations, narrowmindedness and irresponsibility indications that the remnants of feudal thinking are still influencing the evaluation and utilization of youths?

In the field of culture and lifestyle, persons who are heavily influenced by the remnants of feudal thinking do not want to accept the changes occurring within the young generation as a result of the times and international intercourse. They do not realize that the changes in the activities and lifestyle of today's young generation (changes that have occurred while the young generation has continued to inherit and enhance the revolutionary nature of their fathers and older brothers) are easily understood and that some of these changes represent progress consistent with laws. Rather, they generally use older generations and their own period of youth as models for evaluating today's youths.

Many persons among them still want to impose upon today's youths every outmoded concept regarding selecting an occupation, selecting friends, selecting a loved one, selecting clothing, jewelry, the way they talk and act, etc. Moreover, some parents, when they realize that their child is talented with his hands and should be directed toward the mechanical engineering sector, the blacksmith trade, the carpentry trade and so forth, look for ways to direct their child into the various fields of theoretical research because they think that conducting research at departments and institutes is the only respectable job (!). Very many parents, when seeing that their children are now speaking in a natural way with adults, conducting themselves in a dignified manner, expressing their own opinions and defending their opinions in a well reasoned manner, instead of being happy that today's children have abandoned the subservient speech and behavior of slaves and quickly establish their own personalities, complain that their children are impolite and rude. In more than a few families, the parents disagree with their children only over matters pertaining to the selection of clothing styles, the selection of the color of accessories and the arrangement of furniture within the home. That is, they disagree with their children over aesthetics. Parents do not want to recognize the ability of their children to select that which is beautiful today and do not want to respect the independence of children in this field, rather, they only want to "make the shoe fit," to impress upon their children aesthetic tastes that are consistent with those of adults.

It is regrettable that this not only occurs within the narrow framework of a number of families. Throughout society, there are cadres who, when evaluating youths, only do so on the basis of whether they like or detest some of their activities. In many schools, the persons in charge deny all of the necessary changes of youths. As a result of evaluating youths incorrectly, many places have unjustly punished good youths simply because of reasons that deal solely with form.

We are not in favor of absurd styles of dress, disheveled hair and unwholesome activities. However, we also cannot accept an arbitrary attitude in the evaluation of the culture and lifestyle of today's youths. This arbitrariness is nothing more than a manifestation of the lingering remnants of feudal thinking.

Eliminating the remnants of feudal thinking in youth work is an important and pressing problem in the present stage of the revolution. Because, these remnants of feudal thinking pose very large obstacles to the effort to accept and thoroughly implement the revolutionary and scientific viewpoint of the party concerning youth work and have limited youths in their effort to fulfill their collective ownership role and display dynamism and creativity.

Our party always has a high evaluation of youths and the work of the Youth Union. The party maintains that young workers, in particular, and youths, in general, are a very important component of the working class and the nation, are the revolutionary assault force; it considers the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union to be the competent right arm and the dependable reserve unit of the party. Youths play the assault role in the building of society today and play the role of creating the future society. The party considers youth work to be work of strategic significance to the Vietnamese revolution. However, the lingering remnants of feudal thinking within society have caused more than a few persons to fail to realize or to slowly realize the tremendous revolutionary role played by the young generation and the strategic significance of youth work.

Our party has also pointed out that teaching communism to the young generation must become the foremost, central task in youth work and that the "training of youths to be the loyal and outstanding inheritors of the glorious revolutionary cause of the party in order to insure our victory today and tomorrow is an extremely important revolutionary task of strategic significance." (1) The persons who are seriously influenced by feudal thinking do not have a thorough understanding of this viewpoint of the party. They only use youths to have work performed but do not give thought to training and teaching youths.

The party teaches that we must uphold the right of collective ownership and tap the dynamism and creativity of the young and create the conditions for them to contribute and mature, to rapidly assume the role of the collective masters who build and manage society. Persons who are seriously influenced by feudal thinking do not see this point. They approach youths with a patriarchal, arrogant attitude and cause youths to shrink away from them, to not dare assert their personalities or their qualifications to be masters, to not display the very valuable dynamism and creativity of the young.

Attention must be given to the fact that today's youths have not been influenced very much by feudal thinking. However, as long as the remnants of feudal thinking remain in society, they can influence some youths and be strengthened when these youths begin to become adults. Once the victims of incorrect evaluations and utilization as a result of the influences of the remnants of feudal thinking, they become patriarchs and incorrectly evaluate and utilize the new generation of youths. This cause and effect relationship is as vicious a circle as the daughter-in-law-

mother-in-law relationship under the old system. In actuality, we have seen that more than a few cadres and party members, even before assuming positions of authority, are considered by members of the party committee or people's committee to be their "younger brother or sister"; however, when these youths assume positions of authority, the attitude that was displayed toward them is displayed by them toward the cadres and Youth Union members under their authority.

However, it would be unrealistic to think that the remnants of feudal thinking can be rapidly swept away by means of simple measures. In order to sweep away the remnants of feudal thinking and their influences in youth work, we must wage a determined, steadfast struggle, employ revolutionary and scientific methods and mobilize the strength of all of society.

We must perform educational work so that the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the viewpoints and line of our party regarding youth work are thoroughly understood throughout society. In conjunction with teaching the viewpoints and thinking of the party, we must promptly point out and appropriately criticize manifestations of feudal thinking in youth work and point out the harm caused by them to the youth movement and to youth work so that every cadre and party member takes voluntary steps to overcome them.

It is necessary to codify the youth work line of the party in the form of laws and regulations so that everyone, although not implementing this line on a voluntary basis at first, gradually does implement it voluntarily, implement it as a matter of habit. We must establish a number of mechanisms extending from the central level to the local level, especially at installations, for the purpose of protecting and upholding the right of collective ownership of youths and insuring the correct implementation of the systems and policies promulgated by the party and state that pertain to youths.

Thoroughly understanding the party's viewpoint concerning youth work and establishing necessary regulations and laws of the state related to this work are two matters that are closely related. If we only give our attention to propagandizing and explaining viewpoints and do not support this by means of regulations and laws, do not establish suitable mechanisms for insuring the implementation of regulations, we will fail to take the matter any further than awareness and fail to transform circumstances, that is, fail to truly resolve the problem in practice.

FOOTNOTES

1. Party Secretariat resolution 181 on the mobilization of youths.

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THE TRADE UNION, THE BASE OF THE PARTY AND THE STATE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ECONOMIC POLICIES WITHIN ENTERPRISES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 81 pp 46-51

[Article by Dan Tam]

[Text] Our party is strongly changing its leadership within the economic field and making every effort to correct "economic management by bureaucratic administration and subsidies, which employs political mobilization in place of calculating economic returns, employs administrative relations in place of economic relations and utilizes a purely administrative apparatus to manage the economy"(1), with a view toward accelerating the work of building socialism and protecting the fatherland.

As a member of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the collective ownership system, the Trade Union has a very large responsibility in implementing the economic policies of the party in the new period.

In order for the party's line on building and developing the economy to have a positive impact upon life, it must take the form of specific economic policies and state plans. The major policies on the development of industry, agriculture and so forth are the basis for formulating short-term as well as long-term state plans; and, it is on the basis of these plans that specific economic policies are formulated. Both the major economic policies and the specific economic policies are of very important significance in the leadership provided by the party and the economic management provided by the state. The formulation and implementation of economic policies not only have an impact within the economic field, but also upon the entire political and social situation of the country.

Applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the experience in socialist construction of the fraternal socialist countries to the realities of our country and in keeping with the economic line set forth by the 4th Congress of the Party, the Party Central Committee has set forth economic positions and policies that have been increasingly consistent with the country's situation. In particular, the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum, Political Bureau resolution number 26, Party Secretariat directive number 100 on product contracts in agriculture and so forth have opened new directions for strongly stimulating the development of agricultural and industrial production.

In recent years, due to the impact of the correct economic policies of the party, new factors in the development of production, economic management and the organization of life have appeared within agriculture and industry.

Adopting economic policies that are correct and consistent with each stage of development of the country is very important; implementing these policies and causing them to become specific actions on the part of millions of laborers is many times more important.

When their implementation is well organized, economic policies and state plans yield practical economic returns; and, in the course of their implementation, elements of them that are not perfect are amended, elements that are incorrect are revised and elements that are correct are developed upon and can yield high economic returns. Conversely, when their implementation is poorly organized, economic policies, even though they might be very correct, are neither strong nor effective and might even have an opposite effect. The realities of the application of the three economic interests in agriculture and industry in the recent past prove this.

In the process of implementing economic policies, there are three important elements; for a long time, none of them has been thoroughly implemented:

The dissemination of policies to the persons who will implement them (the various echelons, cadres and laborers) has generally been carried out in an administrative, less than thorough manner and without clarifying the viewpoints and thinking reflected in the policy. The most serious shortcoming has been the failure to closely link the effort to propagandize and disseminate policies with the implementation of policies and the failure to keep abreast of the implementation of policies in order to resolve deviations and problems regarding the understanding of policies so that everyone implements them uniformly. As a result, an unwholesome attitude, a lack of confidence in the economic policies of the party and state exist at one place or another.

In the organization of implementation, many economic policies of the party and state have not taken the form of specific plans, regulations and measures of each sector and each locality; there are even places at which regulations are contrary to general policies. As a result of not deploying forces to implement policies, not establishing a clear division of labor and not insuring the full implementation of the principle of collective leadership and personal responsibility, a lack of coordination has developed: easy jobs are performed by many persons or many components together while difficult jobs are given to other persons and components; if an achievement is recorded, everyone says he helped to record it, but if a shortcoming is displayed, no one assumes responsibility.

The inspection of implementation has not become a true system, has not taken the form of procedures that are binding upon each echelon or procedures of the upper echelon that are binding upon the lower echelon. The habit of "leaving something half-done" is rather widespread among the various echelons and sectors. At times, although inspections have been conducted and mistakes in the implementation of economic policies have been uncovered, determined steps have not been taken to use the authority of the upper echelon to compel persons to correct their mistakes.

At times, although inspections have revealed mistakes regarding policies that need to be rectified, the authorized upper echelon has not agreed that mistakes have been made and has not taken steps to rectify them.

As an organization placed under the direct leadership of the party, the trade Union has always fully complied with the resolutions and policies of the party, including its economic policies. The Confederation of Trade Unions and the various Trade Union echelons have made an effort to gain a thorough understanding of the economic policies of the party, helped the state concretize these economic policies in the form of specific systems and policies and proposed measures for educating and mobilizing manual workers and civil servants to scrupulously and actively implement these policies with a view toward developing production and organizing the daily lives of laborers. However, the greatest shortcoming and also the greatest weakness of the Trade Union is that it has failed to turn the economic policies of the party into intense revolutionary actions on the part of the working class, into the aspirations and will of the working class. Because its ability to grasp economic policies, persuade and organize manual workers and civil servants and inspect and supervise the implementation of economic policies is still poor, the Trade Union is not having a good impact, is not fulfilling its role as the base of the party and state in the implementation of economic policies within enterprises.

The Trade Union, the largest mass organization of the working class, is the base of the party and state in the performance of every job within enterprises and agencies, the most important job being the implementation of economic policies. Lenin emphasized: "Without very close ties with the Trade Union, without the enthusiastic support of the Trade Union, without the dedicated work of the Trade Union not only in economic construction, but even in the organization of the military, it is obvious that we cannot manage the state and establish the dictatorship, not for 2 and one-half years, not even for 2 and one-half months."(2)

As the base of the party and state in the implementation of economic policies, the Trade Union must mobilize and organize the manual workers and civil servants at enterprises to enthusiastically implement these policies while actively participating with leadership and management components in organizing the implementation of these policies; and, in the process of implementation, the Trade Union must report to the party and state matters within the policies that have been promulgated that need to be amended and revised and propose new policies that need to be formulated.

In the immediate future, the Trade Union must give appropriate attention to implementing the various policies on production levers and incentives in accordance with the resolutions of the party and the decisions of the state.

In the formulation and implementation of production plans, the Trade Union must attach importance to mobilizing manual workers and civil servants and helping the management agency in every way possible insure the successful implementation of the state plan with a view toward putting goods into the hands of the state; at the same time, it must give attention to mobilizing, developing and making full use of every existing capability and potential by way of raw materials, other materials, equipment, machinery and labor in order to produce additional self-produced products and subsidiary products.

The Trade Union must, on the basis of the interests of the whole, the interests of the working class, struggle against every incorrect way of thinking and working, such as accepting state plan quotas that are lower than those that can be met as a result of a unit acting on the basis of its own limited, partial interests or using supplies and raw materials provided in accordance with the state plan to produce products that are supposed to be produced entirely by the enterprise itself and so forth. The recent situation at enterprises shows that if the sense of collective ownership and the socialist awareness of manual workers and civil servants are not heightened, they very easily find all sorts of reasons to accept a state plan that is below their actual capabilities and find many ways to use the supplies and raw materials provided under the state plan for the production of products that are supposed to be produced entirely by the enterprise itself. In this way, the manual workers at these places earn a higher income and their Trade Union cadres also earn a higher income and have the "sympathy" and "support" of manual workers.

In the implementation of wage and bonus policies that coordinate the three economic interests, the Trade Union must fully understand the need to establish a harmonious and satisfactory unity among the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual manual worker and civil servant. Many years ago, we committed the shortcoming of giving light attention to the interests of the individual laborer, consequently, we did not provide incentive for laborers to concern themselves with the results of their work. Therefore, today, attaching importance to the interests of the individual laborer is both necessary and correct. However, it must always be stated that, in the immediate future, as well as over the long range, the interests of the worker are, under the new system, identical to the interests of the state; personal interests and the interests of the part lie within the interests of the whole, the interests of society. It is incorrect to only give attention to the interests of the individual laborer and not give appropriate attention to the interests of the state.

The relationship among the three economic interests is established by means of the wage and bonus policies, by means of the various percentages in the distribution of enterprise profits and by means of the obligations of the enterprise to deliver products to the state and pay taxes in the form of state-operated enterprise revenues. A basic requirement of the Trade Union is to participate in and supervise the enterprise management agency's correct and prompt implementation of the systems and regulations of the state, especially regulations on the contributions that must be made to the state in the form of money or material resources. Recently, there has been an abnormal situation in this area: nearly 40 percent of the products and commodities produced have not been turned over to the state by enterprises, rather, enterprises have marketed them by themselves or used them in "two-way" trade with other units.(*). More than a few Trade Union cadres have sympathized with and even signed collective contracts with enterprise directors to keep a portion of their products and keep money in excess of permissible amounts, which they have used to distribute to manual workers and civil servants, thereby harming the interests of the state, of all of society.

The basis for the remuneration of labor is the labor quota; the basis for distribution in accordance with labor is the quantity and quality of labor as expressed in labor

productivity. Therefore, the Trade Union must give its attention to mobilizing manual workers and participating with the management agency to devise new labor quotas and promptly adjust labor quotas where necessary so that all labor quotas are economically and technically based and based on empirical data. Correct quotas will cause labor planning to be accurate, tap the enthusiasm and creativity of the laborer and stimulate the development of production; conversely, incorrect quotas (quotas that are too low) easily allow the laborer to become lazy and retard production. Recently, for the purpose of increasing the income of laborers, but without taking into consideration the adverse consequences, more than a few production units, with the support of the Trade Union, have established many quotas that are not well based, reduced quotas on their own, haphazardly raised unit prices and contracted work without making the necessary calculations, thereby creating artificial labor productivity. This has had an adverse effect upon and even caused major harm to the overall calculations and cost accounting of the entire industrial segment as well as each sector and locality.

Besides wages, bonuses of various types (bonuses for completing the plan, bonuses from enterprise profits, innovation-invention bonuses, bonuses for achieving savings and so forth) are very important supplementary sources of income of the manual worker; together with the various subsidies, they can be considered variable wages. Also for the purpose of increasing the income of manual workers and civil servants at any price, more than a few installations, with the support of the Trade Union, have increased bonuses and awards in an excessive, sweeping manner to the point where they have lost all significance. At a rather large number of installations, "bonuses" are many times higher than the basic wage. In one locality, 26 of 76 enterprises awarded "bonuses" to their manual workers and civil servants in 1980 that amounted to 8 to 34 months of additional pay at a time when the Council of Ministers has decided that a bonus may not exceed 3 months' pay.

If this were done by every sector and locality and if this situation were not promptly corrected, it would be impossible to uphold the interest of the state, there would be no capital for expanded reproduction and, in the end, it would be impossible to satisfy the personal interests of laborers. This method of distributing bonuses has created an excessive difference in income among the various components of the working class and had an adverse impact upon class unity, upon the effort to strengthen the sense of organization and discipline of the manual workers and management cadres at installations. At the same time, as a result of tolerating this practice, the Trade Union at these places has acted in a manner contrary to its responsibility, contrary to the policy of the party and state.

The economic policies of the party and state can only become living reality when they become revolutionary movements of the masses. The resolution of the 4th Party Congress stated: "Revolutionary work must be carried forward by means of revolutionary movements."

In order to create widespread and continuous revolutionary movements of the masses, we must skillfully combine political and economic, educational and administrative, ideological and organizational measures and closely and smoothly coordinate the activities of the organizations of the party and the various economic and social organizations."(3)

Organizing movements of manual workers and civil servants to emulate in work and production and successfully implement the economic policies of the party and the plans of the state is the foremost and constant task of the Trade Union. To perform this task well, the Trade Union must develop upon and apply the lessons and experiences it has learned and gained and must, in particular, overcome the tendency to make the mobilizing of the masses and the organizing of movements purely bureaucratic and administrative matters. These tendencies are evident in slogans and themes of movements that are not consistent with the economic situation and requirements of the country; in measures for mobilizing the masses and organizing movements that are not closely linked to economic policies, cannot appropriately coordinate the three economic interests and rely heavily upon motivation and exhortation while giving light attention to providing material incentive and not giving appropriate attention to the interests of persons who contribute much to production. While overcoming the mistakes mentioned above, the Trade Union must prevent the tendency to place sole emphasis upon material interests, to use material interests in place of management, in place of ideological work, in place of mobilizing and organizing movements.

Through its work of mobilizing and organizing the implementation of economic policies, the Trade Union learns about and faithfully reflects the legitimate requirements and aspirations of the mass of manual workers and civil servants in order to help the party amend or devise new economic policies. In the recent past, on the basis of the realities of the production movement of the masses, our party concretized the resolution of the 6th Party Plenum in the form of specific policies regarding production, distribution and circulation and is continuing to research and promulgate other important policies. In order to do a good job of contributing opinions to the organizations of the party on the various levels, Trade Union cadres must always be vigilant and clearly determine what has been done as the result of a mistake and must be rectified, what is inadequate or not yet in existence, which policies must be amended or promulgated, what can be done and what cannot be done, what are the legitimate aspirations and interests of the masses, what represents the scheme of the enemy and decadent reactionaries to provoke workers and create displeasure among the masses and so forth. Only when the corps of Trade Union cadres is alert and clear-sighted, is it possible for the Trade Union organization to have the conditions to truly become the thread linking the party to the mass of manual workers and civil servants.

Endeavoring to successfully carry out the economic policies of the party is the extremely important task of the Trade Union, is a task that reflects the party and class nature of the Trade Union. In order for the Trade Union to fulfill this task well, it must be under the close leadership of the party and have the collaboration and cooperation of the various state agencies, from the agencies that research and formulate policies to the agencies that implement policies, from the central and local levels to the basic level, especially the basic level. The various party committee echelons must strengthen their leadership of the Trade Union and create every possible favorable condition for it to gain a full and prompt understanding of economic policies. The agencies of the state must maintain a close relationship with the Trade Union organizations on the various levels; specifically, they must "truly respect the voice of the Trade Union, considering it to be the voice

of the mass of workers. As regards economic matters, technical matters and discipline in production and matters relating to politics, society and the daily lives of manual workers, the state must establish a system of relationships between the various levels of the Trade Union and the various levels of the government, which will insure that the Trade Union can speak for manual workers and which, at the same time, will show that the Trade Union is the link between the manual worker and the state."(4)

FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Bureau resolution on organizational work.
2. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 51.
- * According to a report by the State Bank, the products kept by installations for marketing by themselves in the 3rd quarter of 1980 were as follows:

	State Raw Materials	Self-Acquired Raw Materials
Central Enterprises:		
The South	31.5 percent	50.5 percent
The North	7.5	76.7
Local Enterprises:		
The South	36	18
The North	21	63

3. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 69.
4. Speech by Le Duan, general secretary of the Party Central Committee, at the 4th Vietnam Trade Union Congress, "Van kien Dai hoi lan thu IV Cong doan Viet-nam" [Proceedings of the 4th Vietnam Trade Union Congress], Lao Dong Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, p 17.

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PRIDE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 81 pp 52-54

[Article by Chu Mong]

[Text] When you are in friendly countries walking down a road, enjoying the scenery or watching the people in an agricultural area or a mountainous area, an elderly person, a youth or a child will suddenly come up to you and ask in a hesitating voice: "Vietnamese?" You nod your head and politely reply: "Vietnamese." Then, this person will immediately display an attitude of hospitality, joy, and excitement, tightly grasp your hand and repeat the words: "Vietnam-Ho Chi Minh, Vietnam-Ho Chi Minh." You look at each other, feeling as moved, as close and as happy as two relatives meeting each other after a long period of separation. At such a time, you cannot help but feel deep within your heart pride in being a citizen of Vietnam in the age of Ho Chi Minh, the citizen of a country that has made a worthy contribution to the common cause of the people of the world against colonialism, imperialism, expansionism and hegemony.

In a few countries, persons have visited compatriots who left the fatherland, left in "search of a living" over one-half century ago and who have children, nephews, nieces and grandchildren that were born in that country. But, in the most revered part of their homes, the visitors saw a picture of President Ho Chi Minh placed on the altar. This altar is both the altar of their forefathers and the "fatherland altar," as overseas Vietnamese frequently refer to it. Looking at the picture of President Ho Chi Minh, both the owner of the house and the visitor share the same pride: the pride of being persons who once lost their country but have now become citizens of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, persons who have the "heroic Vietnamese fatherland."

As one travels the roads of our country, from the North to the South, one recalls the unforgettable months and years of the fierce fight against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists, a fight that lasted for a full 30 years. In fact, there were times when "the earth seemed to want to crack" in this land. Yet, we were the ultimate victors. We overcame every challenge and, today, are rebuilding the country. Our difficulties are many, but we have overcome the worst of our adversities. Both the present and the future of the country are in the hands of persons who are also the masters of the country, the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. When we think about the months and years that have past, look at the present and look to the future, we feel pride.

"Vietnamese pride" has been passed down from one generation to the next through the 4,000 year history of the nation. Expressing this pride, Uncle Ho reminded us: "The Hung Kings performed the service of building the country, we must work together to defend it."(1)

From the Hung Kings, the Trung Sisters, Ngo Quyen, Le Hoan, Ly Thuong Kiet, Tran Hung Dao, Le Loi, Nguyen Hue... to President Ho Chi Minh, the cause of our nation has always been the cause, as stated by Nguyen Trail, of "the great cause triumphing over cruelty, love of mankind replacing tyranny"(Binh ngo dai cao). This is "Vietnamese pride."

We are proud of the indomitable spirit, the intelligence and the bravery of our Vietnamese nation. Having experienced several thousand years of building and defending the country, the nation of Vietnam has, in the face of every turning point in history, strengthened its solidarity, worked together to preserve the nation's civilization, pooled their intelligence to find the path of national salvation.

The Vietnamese pride that we have inherited from our forefathers is truly remarkable and genuine. However, this pride that we inherited was incomplete, was limited by the conditions of the various ages because the people had never truly exercised ownership.

In the "Age of Ho Chi Minh," Vietnamese pride has been elevated to a new pinnacle by our party and become complete and pure. Under the light of Marxism-Leninism, our party led our people in fighting to liberate the country and unify the nation; today, under the banner of the party, the people of the entire country are struggling to build socialism and protect the socialist fatherland. The fatherland and the people have come together within one, complete entity. Patriotism and proletarian internationalism have been smoothly combined. As a result, today, this pride is a precious spiritual attribute which every Vietnamese, imbued with the thinking "everything for the socialist fatherland, for the happiness of the people," is respectfully preserving for himself and herself and for his or her children, for today and for the future. Not resting our heads on this spiritual "laurel," we consider it to be a shield for protecting ourselves and a sword for fighting the enemy.

Here, we cannot help but ask ourselves a new question: how do we maintain and use such an effective weapon?

We see that, regardless of their position, as they continue to follow the banner of the party, the vast majority of the persons in the "Age of Ho Chi Minh" continue to live poor but honest lives, leaving nothing by way of "titles," "inheritance," "legacies" or personal wealth to their children. The most valuable "personal" property of one's entire active life continues to be pride as expressed in the desire to constantly improve one's revolutionary qualities and work skills, the desire of serving the people in a faithful manner, and the determination to complete assigned production, combat and work tasks in accordance with each person's job. This is the main stream of our social life. It is this Vietnamese pride that helps many of us to overcome new difficulties and challenges, especially the economic difficulties in our economic life at this time.

However, we have also witnessed more than a few persons whose pride has declined, even disappeared. Some persons who have been "attacked" by base desires have feebly resisted and gradually fallen by the wayside. Some persons who are seriously afflicted with selfish individualism have gradually become persons who are divorced from the revolutionary ideals of our party and people. Having lost their Vietnamese pride, they have become pawns, become loudspeakers spreading the distorted arguments and propaganda of the economy. Having become materially decadent, a number of persons have gradually fallen into the abyss of political decadence, an abyss filled with perils.

Of course, such persons, although they harm the revolution somewhat, cannot shake the will of the mass of our cadres and people, who are determined to struggle to build socialism and protect the fatherland.

Vietnamese pride has the effect of strengthening and enhancing the spirit of responsibility, strengthening the confidence in the future of our country's revolution and, at the same time, preserving our qualities. This pride is in everyone's heart but is also the common property of everyone. For this reason, in the face of the actions of some persons who cheaply sell their qualities and commit themselves to a life of decadence and deviance, the mass of our people, with their inherent, legitimate pride in their nation, feel offended as a community, feel offended personally. Therefore, they cannot maintain a tolerant attitude and allow these "worms" to undermine our pride.

Vietnamese pride, which has been cultivated and nurtured throughout the 4,000 year history of the nation of Vietnam, has reached a level of purity and completeness today, thus causing every patriotic Vietnamese in the age of Ho Chi Minh to make every effort to preserve it, to use it as his source of inspiration in order to steadily advance under the banner of the party and make contributions to the work of building and protecting the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. This is one of the remarkable characteristics, one of the fine traditions of Vietnamese social life.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Lich su Viet-nam" [The History of Vietnam], Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, Volume I, p 3.

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THE BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 61 pp 55-65, 70

[Article by Phuc Cuong]

[Text] 1. The Decisive Historic Factors in the Birth of the Non-Aligned Movement

The non-aligned movement is a new phenomenon in international relations in the post World War II period. The birth of this movement came about as a result of many factors.

Following World War II, the world socialist system was born; two independent social systems were created in the world. The U.S. imperialists started the cold war, intensified the arms race and frantically prepared for war against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. The establishment by the United States of the North Atlantic Military Alliance led to the formation of the Warsaw Pact and the formation of two opposing military blocs in Europe. In the 1950's, as a result of the policy of the imperialist camp, led by the United States, of pursuing the arms race and preparing for war, the threat of world war became especially serious.

The second important event following the birth of the world socialist system, was the strong development of the national liberation movement. The colonialist countries of western Europe waged bloody wars against the peoples of the colonies. At the same time, the U.S. imperialists and the other imperialists established military alliances in Asia, Africa and Latin America, especially in Asia, for the purpose of opposing the national independence movement.

Under the international conditions of the 1950's, a trend appeared among a number of newly independent Asian countries, especially India, to follow a neutral course, to not join any camp and to oppose the establishment of military alliances. These countries maintained that this was the only way to maintain peace and national independence. This trend was fiercely opposed by the U.S. imperialists. During the 1950's, the conditions did not exist for this trend to become the non-aligned movement. The Afro-Asian conference held in Bandung in 1955 reflected some of the aspirations of the newly independent countries in Asia and Africa to safeguard peace and protect their national independence. However, after the Bandung conference, it was impossible to convene a second Afro-Asian conference because China wanted to control the forces of Asia and Africa to serve its ambition of hegemony.

The non-aligned trend only became the non-aligned movement as a result of the historic conditions that existed in the final years of the 1950's and the first years of the 1960's.

In 1957, the Soviet Union launched earth's first manmade satellite, thereby putting an end to U.S. superiority in strategic weapons. The territorial inviolability that the United States had enjoyed during the two world wars was abolished. Together with losing its superiority in nuclear weapons, the United States, for the first time in history, was within the range of these weapons if it ever recklessly unleashed a nuclear war. Parity in nuclear weapons in the U.S.-Soviet strategic balance had been established. Now in a weakened position, the United States was forced to revise its strategy from the general strategy of "repelling communism" and the "massive retaliation" military strategy to the "strategy for peace" and the "flexible response" military strategy. J. Kennedy advocated a shift to detente with the Soviet Union. The cold war of the 1950's was gradually brought to an end and replaced by moderation in U.S.-Soviet relations. In the early 1960's, the possibility for peaceful coexistence between the two opposing social systems was firmly strengthened and the prospect for safeguarding peace and avoiding a new world war became reality. The struggle to safeguard peace and oppose war developed.

The second factor that had a profound impact upon the process of the birth of the non-aligned movement was the attempt by the imperialist countries, in the face of the strong development of the national liberation movement, especially following the defeat of the French colonialists at Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam in 1954, to find ways to lead the national independence struggle of nations down the path of peace in order to continue to maintain their imperialist interests in the colonies. They terminated the colonial wars, negotiated with the bourgeoisie of these countries and granted independence to these countries in a vain attempt to stop the revolutionary struggle in the colonies and in the hope of ruling these countries by means of neo-colonialism instead of old-style colonialism.

Taking advantage of the weakness of the western European imperialist countries following World War II, the U.S. imperialists pushed the British, French and Dutch from their colonies in a number of regions of the world and placed these lands under the control of U.S. neo-colonialism. U.S. imperialism became the imperialist power with the largest neo-colonialist system. However, shortly thereafter, together with the permanent collapse of the old-style colonialism of the British, French and Dutch, U.S. neo-colonialism also began to enter a crisis, which was marked by the collapse of Batista, the lackey dictator of the United States in Cuba (1959). In this situation, in order to continue to maintain their yoke of neo-colonialist rule, the U.S. imperialists shifted to the "flexible response" strategy for the purpose of opposing the national liberation movement and, on the other hand, made every effort to court the newly independent countries. Following its defeat in the use of military alliances for the purpose of bring pressure to bear, the United States was forced to accept the neutral line of a number of Asian, African and Latin American countries and, together with the other imperialist countries, try to lead the national liberation movement down the path of "the United Nations granting independence to the colonies"(the 1960 UN resolution on decolonialization).

The third factor related to the birth of the non-aligned movement was that more and more countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America won their independence and these countries became a large force in international politics. During the first 12 years following World War II, only about 20 countries won their independence; however, from 1958 to 1964, that is, in the space of 6 years, 35 additional countries won their independence; in 1960 alone, 18 African countries won their independence. Deserving of attention is the fact that the majority of these countries won their independence through negotiations with the imperialists. This characteristic reflected the victory of the newly independent countries; on the other hand, it showed that the majority of the newly independent countries wanted to resolve problems in international relations by non-violent means, by means of peaceful negotiations and compromise.

The fourth factor that led to the emergence of the non-aligned movement was the attempt by the leaders of a number of countries to take advantage of detente in U.S.-Soviet relations and the trend toward compromise in the relations between the imperialist countries and the newly independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in order to play a large role in the world political system. Against the background of the world being divided into two camps, each of which was led by a powerful country (the Soviet Union or the United States), they harbored the illusion of assembling countries, primarily the newly independent countries, in a third force standing between the two opposing social forces, even though these countries did not share the same intentions.

The first of these trends was the French trend. Ambitious of restoring France to its role as a world power with a voice independent of both the United States and the Soviet Union, General deGaulle advocated making France's strategic nuclear forces independent of NATO and assembling the countries of western Europe, China, Asia, Africa and Latin America within a third force, which would be under the leadership of France and stand between the two camps. However, the policy of France embodied numerous contradictions: France wanted to play a major role between the two blocs but not imperialist ambitions, consequently, France, instead of rallying the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, was denounced by these countries (in the resolutions of the 1st and 2nd High Level Non-Aligned Conferences). Although France and China agreed in their opposition to the Nuclear Weapons Test Ban Treaty, China sought ways to use the anti-imperialist banner of national independence to monopolize the countries of Asia and Africa, consequently, it also opposed the schemes of France. In addition, there was a major contradiction between the overly grand ambitions of France and France's limited capabilities. France achieved some success in gaining the participation of the western European countries in the establishment of the European Common Market (1957) but met with defeat in its efforts to assemble a "third force."

The second of these trends was the Chinese trend. The Maoist rulers of China had long held the dream of ruling the world. The People's Republic of China was born at a time when the world was divided into two systems led by the Soviet Union and the United States; therefore, after consolidating their power on the continent, the rulers of China turned their attention to assembling a third force in order to rise to the position of a world power. In 1955, China used the Bandung Conference to broaden its influence among the countries of Asia and Africa. This was the first

attempt by China to separate itself from the world socialist system and assemble a third force outside the two opposing systems. China's intention of opposing the Soviet Union, opposing the revolution became increasingly clear in the late 1950's. Continuing to scream their opposition against the United States, they supported the people of Korea and the people of Vietnam; however, it was clear that China advocated the permanent partition of these two countries and wanted to use the Korea and Vietnam issues to bargain with the United States and enter into detente with the United States.

Between 1958 and 1964, behind the revolutionary mask of opposing the United States, opposing so called U.S.-Soviet detente, China made every effort to rally the forces of Asia and Africa and competed for leadership of the world revolution in order to achieve its strategic objective of playing a major role in international affairs. China tried to assemble the countries of Asia and Africa within a third force in two ways. The first way was to brandish the Bang Dung banner in order to convene a second Afro-Asian conference. The second way was to join Indonesia in establishing a new force in opposition to the United Nations. China did everything possible to prevent the Soviet Union from joining either of these forces. China used both of these forces to oppose the non-aligned movement and oppose Yugoslavia and India, the two countries that founded the non-aligned movement. However, both of these efforts met with defeat.

The third trend was the trend of a number of famous leaders, such as Nehru, Nasser and Tito. They wanted to assemble a separate force consisting of countries that did not participate in military alliances, a force standing outside the two military blocs, and advocated the solution of international issues by means of negotiations. These leaders had legitimate aspirations for peace and against war. At the same time, they wanted to maintain the independence of their own countries. On the other hand, they shared the desire to assemble a third force in order to play a major role in the resolution of international issues. In this effort, they encountered a major obstacle: the desire of the Chinese authorities to monopolize the countries of Asia and Africa.

Due to their different national interests, the attitudes of these leaders also differed. Although they opposed military alliances in principles, in actuality, Yugoslavia is a country in Europe, the only place in the world that has two opposing military alliances. The interests of Yugoslavia were not the same as the interests of the independent nationalist countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America because, at these places, there was only a host of military alliances set up by the United States to threaten their peace and independence. Under the guise of opposing military alliances and treating the Soviet Union and the United States equally, Yugoslavia was actually supporting the United States and opposing the Soviet Union. Conversely, the countries of Asia and Africa considered their main threat to be the military alliances of the imperialists, such as the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Military Alliance in the Middle East (CENTO), and lackey forces of the imperialists were continuing to intimidate them. Therefore, Mr. Nehru and Mr. Nasser resolutely opposed the military alliances of the imperialists and sought the assistance and aid of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in order to protect their independence. For these reasons, as the non-

aligned movement has developed, India has played an increasingly positive role within the movement while Yugoslavia has moved in an increasingly negative direction and suffered an increasing loss of prestige.

II. The Development of the Movement

The period from 1961 to 1964 was the period of formation of the movement in terms of both its organization and the targets of its struggle. This was the period during which the U.S. imperialists were strengthening detente with the Soviet Union (the high level Soviet-U.S. meeting in Vienna in 1961; the 1963 Nuclear Weapon Test Ban Treaty; the rapid resolution of the Caribbean missile crisis and the Berlin crisis); on the other hand, the United States was looking for ways to counter-attack the national liberation movement (the assassination of Premier Lumumba in the Congo in 1961, the Bay of Pigs incident in 1962, the special war in Laos and South Vietnam and so forth).

Also during this period, China intensified its opposition to the Soviet Union and the United States, undermined U.S.-Soviet detente, which actually involved opposing the Soviet Union and competed for leadership of the world revolutionary movement while relentlessly attacking Tito and Nehru in order to assume the role of leading the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Against this background, the countries that participated in the Bang Dung Conference were divided into three groups. One group consisted of the nine countries that participated in the military alliances of the United States and the other imperialist countries. Another group consisted of 14 countries that pursued a non-aligned course and attended the Belgrade conference. These 14 countries and the 10 countries that won their independence following the Bang Dung Conference, together with the provisional government of Algeria and the Angolan National Liberation Movement, became the first members of the non-aligned movement. The third group consisted solely of China, which separated itself with the intention of establishing its own force. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was not invited to join the non-aligned movement. The First Non-Aligned High Level Conference held in Belgrade (Yugoslavia) was attended by 23 countries and the Second Non-Aligned High Level Conference, which was held in Cairo in 1964, was attended by 47 countries. The majority of these new members were countries that won their independence after 1960 by means of negotiations and compromise with the imperialists. Because of this makeup of the countries that participated in the first two conferences of the non-aligned movement, the leadership of the movement during this period was actually in the hands of the founding members. Cuba and Algeria participated in the movement at that time, but were newly independent countries facing numerous difficulties and were unable to play a strong role within the non-aligned movement.

The dual nature of the movement during this period was clearly evident in the proceedings of the first two high level conferences. The declaration of the Belgrade conference dealt with the two most important issues of protecting peace and national independence, maintaining that a permanent peace could only be achieved if the ruling yoke of imperialism and colonialism, both old and new, were abolished. Compared to the Belgrade conference, the Cairo conference went a step further in exposing "imperialism and colonialism, both old and new, as the basic source of international tensions and conflicts" and asserted that "abolishing

imperialism and colonialism, both old and new, is the foremost task of the non-aligned countries."

The limitation of the movement at that time was that it did not dare to engage in a face to face struggle with the U.S. imperialists, the ringleaders of the imperialists, who were frantically counter-attacking the revolutionary movements in the world and intensifying the special war in Indochina while preparing world opinion for direct aggression against Vietnam (the Gulf of Tonkin incident occurred 2 months before the Cairo conference). The struggle of the people of Vietnam and the struggle of the people of Cuba were considered issues of partitioned countries. On this basis, the conference demanded that the United States withdraw from Guantanamo in Cuba and support the unification of Vietnam on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Accords. At the same time, it showed a tendency to establish a balance between the United States and the Soviet Union. The conference sent letters to the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union, appealing to them to hold negotiations for the purpose of ending the arms race and maintaining peace.

The tendency of some leaders of the movement to set the movement on the course of negotiations, compromise and protecting the United States was one of the main reasons why the movement was paralyzed following the Cairo conference, from 1965 to 1969. This was a period in which the worldwide class struggle became extremely sharp as a result of the counter-attack by the imperialists and the international reactionary powers and as a result of a period of serious crisis experienced by the world revolutionary movement.

Changing its tactics, China brandished a far-left revolutionary banner in an attempt to sow division and create crisis within the world revolutionary movement and create chaos within China. The so called "great proletarian cultural revolution," which was personally launched and guided by Mao Zedong, submerged China in a civil war, paralyzed and disintegrated the Chinese Communist Party and dealt an extremely serious blow to the revolutionary forces within China. In the world, China, pursuing a far-left line in the style of the "cultural revolution," appealed for the formation of Maoist parties in all countries with a view toward creating a crisis and seriously paralyzing the world communist and worker movement. Although China appealed for opposition to the United States and the Soviet Union at this time, it actually directed the spearhead of its opposition at the Soviet Union. As regards the United States, China signalled the United States that if "you do not bother us, we will not bother you"; on the other hand, it weakened the struggle by nations against U.S. aggression by pressuring them to direct their struggle toward the Soviet Union and rejecting the establishment of a united, anti-American world people's front in which the Soviet Union participated. The pinnacle came in 1969 when China unleashed a border war against the Soviet Union and began to consider the Soviet Union its most dangerous enemy. In Southeast Asia, this was a period in which the activities of Maoism were the strongest. In 1965, China urged the communist parties in Southeast Asia to wage an armed struggle and carry out coup d'etats and urged the Chinese in the countries of Southeast Asia to establish Red Guards and carry out "cultural revolutions." As regards Vietnam, China allowed the United States to escalate its war against the Vietnamese and blocked Soviet aid for Vietnam; on the other hand, it opposed all negotiations between Vietnam and

the United States. China planned to "fight the United States until the last Vietnamese."

Taking advantage of the reactionary strategy of the Chinese authorities of opposing the Soviet Union and opposing the revolutionary movement, the U.S. imperialists made every effort to counter-attack the national liberation movement. The selected Vietnam as the place to display the so called invincible strength of the United States and waged a most bloody war to deter the world revolutionary movement. Encouraged and assisted by the United States, the Israeli reactionaries waged the largest war of aggression ever against the Arab countries in 1967. At the same time, the United States made every effort to create regional crises (the India-Pakistan war in 1965, U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965 and a host of coup d'etats in the non-aligned and developing countries--Algeria, 1966, Ghana, 1966, Mali, 1967 and so forth).

As a result of the counter attack by the United States and reactionary opposition to the national liberation movement and the revolutionary movements in various countries, East-West detente was undermined. Although the treaty banning the proliferation of nuclear weapons was signed in 1967, after that year, U.S.-Soviet relations were cold as a result of the war of aggression of the United States in Vietnam, the war of aggression of Israel in the Middle East and a number of other international events. The relations between the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries also became more tense. The negotiations, which lasted for decades, between the "Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries"(OPEC) and the western countries failed. The situation in many non-aligned countries was seriously unstable as a result of the acts of sabotage of the imperialists and reactionaries. The majority of the leaders who played important roles within the movement were either overthrown (Sukarno, Nkruma and so forth), met with many failures (Nassar) or died (Nehru). In the face of imperialism's intentional use of war to oppose the independence of nations and in the face of the acts of sabotage and division by China, the revolutionary movement and the national liberation movement in a number of countries suffered temporary setbacks and assumed a defensive posture. At this time when the line of the leaders of the non-aligned movement of negotiating and making compromises with the imperialists had shown itself to be unsuccessful, the arms struggle of the peoples of various countries, especially the struggle by the people of Vietnam, entered a difficult, decisive stage. At a number of places, such as the Middle East and Latin America, the arms struggle was even defeated. This caused the non-aligned movement to fall into a crisis during this period. The impasse and crisis of the movement worsened when the leaders of a number of countries, primarily Yugoslavia, with the encouragement of the United States, looked for ways to deeply commit the movement to the course of compromise, which would support the aggressive intentions of the United States. The conference of non-aligned countries convened by Yugoslavia in Belgrade in April, 1965, issued a declaration by 17 countries appealing for an unconditional ceasefire and negotiations to resolve the Vietnam issue, which was contrary to the just stand of Vietnam and consistent with the stand of the United States. This action was opposed by the people of Vietnam. Some of these 17 non-aligned countries also rejected this appeal and withdrew their names from the declaration. The mistake made by this conference caused the non-aligned movement to lose even more prestige. At a time when the movement against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the movement

against U.S. and Israeli aggression against the Arab countries were strongly developing in the world, many non-aligned countries opposed Yugoslavia's campaign to convene a conference of non-aligned countries to resolve the Vietnam issue and the Middle East issue. Between 1966 and 1968, Yugoslavia proposed that high level non-aligned conferences be held four times and met with defeat each time. Clearly, Yugoslavia had lost its prestige within the non-aligned movement. The non-aligned movement concluded this period without holding the high level conference that should have been held in 1967.

Beginning in 1970, under the impact of the trend of development of the post-Vietnam period, the non-aligned movement experienced a leap forward in terms of both its size and nature.

To begin with, the militant and revolutionary nature of the movement was heightened. The victory of the Vietnamese against the United States strongly inspired the people of the world in their revolutionary struggle and showed the peoples of all countries that a nation, although small, can, if it adopts the correct line and knows how to coordinate and utilize the overall strength of the nation and the times, defeat an enemy many times more powerful. The victory of the Vietnamese and the defeat of U.S. imperialism were of historic and international significance. Many countries of the world developed a new concept to reflect the significance of the Vietnamese revolution: the post-Vietnam period. The victory of the OPEC countries in the use of the weapon of petroleum against imperialist exploitation was new proof of the strength of the anti-imperialist militant solidarity of the peoples of the developing countries. This victory strongly inspired the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their fight to liberate themselves and protect their national independence. Following the victory of Vietnam, a host of countries won their independence following a process of violent struggle in Africa, the Middle East, Central America, Southeast Asia and so forth, thereby changing the balance of power in many regions of the world. The participation by these countries in the non-aligned movement changed the size and structure of the movement. The number of members doubled within the space of 1 decade. More importantly, the number of countries that had waged a revolutionary struggle to win their independence increased many times and these countries played an increasingly positive role within the movement.

Secondly, the national liberation struggle and the struggle to protect national independence during this period were more intense than previously. In addition to continuing the struggle to win political independence, the struggle to abolish the old economic order of imperialism became an important task. The imperialist countries not only continued to exploit the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in every way possible, but also sought ways to place upon these countries the burden of the capitalist economic crisis. The gap between the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the developed capitalist countries became increasingly wide and the antagonisms between the developing countries and the imperialist countries became increasingly sharp. The developing countries, although not agreeing with one another with regard to social systems and national interests, were brought closer together by the struggle for a new, more equitable and reasonable economic order. This was a new, positive phenomenon that emerged within the movement during this period.

Thirdly, the balance of power within the movement has constantly changed in the favor of the forces actively opposing imperialism. The forces advocating compromise, advocating that the movement be steered from the course of struggling against imperialism, against colonialism and toward a course of "opposing both military blocs," "opposing both superpowers," which, in essence, means opposing the Soviet Union, have gradually been defeated. The victory of the Vietnamese and the OPEC countries, the victories of the Cuban people and the peoples of the Asian, African and Latin American countries developing toward socialism, the victory of Iran, the defeat of Sadat's line of surrender and compromise and the emergence of a front of countries steadfastly opposed to Israel as well as the defeat of the North-South negotiations and so forth prove the bankruptcy of the line of compromising with imperialism. China's emergence as a traitor and its open alliance with the imperialists against the Soviet Union, against the revolution dealt another blow to the forces that joined with China in wanting to steer the movement down the path of "opposing both superpowers." The Soviet Union has constantly developed upon its strengths and revolutionary offensive position and become the dependable base of the revolutionary movement in the world. Through the realities of their struggles, many non-aligned countries have come to see that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are the dependable base of the forces of peace and national independence. The declarations of the 5th and 6th High Level Conferences of the Non-Aligned Countries praised the role played by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Fourthly, against the background of the balance of power in the world constantly changing in the favor of peace and national independence, the relaxation of East-West tensions has continued to develop, as seen in the Berlin Agreement, SALT-1, the Helsinki Agreement and so forth. Peaceful coexistence between the two opposing systems has grown deep roots in Europe. As a result, the role of the non-aligned movement in the maintenance of peace and the development of the relaxation of tensions has been strongly increased. The movement has become an important element of the forces of peace in the world.

The characteristics presented above show that, following the short period of crisis in the second half of the 1960's, the non-aligned movement entered a period of unprecedented development beginning in the 1970's. The 3rd High Level Conference held in London (1971), in 1970 and, in particular, the 4th High Level Conference held in Algiers in 1973 marked a turning point for the non-aligned movement in brandishing the anti-imperialist banner in the world, the clearest example of which was the movement taking the side of the Vietnamese against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and recognizing the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam as a official member of the movement. The Algerian high level conference also went down in history as the declaration of economic liberation and mastery of national resources of the developing countries, thereby opening the way for the comprehensive attack against the economic exploitation by imperialism. The 5th High Level Conference held in Havana in August, 1979, was the pinnacle of the process of development of the non-aligned movement. The conference ushered in a new period of the movement, the period of the line of resolutely struggling against imperialism and the international reactionary powers. The declarations and resolutions of the conference reflected the trend of the struggle by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and for peace, national independence and social progress.

III. The Problems and Prospects of the Non-Aligned Movement

The non-aligned movement consists of the majority of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and a small number of European countries and accounts for 40 percent of the world's population and two-thirds of the members of the United Nations. Asia, Africa and Latin America are regions of extremely important strategic significance. Having been born and developed against the background of the storm of struggle for national liberation, of the fierce struggle between the two opposing world systems, under the tremendous influence of the socialist system and against the background of the profound crisis of the capitalist system, the non-aligned movement is an important factor in the world political system. In the 20 years of its existence, through the important voice that it has at the United Nations and the other international forums, the movement has made important contributions to safeguarding peace, to the relaxation of tensions and to international security in the face of the scheme of the imperialists to pursue the arms race and create a tense situation in the world. In particular, the movement has played a strong role in supporting and inspiring the struggle by nations to liberate themselves and protect their independence against the rule and aggression of imperialism and reactionaries. The movement is an important force in the struggle within international forums to establish a new world economic order.

On the other hand, the movement is a broad assemblage of forces. As a result of its very loose membership standards, the movement consists of many different types of countries whose political tendencies and national interests differ; therefore, the unity and solidarity of the movement can only be achieved on the basis of a minimal platform, peace and national independence, and, as a result, the ability of the movement to take action has definite limitations. Moreover, due to the class nature of the persons in power in many of its member countries, the movement has at times adopted a negative attitude toward a number of international issues, especially issues of a class nature.

Reviewing the history of the past 20 years, it can be seen that the growth of the non-aligned movement has been due, on the one hand, to the growth of the three revolutionary currents, in general, and the growth of the national liberation and national independence movement, in particular; on the other hand, it has been due to the difficult and complex struggle waged by the movement itself to successfully achieve the objectives of opposing the schemes of reactionary forces within and outside the movement to sabotage and divide the movement and cause the movement to turn away from these objectives. The representatives of the powers who want to turn the non-aligned movement away from its objectives are China and Yugoslavia. The relationship between these forces has undergone numerous changes: they opposed each other during the 1960's and have cooperated and collaborated with each other during and since the 1970's. However, they share one thing that has not changed, their desire to monopolize the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in order to create a third force to serve their schemes. They have taken advantage of the antagonisms between the two systems, the two blocs, in order to play a major role in the world that benefits them and, at the same time, disorient the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism in order to steer this struggle toward the two powerful countries of the United States and the Soviet Union, which, in essence, means opposing the Soviet Union, opposing the revolution and

supporting imperialism. Although China is not a member of the non-aligned movement and Yugoslavia is, their arguments are basically identical. They maintain that the cause of tensions in the world and the threat of world war as well as the causes of the conflicts occurring at many places in the world now are the formation and existence of the military blocs and the competition between the two superpowers. As a result, they advocate opposing both blocs and opposing both superpowers as the only way to preserve peace and protect the national interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Their argument goes against the realities of the struggle by the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the struggle to protect peace and national independence, the majority of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have the policy of not joining military alliances in order to avoid being pulled into the schemes of the imperialists to start new wars and in order to maintain their independence. However, refusing to join military blocs is not the objective of these countries. It is only a measure. Their objectives are peace and national independence. The realities of the world situation over the past 35 years have shown that the main threats to peace and the national independence of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are the aggressive and interventionist policies of the imperialists and the reactionaries. Over the past 35 years, there have only been military blocs of the imperialists in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The changing situation in past years and at present at many places in the world, from such regional conflicts as the wars in Vietnam, the Middle East, South Africa, Central America and the Caribbean to cases involving the partitioning of countries, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea and so forth, have been caused by the imperialists. This fact refutes the fabricated argument of China and Yugoslavia that the cause of the situation was the formation of two military blocs and competition between the two "superpowers." The struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism is becoming increasingly intense. The antagonism between the interests of these nations to live in peace and independence and the policy of imperialism to maintain its yoke of oppression and create a tense international situation is irreconcilable. The struggle by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to resolve this antagonism gave birth to the non-aligned movement and is its strong base. The 20 year history of the existence of the non-aligned movement proves that in order to develop itself and play a positive role, the non-aligned movement must be closely linked in the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for peace and national independence and that the goals of the movement must be consistent with the goals of the struggle by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Without the victories of the movement for peace and national independence, there can be no growth on the part of the non-aligned movement. Conversely, if the non-aligned movement separates itself from the goals of peace and national independence, it can only fall into crisis but the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America will continue to move forward.

As the child of the world revolutionary movement against the background of two opposing social systems in the world, the non-aligned movement is a force that does not participate in military blocs; however, it cannot be a third force that stands in the middle or stands outside the struggle between the forces of peace, national independence and social progress on one side and the imperialist and reactionary powers on the other side. The intention of those who want to rally a third force and take advantage of the weaknesses between the two systems is to serve their own selfish interests. Objectively, this scheme can only benefit the imperialists because

it will weaken the non-aligned movement and isolate it from the other forces fighting for peace and national independence.

The history of the struggle by the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America over the past 35 years shows they can only follow one of two courses: they can either side with the imperialists against the peace and national independence of countries or side with the forces of peace and national independence against imperialism. There is no third course. Because today's world situation is very complex, some persons might be deceived by the argument of the rulers of China and Yugoslavia concerning standing between the two blocs and opposing the two "superpowers" and deceived by their trick of using bigoted nationalism and chauvinism to incite others; in the end, however, these arguments and tricks will surely be bankrupted. The realities of the past 20 years have shown that the attempts to steer the non-aligned movement away from the objective of opposing imperialism in order to turn the movement into a third force have met with defeat and will surely be totally defeated.

The struggle by the Vietnamese over the past 35 years for peace, national independence and socialism has been a part of the struggle of the three revolutionary currents in the world, of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism in order to protect peace and national independence. On the one hand, this struggle has had the support of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. On the other hand, the victory of Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and the victory of the Ho Chi Minh Campaign in the spring of 1975 are considered by many countries to be historic milestones in the campaign to liberate nations. However, in the 1960's, the non-aligned movement stood outside the movement of the people of the world supporting Vietnam against U.S. aggression, which was a movement of unprecedented breadth and strength, and, at times, even took actions that were not in the interests of the struggle by the Vietnamese. However, as the struggle by the Vietnamese continued to develop and advanced to victory after victory, the non-aligned movement fell into a serious crisis. Beginning in the early 1970's, when the movement overcame this great challenge and resolutely took the side of the Vietnamese against U.S. aggression and took the side of the people of the world in the struggle against imperialism for peace and national independence, the movement took a long step in its development and has played an increasingly positive role in the resolution of international issues since then.

The realities of the history of the past 20 years confirm that the combined strength of the three great revolutionary currents in the world, primarily the struggle of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America for peace and national independence against imperialism and colonialism, including the fight of the Vietnamese against the United States for national salvation, brought vitality back to the non-aligned movement and set it on a course consistent with its objective.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA, PAST AND PRESENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 81 pp 66-70

[Article by Professor Pham Huy Thong]

[Text] The world has experienced profound changes over the past 30 years, but no where have these changes been as large and profound as they have been in Southeast Asia.

In the past, this land had no name of its own, but was considered a part of a larger region (the Orient, the Far East, South Asia and so forth) or, conversely, was considered an area consisting of many small areas (Dong Duong, Nan Duong and so forth). Then, world opinion did not have a very clear picture of this region. Then, this area was considered a sparsely populated area with a loose mixture of scattered clans, fragmented nations and insignificant civilizations.

Now, the situation is different. As a result of working together to overcome common challenges or similar difficulties, the peoples of the countries of this region became increasingly aware of their closeness to one another, closeness in terms of their special characteristics as well as the interests they share throughout the region. In recent years, together with tremendous political and social changes, science has shed light on the "forgotten past" of the region, discovered the origin of life and the development of civilization and, on this basis, helped to shed light on the present situation, on the entire trend of development of history today.

It is exciting to know that the country and people of Vietnam, in the past as well as the present, played and are playing a positive role in the formation and development of the civilization and history of the entire region. It is also exciting to know that the young science of Vietnam has made a contribution to this outstanding discovery.

The Vietnamese lived at the dawn of history. This characteristic of the nation has guided Vietnam's social sciences toward attaching importance to researching traditions and learning about all the material and spiritual values of ancient times in order to understand the person and society of today, in order to see the path into the future. This tendency has led social science researchers to realize the need to research Vietnam against the background of Southeast Asia because, despite the changes brought about by history, we feel, on the basis of the life we lead today,

that the destiny of Vietnam in ancient times was not separate from the destinies of neighboring countries, of closely related peoples.

The view of searching for one's origin, of delving deeply into the past to discover traditions, which was once a new view to more than a few persons, has now been cited by western scholars as an important lesson provided by Vietnam. French scholars in ethnic studies founded the French Scientific Center for Southeast Asian Studies and the person who still heads this center, George Condominas, has praised our viewpoint as having awakened European and American scholars to the fact that they divorced themselves from the basic guideline of Greek philosophy, the origin of western humanist thinking: "know thyself." The American, Dr. Jane Werner, who has invited us to present the archeology and history of Vietnam at a number of American colleges, evaluates the realization of the need to research Vietnam against the background of its close relationship with Southeast Asia as a brilliant discovery and a valuable contribution to science by Vietnam's social sciences.

Archeology was the first field of science to confirm the truth that is so evident today: the Southeast Asian characteristics, not merely geographical, of Vietnam.

Today's consciousness of Southeast Asia is based, on the one hand, on geographical realities and, on the other hand, on the historical and cultural realities of ancient times, on Stone Age relationships that existed tens of thousands of years ago. Science has confirmed that life during that age was similar, in terms of level of development, at many places in Southeast Asia and, although the color of life varied slightly from place to place, living habits were virtually identical. For example, the crude Stone Age implements found at Cota Tampan in Malaysia are very similar to ones found at Nui Do.

In a more recent stage of history, when Southeast Asia was one of the few places in the world and, quite possibly, the first, about 10,000 years ago, to make the great shift from gathering and hunting to agriculture, this region showed itself even more to be a unified entity. Regardless of whether it is considered a single culture with different characteristics or different cultures of the same type, the Hoa Binh culture--the vestiges of which are found mostly in Vietnam--was the Middle Stone Age culture of the region, a culture characterized by the technology of using stones found in streams to make implements. These implements were used to make other implements, weapons and furniture from bamboo, wood and rattan. All of these manifestations of a system and a certain level of knowledge gradually led to farming, animal husbandry and production and "revolutionized" life here.

In the Bronze Age, about 4,000 years ago, brilliant Bronze Age cultures blossomed throughout the region. In the two main forms of this culture that have been learned so far, the Dong Son and Sa Huynh cultures, we more clearly see the close and deep relationship among the countries and the peoples here at the dawn of the history of the region's nations. Here, there were three centers of culture of the Dong Son type: together with the main center, the official Dong Son center, which was located primarily in the Red River Delta and the basins of the Ma and Lam Rivers, there were centers in the Van Nam and Quang Tay areas. The use of the Dong Son drum, the representative vestige of the Dong Son culture, spread widely before the Chinese expanded to the south and before the influence of India reached into the islands of

the East; this was a phenomenon laden with significance, one that indicates the closeness of the populations of Southeast Asia, not only in ordinary terms, but also in the special terms of cultural intercourse and feelings.

The blossoming of the Sa Huynh culture, which occurred at the same time as and a little later than the blossoming of the Dong Son culture and which was characterized by stone earrings and jade carved in the shape of two-headed animals, is also seen in the area of the Dong Son culture or in the Dong Son type, in both North and South Vietnam and even in the Ca-la-may [Vietnamese phonetics] culture in the Philippines; jars used as graves and colored ceramic vases are also found in the Philippines and Thailand, thus providing further eloquent proof of the long-standing, close relationship in the fabric of the lives of the people here.

Along with archeology, many other social sciences, such as ethnology, comparative linguistics and so forth, together with customs and religious beliefs have been employed on an integrated basis to define the capabilities of Southeast Asia, past and present. From each perspective, science has re-evaluated the level of development and the significance of Southeast Asian culture.

It has been a long time since the days when colonial scholars repeated the arguments of Mandarins of the Celestial Court, of the Ba-la-mon [Vietnamese phonetics] Taoist priests that people of Southeast Asia are "naked savages." It has also been a long time since the days when it was accepted knowledge that the people of Southeast Asia, before the appearance of the Chinese and the Indians, were still living in ignorance and, although they worked with bronze, they only knew how to use it in a "superficial" way: to make spearheads. Today, no scholar at home or abroad would dare express a low evaluation of the Southeast Asian civilization in the period of the Hung Kings, even though the arguments of the American scholar, W. Solheim II, concerning the extraordinary superiority of Southeast Asian creations are not readily accepted (arguments that set an earlier date than the date generally accepted for the start of rice cultivation and metal refining in Southeast Asia; that extend the influence of Southeast Asia to Madagascar and the Mediterranean, which not only refutes the thinking of the unilateral influence of Chinese culture upon Southeast Asia, but which also raises the opposite issue: the Neo-Stone Age cultures of China were influenced by the Middle Stone Age and Neo-Stone Age cultures of Southeast Asia and the art of metal casting spread from here to the West).

Although researchers still argue about these bold conjectures, they are now primarily concerned with filling in the details of the rough picture that the French scholar Guedes began to draw in the 1940's of the South Asian civilization, actually Southeast Asian civilization, in ancient history, as a civilization of people who cultivated fields, used buffalo and cattle, respected women and nature, worshipped supreme beings, were considerate in their thinking, etc. Reinforcing the findings of archeology, ethnology has further enhanced the picture of the Southeast Asian agricultural civilization as a "tiller" civilization, thereby helping to resurrect life at that time--making the picture ever more vivid. The people of that time cultivated gardens at an early date, raised melons and wet rice at an early date and domesticated animals at an early date; they built houses on stilts with pole frames that were suited to climatic conditions; they built large boats in order to enter the realm of a maritime civilization; the men wore loincloths and the women

wore broad, half-open skirts and had the habits of dyeing their teeth, chewing betel nut and tatooing themselves; they believed in the god of the flood and that man was created; they worshipped dragons and birds and worshipped the god of fire; they used drums, gongs, small bells and so forth. There is also evidence that the cultural innovation of agriculture of using plows in the ancient Southeast Asian societies, especially ancient Viet society, gradually led to classes and a state and national consciousness.

Confirming the high level of development, the vigorous style and the unique aspects of the Southeast Asian lifestyle, which differed from place to place but were common to the entire region, at least a specific part of the region, is a service that has been performed by many sectors and scientists from many countries, including Vietnamese scholars. As regards verifying linguistic systems and the racial makeup of the region, our contribution has been even more significant. We have called attention to the fact that the languages spoken within the territory of Vietnam, both in the past and at present, primarily belong to three bloodlines that have become intermixed to some extent: the Mon Khmer (also called southern Asia: Austro-Asiatique), the Thai and Malai Da Dao (Malayo-Polynesien)(also called Nam Dao: Austro-Nesien). In broad terms, these are the three main languages in Southeast Asia. In terms of racial makeup, this is the region of two main types: Indonesian and South Asian. These terms are not very appropriate but they do faithfully reflect the actual and clear presence here of two races, both of which can be called southern Mongol races because both are in between the pure O-xto-ra-lo-it [Vietnamese phonetics] or black races of the Pacific, at one extreme, and the pure Mongol or yellow skin race, at the other extreme.

One significant achievement of the Vietnamese science of history in the recent past was the recognition of the extremely important significance of the ancient Dong Son culture upon the history of the Vietnamese people. The Dong Son culture was the pinnacle of the convergence of the ancient Southeast Asian culture.

In the course of its development over many thousand years, the Southeast Asian culture intermixed with other cultures, especially the cultures of India and China. Through this cultural intercourse, Southeast Asia "gave" very much and also "took" much. In the cultures of India and China, a rather large number of influences of the Southeast Asian culture are recognized. In the Southeast Asian culture, we also see the influences of the cultures of Indian and China. Through cultural intercourse, the countries of Southeast Asia have, depending upon geographical proximity, been influenced by the two cultures of India and China in different ways. The countries in southern Southeast Asia were influenced more by the Indian culture; the countries in the north, including Vietnam, were influenced more by the Chinese culture. This situation has caused some researchers to be "deceived." On the basis of the observation of superficial, external phenomena, these researchers have stated that there were two cultures in Southeast Asia, one under the influence of India and one under the influence of China. On the other hand, researchers who possess a serious attitude, after deeply studying the cultures of the countries of Southeast Asia and understanding their origins, have reached the conclusion that the cultures of the Southeast Asian countries share a common origin in antiquity, that in their histories, the countries of Southeast Asia have shared a common culture, the Southeast Asian culture.

The populations of each area, each country of Southeast Asia have, themselves, confirmed that they were between the pressures of the huge populations and cultures of China and India, especially in the face of the expansionism of the Han hegemonists of the ruling, exploiting classes in China. In recent centuries, they have experienced a new challenge, dealing with which has been a matter of survival. This challenge was the spread of western capitalism. For several consecutive centuries, the imperialists and colonialists fought over each piece of Southeast Asia; their rulers wanted to turn the natives here and everywhere else in the world into subordinate classes serving them. It was not surprising that the aggressors met with fierce resistance from each nation everywhere in Southeast Asia. We are proud that our party, our people, which have long resolutely pursued the wise policy of solidarity, appealed for unity among the fraternal peoples, among the neighboring countries in Southeast Asia.

The common struggle of the peoples of the Southeast Asian countries for independence and freedom, from the ancient times of Dong Son-Sa Huynh, especially the difficult 30 year fight waged by Vietnam and the two countries of Laos and Kampuchea, have had the purpose of ushering in a period of peace and prosperity for the entire region.

However, we have yet to enjoy this life of peace and happiness. Therefore, we Vietnamese are indignant over the scheme of the U.S. imperialists to stir up new troubles in the region. We are indignant that the Beijing authorities have supported them by using the tens of millions of persons of Chinese ancestry in Southeast Asia to threaten the security of each country in Southeast Asia and that Beijing nurtures the dream of becoming the ruler of Southeast Asia. We are also indignant over the shallow persons in the ruling circles in the countries of Southeast Asia or persons in these ruling circles who have been bribed and have not satisfied the aspirations and interests of their people, of the region, have not implemented within the region a policy of unity and friendship.

The struggle by our people and the peoples of the other countries of Southeast Asia for peace, friendship and progress will be filled with difficulties, but we have no other choice. The objective that will be achieved is worthy of the effort. And, we will achieve this objective because our struggle is consistent with history, with the feelings of the people. Do the people of any country want U.S. troops to return to Southeast Asia? This "aspiration" is only being voiced by the rulers in the Imperial City! They, too, are the only ones who want new Pol Pot experiments and Maoist organizations in each country of Southeast Asia. All of these things are a possibility as long as Southeast Asia does not go back to its ancient tradition of friendship and cooperation.

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