

INDOCHINA SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

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NEWSLETTER

October, 1975

SOUTHEAST ASIA

After the Victories in Indochina :



Revolution and Superpower Contention on the Rise

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Major Sources of Information:

Albania Today
AKI- Kampuchea Information Agency
Congressional Records
FEER- Far Eastern Economic Review
FBIS- Foreign Broadcasting Information Service (CIA)
Giai Phong (Saigon) Daily Newspaper
Giai Phong Radio
Hsinhua (Chinese) News Agency
International Bulletin (InterNews)
Khoesan Pathet Lao (LPF News Agency)
Lao News (Lao Patriotic Front Publication)
Nhan Dan (Hanoi)
New Times

New York Times
Peking Review
Saturday Review
South Vietnam in Struggle (NLF-SVN)
Revolution (Central Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party-USA)
Ta Kung Pao
VNA- Vietnam News Agency
Vietnam Courier
Voice of FUNK- Phnom Penh
Voice of the People of Thailand (Clandestine radio of the Thai Patriotic Front)
Washington Post

SOUTHEAST ASIA: Hotbed of Revolution & Superpower Contention

The International Situation:

The Imperialist world headed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union is in a deep economic crisis. As usual, the response of the Imperialists has been to intensify their exploitation of the people in order to increase their rate of profit. To do this, they attack our lives with layoffs, speedup, cutbacks in vital services, and by war (which redivides the world's markets and resources.) And as Elliot Janeway, leading government economist confessed, for the Imperialists, *"War is the way out of the crisis."*

Though they talk detente, the two superpowers, the U.S. and Soviet Union, are madly stepping up war preparations - expanding weapons development, increasing and shifting troop deployments, and ravenously searching for new military bases. At the same time, they are scrambling around for spheres of influence, and trying to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the rest of the world through economic manipulations. Europe's enormous industrial development is the focus of this superpower contention because it is capable of yielding the highest profits. But the U.S. and Russia also contend for Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Due to this rivalry for world hegemony (top exploiter in the world), the threat of world war is great. The superpowers however, will not decide the future of the world, for their oppression and exploitation is increasingly being met by the resistance of the masses of people.

In a word, the Third World is in effervescence. It is bubbling up with mass struggle - with armed might, strikes and demonstrations. By any means necessary the people will put down the rule of foreign exploiters and their domestic henchmen. For example, Southeast Asia, once the stomping ground of U.S. imperialism, is in great upheaval following the splendid Spring victories of the Indochinese liberation forces. Like a pack of dominoes, the US' wall of rabidly anti-communist countries is falling down behind the inspiration of liberated Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos and the anti-imperialist struggle of the Southeast Asian peoples. Though the threat of war is great, clearly the main trend in the world is that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. But we cannot wait for war to knock on our door, it is time to get prepared. Only by determining who our friends are and who are our enemies, can we form the broadest united front to rise up and smash the two superpowers and their blood ridden schemes for war and profit.



Analysing the situation in one area of mounting superpower contention is a way to understand the forces for peace and those for war. Since the end of World War II, the situation in Asia has gone through tremendous change. 30 years filled with resistance to foreign domination and revolutionary upheaval in almost every country has seen epic victories won. In 1949, the People's Republic of China was founded, marking the decisive defeat of imperialism on the eastern front. Then the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, founded after WWII, was safeguarded against US attack in the Korean war. And now victory

In Indochina heralds a new stage in Southeast Asia. National liberation struggles are rapidly flowering; no longer will the Interests of Imperialism, colonialism or hegemonism determine the masses of people's destiny.

A Great Source of Wealth

Because of its fabulous wealth in natural resources and its strategic location, big power after big power has tried to dominate Southeast Asia (SEA). To control this part of the world is to control access to 2 oceans - the Pacific and Indian, and to control passage through the Straits of Malacca, an important East-West water route. Dominating SEA means access to its oil, natural gas, tin, copper, gold, rubber, rice, tungsten, and timber to name just a few of its precious resources. And SEA also means control of the gateway to mainland Asia with its resources, markets and labor power.



Fair Eastern Economic Review

Following WWII and the decline of the oldguard imperialists (particularly Britain, France and the Netherlands) in SEA, the US moved into the region as it rose to top dog in the world. But today, under blows from the struggles of the Third World and from the people at home against attacks on our lives, and from the inevitable laws that determine capitalist development, US imperialism is on the decline.

The Soviet Union, once a socialist nation and friend to oppressed peoples around the world is today also an imperialist superpower like the U.S. But unlike the US, it is a young imperialist country, behind the US in its race for profits, and more aggressive in its struggle for hegemony. So, as the US has been struck a heavy blow in SEA, the Soviet Union is trying to get its own foot firmly in the door. The contention of these two in SEA is a source of great Intranquility.

The US in Southeast Asia: From the "Pacific Rim" to the "Blue Water"

The U.S. defense strategy before being kicked out of Indochina regarded the Pacific Ocean as an American lake. With the southern Pacific rimmed on the west by Asia and SEA, and on the east by the Americas, the "Pacific Rim Strategy" called for a U.S. military presence on the land masses surrounding the ocean.

Now however, under pressure from the revolutionary upsurge of the people, the US's puppets can no longer afford to respond favorably to every tug on their strings by their American masters. In several areas the Pacific Rim has been broken. In Thailand the anger and strength of the people has resulted in the Prime Minister demanding that the US remove all its troops by March, 1976. Obviously US military presence in Indochina (except for saboteurs and agents) is out of the question. As part of its developing relations with the People's Republic of China, the US is apparently abandoning Taiwan as a base. There are 4,000 men there in advisory and logistics capacity only. (*Saturday Review*, 8/23/75) And finally, the

late Sept. meeting of the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) ministers, decided to end the aggressive alliance to "better conform to the new realities in S.E. Asia."

In other areas, the US' rim is threatened. Mass protest in Japan forced the US territorial control of Okinawa to be given back. The US will continue its base on Okinawa, but the island is no longer US territory and can play only a secondary role in US strategy. The threat of an oil boycott by the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC) against Singapore's economically lucrative naval refueling station has forced Singapore's government to reevaluate US naval access to its facilities. (FEER, 7/13) And even the US' puppet Marcos has been forced to set new conditions for US access to Subic Bay, Clark Airforce Base and other military installations on the Philippines.



Japanese students demand that the U.S. get out of Okinawa.

The US is being kicked out of its western mainland positions and forced into the ocean. But to clear up any doubts about US intentions, President Ford said to Indonesian President Suharto, "The fact that we had a recent tragedy in Viet Nam should redouble our efforts and interests, and does, in the stability of Southeast Asia." (N.Y. Times 7/6/75)

So a new Pacific strategy has been concocted - the "Blue Water Strategy." The US has launched the intensive development of a string of island bases to guarantee US access to its investments in Asia, control of the seas, as well as the positions from which to fend off the Soviet Union, its major contender in the area.

Whatever its name, "Blue Water" is a policy of retrenchment and a sign of weakness. Under attack from the SE Asian revolutionary upsurge and Soviet rivalry, the US has pulled back its defense lines. The plan is to rely on remaining island bases and to develop some new areas to bolster these bases.

The bases now stretch from Yokosuka and Sasebo in Japan, Okinawa and Guam, through Micronesia, where the US has acquired full control of its Mariana Islands, down to the Philippines, west to Diego Garcia, and will probably include Singapore and or Indonesia. (see map on p. 7) In hopes of stretching their web even further to Simonstown, South Africa, for instance, the US chiefs of staff have held secret talks with the South African government during the past 12 months. (FEER, 7/7/75)

Today, US military power in the Pacific stands at:

Japan: 52,000 men, 4 air bases, 2 naval bases
South Korea: 40,000 men, 5 air bases
Thailand: 19,500 men, 4 air bases
Philippines: 16,000 men, 1 air base, 1 naval base, 6 missile carrying submarines
Guam: 61,000 men, 1 air base, 1 naval base, 6 missile carrying submarines
the 7th fleet: 35,000 men, 3 aircraft carriers, 2 cruisers, 20 destroyers

In the Pacific area strategy, the US Navy will continue to be the most important component. According to Dept. of Defense Information and Congressional allotments to date, no new navy will be developed to patrol the Indian Ocean. Despite cutbacks elsewhere, the 7th Fleet will continue, and its jurisdiction in the Pacific will now also include the Indian Ocean. The 7th Fleet's manouvers reflect the importance put on naval strength in the US' rivalry with the Soviet Union for world hegemony. With the existence of a US base, Diego Garcia, in the Indian Ocean, the US can now have a major naval presence in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf areas of the Middle East.

So what does all the US' military prowess in the Pacific region prove?

Following US defeat in Indochina, the US ruling class whipped up a campaign of slander against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The charges all came down to calling the DRVN an expansionist power in Asia. But all this "DRVN expansionist" baloney is just that. It's a smokescreen for the US' own role in the area. US military bases and occupation troops are undeniable proof of US Imperialism's expansionist designs and neo-colonialist intentions. And increasingly, these schemes bring the U.S. face to face with the Soviet Union.

The US role in SEA is more than "policeman." This military presence is backing up a tremendous US economic investment dating back decades. Working hand in glove with each nation's own ruling class, the labor power and resources of SEA have been exploited to yield the U.S. billions of dollars in superprofits. As usual, the peasants and workers don't see their lives improving from all this "development." The masses of people continue to live in squalor and poverty while the foreign bosses and domestic lackies get rich off of their labor.

Buy Cheap and Sell Dear

In past years exploitation in East Asia was a very profitable business. With the practice of "Buy cheap, sell dear" there was a lot of money to be made. The Southeast Asian countries are relied on for mining and many other natural resources, but their industrial capacity for processing these resources has hardly been developed. Rather the actual manufacturing is done in the US or some other industrialized countries. Then the finished products are sold back to the producer country at an incredibly inflated price. For example the price of rubber products exported to some Asian countries by the US and Soviet Union, who buy almost the entire raw latex rubber in the area, is as high as 10 to 25 times the price of raw rubber. (*Hsinhua, 9/6/75*)

Fixing the price of commodities, like rubber, is another means of profit for the imperialists. 85% of the world's rubber comes from Southeast Asia. The US was originally the biggest buyer of natural rubber, but the Russian's have taken its place in recent years with annual purchases of 300,000 tons. Both superpowers produce large quantities of cheap synthetic rubber which they dump on the world market consequently lowering the price of natural rubber. As prices, which had been dropping substantially since 1960, began to rise in 1973, the US released large quantities of rubber from its stockpiles driving prices down again. The Soviet Union has also brought up large quantities of rubber which it has held on to, obviously stockpiling to suppress prices like the US has done. The US and SU have often sent agents to spy on the rubber producing countries gathering information on production and sale which can then be used for price fixing. (*Hsinhua, 9/6*)

The fluctuation of rubber prices has seriously affected the economy and livelihood of the rubber producing countries. It has been reported that when the price of rubber

The fluctuation of rubber prices has seriously affected the economy and livelihood of the rubber producing countries. It has been reported that when the price of rubber drops by one cent, Malaysia for example (one of the three biggest exporters) has lost 25 million dollars of foreign exchange in a year. (*Hsinhua*, 9/6/75) The same kind of practices have been used to suppress the price of tin.

The rice market too has been severely shaken with the rice producing countries' suffering from the manipulations of the imperialist powers. Following their stinging setbacks in Indochina, large quantities of rice originally destined to fill "aid" programs in Vietnam and Cambodia were dumped on the commercial market in Asia. The American rice amounted to about 5% of the total available annually for world trade. Prices were driven down by 50%! This caused severe economic problems for Thailand, one of the world's major rice exporters.

Imperialist plunder has been on such a large scale that in many SE Asian countries the biggest part of the economy is in the hands of the foreigners. In Malaysia in almost all areas of investment such as natural resource exploitation, banking and agriculture, foreigners - particularly the US - control at least 60% of the industry. And the imperialists also sink their claws into the culture. In the Philippines, where US domination has met determined resistance from the people, Marcos was forced to pass laws phasing out foreign (read US) control of the schools and other more visible areas of US influence. (*FEER*, 6/13/75)



But the US' economic exploits are ill-fated. The rising storm of the Asian people's anger is daily growing fiercer. As the masses grow to understand that US imperialism is responsible for their rotten lives, it's no wonder the government was so afraid of the example heroic Indochina set. Behind correct leadership, with unity and militant struggle, their fight against imperialist plunder will surely be victorious.

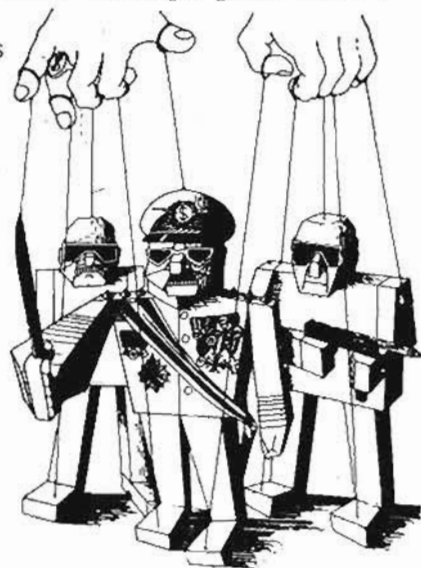
The decline of US imperialism in fact is already clear on the economic front. The big bank loans began cooling off in 1974. Following revolutionary triumph in Indochina, things grew worse. American bankers in South Korea told interviewers that they "are not eager to do new business." (*FEER* 7/4/75) Bankers in Thailand say the "Climate for lending has taken a sharp turn for the worse because of political uncertainties in the wake of communist victory in Indochina." (*Ibid*) In Indonesia, this year's "big" banking deal is simply a refinancing of an old loan to the state-owned oil giant Pertamina, that hit a cash crisis. And in Taiwan, Malaysia and the Philippines, new loans are being undertaken, but the terms are much tougher than a few years ago.

The situation in Thailand is classic. Here the US presence is in perhaps the most obvious difficulty. Investment and the previously high rate of profit rate is stagnating. The US is facing ever growing competition from Japan whose own economic role is so large in Thailand it outstrips the U.S. 3 to 1. And most important the US military is about to be kicked out of Thailand by the anti-imperialist struggle of the Thai people who overthrew the US-backed fascist dictatorship in 1973. To top it off the US Treaty of Amity and Cooperation expires in 1976 at which time US companies will no longer be immune from the standard taxes and other restrictions against foreign businesses. The US in SEA is trapped in the same mire as elsewhere in the world. The imperialist economic crisis, the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, and competition from its rivals - chiefly Japan and the Soviet Union, has thrown US economic activity into a tremendous slump.

Puppets & Junior Partners

As the anti-imperialist struggle of the Asian peoples has mounted, the US is no longer able to rule in the old colonial way of direct, overt foreign government. So, an essential part of US neo-colonialism now, is using "Asians to fight Asians," with U.S. bombs, bullets, dollars and advisors. Like the ex-US puppet dictators, Thieu of South Vietnam and Lon Nol of Cambodia, in nations throughout East Asia, the US is supporting rulers whose only power is the military might given to them by their US masters. Though the mounting revolutionary struggles of the people has forced the Southeast Asian ruling cliques to change the face of US Imperialism in their countries, the puppets are still puppets.

This year's US exports to Malaysia include 16 supersonic Northrop F-5es and F-5bs, which are close ground support planes, "excellent" for attacking the Malaysian guerillas. In Singapore, where the government has been forced to change the US' overt military access to the country's port, the foreign minister recently called for a continued US military in SEA, in light of rising revolutionary struggle. (*FEER*, 7/4/75) In the Philippines, the fascist dictator, Marcos, has three different military agreements with the US, on base use, a joint defense pact, and military assistance to fight the Insurgents. In Indonesia US military aid to the 300,000 man military used to prop up the dictator Suharto, stands at \$5 million a year. (*Saturday Review*, 8/23/75) And in South Korea, the US is backing up its fascist puppet, Pak Chung Hee, with 40,000 ground forces, 5 airbases and nuclear weapons.



And finally, there is the US' "junior partner" in SEA, Japan. Japanese militarism is being revived decades after its defeat in WWII, through a military alliance with the US. It is militarism tied to the imperialist schemes of the US. Though Japan is a strong economic rival of the US, militarily it is the weaker of the two. In order to bolster its own position and recover from recent defeat, the US government is ever more blatantly pushing Japanese militarism in SEA. Last month US Defense Secretary Schlesinger made a visit to Japan in an attempt to get firm commitments from the Japanese government to play a larger military role in the region. The newest US proposal was a Northeast Asian Tripartite, anti-communist "defense" alliance between the US, Japan and South Korea. According to this scheme, Japanese forces will ultimately come under direct US command.

It is clear, in every country in SEA, that the US is being forced to change the face of its exploitation and oppression because of the might of the mass struggle. But though US imperialism must change its strategy and tactics, the aims remain the same: to keep SEA a neo-colony, and out of the hands of the US' rival, the Soviet Union. As the US scrambles harder to maintain SEA in its sphere of influence, the US increasingly comes up against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union in Southeast Asia:

"Asian Collective Security" or Insecurity?

While the Russian ruling class is just getting its feet wet extending its hegemony over Southeast Asia, and is yet only an aspiring contender for the kind of control the US has held for years, it is head deep in Imperialist designs. The Kremlin's primary, long-term plan for the area is the proposed Asian Collective Security

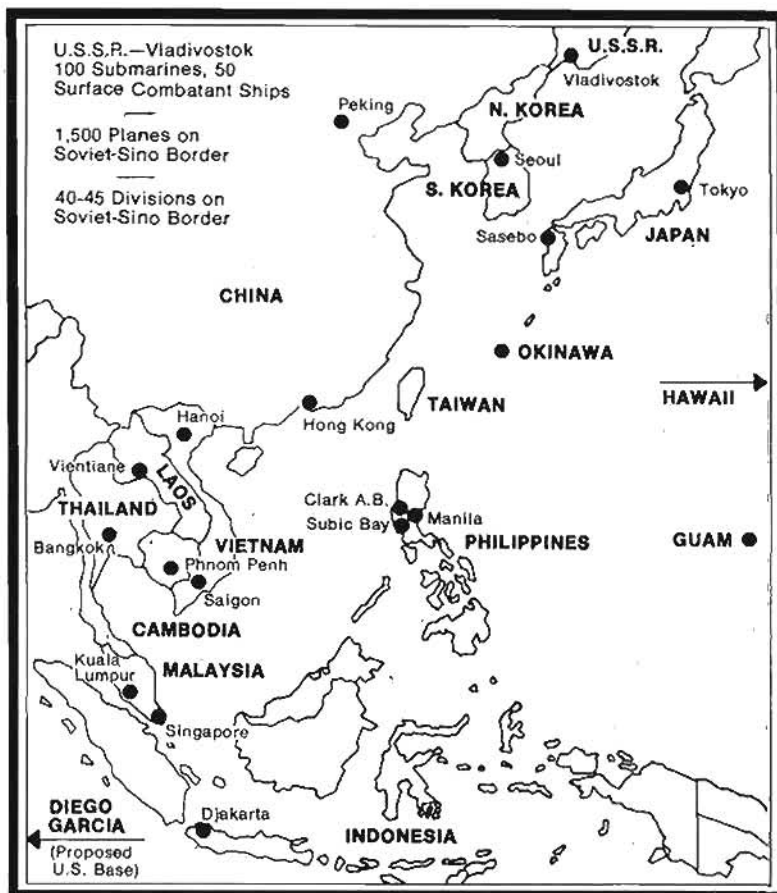
System (ACSS). While the plan seems to innocently call for the "concretization" of political and economic relations between Asian nations and the Soviet Union, it includes a ratification of Russia's disputed borders with China and Japan and it is in fact a proposal to bring Southeast Asia under Russian hegemony.

The ACSS was originally proposed six years ago. Russia claimed it would guarantee peace, independence and security to Asian countries suffering under the thumb of US imperialism. But it fell flat on its face and was firmly rejected and denounced by the countries in the region. Now, with the US defeat in Indochina and the decrease in US strength in the area, Russia has taken this opportunity to reintroduce the proposal.

Today, like six years ago, the Soviet Union has found no buyers for ACSS. As the Thai weekly *Mahanakon* stated, "Is there any reason for Brezhnev, who lives far away in Europe, to establish a 'security system' for Asia? What on earth is his purpose for doing so if not to expand Soviet influence to these Asian countries and act as an overlord? Trying so hard to lure Asian countries into the Soviet trap, Brezhnev underestimates the wisdom of the Asian people... Today all countries want to be free from the control of the big powers; the fact that Thailand demands a US pull-out does not mean that she will open her door to the Soviet Security system." (*Hsinhua*, 7/10/75)

But the Russians aren't just sitting around waiting for ACSS to materialize, they are using their already enormous navy to challenge the US Seventh Fleet today. While the Soviet Union is actively seeking permanent naval bases in India, Burma, Bangladesh and even in South Vietnam their warships continue to dock in the Indian Ocean at a rate four times greater than in 1968. Most recently, with the British scheduled to withdraw from their naval base on the Maldive Islands (in the Bay of Bengal west of Burma and the Malay Peninsula), the Russians requested control of the base. Under the guise of 'friend and helper' of the Maldives they say they can fill the 'economic vacuum' that will exist following the British withdrawal, thereby "guaranteeing the Islands' economic stability." This sugar-coated poison offer was rejected outright by the Maldives who want no bases there at all.

In another move to strengthen its hand in Asia, the Soviet Union stands with US imperialism in demanding the "internationalization" of key water routes. This includes the Strait of Malacca, through which 5000 ships a month (160 a day) will pass with the opening of the Suez Canal. (*FEER*, 8/29/75) By "internationalization" they mean that control of the Strait does not depend on whose territory it lies in (Indonesia and Malaysia for the Strait of Malacca), but rather on whatever country is big enough to 'defend' it. This is in direct opposition to the policy of Third World and non-aligned nations to regulate and control activity in their territorial waters.



The Russians hope to secure open sea lanes for their navy, stretching from Russian ports in the Black Sea, through the Mediterranean, Indian and Pacific Oceans, to Vladivostok in East Asia. This would enhance their control of the major oil lanes out of the Persian Gulf to every part of the world. It would also allow a constant Russian "gunboat" presence and an added coercive influence in almost every Asian nation.

The Russian Okinawa

Contention is also stepping up in the north-west Pacific. The pearl of this battle is Japan, key for its high level of industrialization, third in value in the world after the two superpowers. For the past 30 years the US has maintained its big stick over the area with the Joint US-Japan Security Treaty and key bases at Okinawa off Japan's southern coast. These bases service Navy, Air Force, Marine and Special Forces and were a key rear base for the US during the Korean and Indochinese Wars. Despite its reversion to Japanese sovereignty, Okinawa has continued importance for the US to hold the line against both the revolutionary struggle of the Asian people and the increasing Russian military presence.

Meanwhile, on Japan's northern coast, the Soviet Union is busy creating its own "Okinawa." It is happening on Japan's four northern-most islands, the Kuriles, occupied since World War II. The Japanese press has reported that Russia has now established military installations on these islands, which are as close as four miles from Japan. One Japanese paper commented; "the whole of Japan is put under the shadows of Soviet naval and air force might." (*Peking Review*, #35, 1975) Hundreds of times a year Russia detains, fines and imprisons Japanese fishermen who fish in the disputed waters. These four islands are some of the illegally occupied territory the Soviet Union hopes to legitimize in the proposed ACSS treaty.



Japanese protest Russian control of Kuriles.

"While Repelling the Wolf at the Front Gate, Guard Against the Tiger at the Back Door"

This Chinese saying aptly reflects the attitude of the East Asian peoples towards the two superpowers. While waging determined struggle against US occupation of Okinawa and other bases in Japan, the Japanese people are not about to give up their sovereignty and territory to Russia.

The struggle for the return of the four northern islands to Japan is growing daily, with mass demonstrations and rallies. In this struggle, the Japanese people have increasingly seen that restoration of the islands cannot be separated from the battle against the superpowers. As a leaflet demanding the islands' return said, "The movement for restoring the northern island territories should not be confined to the yearnings of the homeland. We must hold high the banner of opposing hegemonism to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against Soviet Social Imperialism." (*Peking Review*, #35, 1975) (Soviet Social Imperialism is so named because the Russian ruling class parades a socialist spirit while actually attacking the people with imperialist schemes at every turn. In the place of the once socialist Soviet economy, the new "tzars" have promoted the restoration of capitalism under the state's control.)

Soviet 'Diplomats' and the KGB

Throughout the Indochina War, US ambassadors, other civilian officials and the CIA have been exposed playing vital roles in the US war effort. They directed the war, controlled the US aid that sustained it, and formulated all major policies for the puppet regimes. Today, there is an increasing Russian presence of diplomats, military and 'civilian' advisors and KGB agents in Southeast Asia as well.

The Thai journal *Students* revealed last month that "there are over 500 Russians on duty as intelligence agents in the Southeast Asian countries." The *Voice of the People of Thailand*, the radio station of the Thai Patriotic Front and the Communist Party of Thailand, reported that "the Soviet Embassy (in Bangkok) is the largest hideout of Soviet spies in Thailand. The number of embassy officials registered is 25, but there are in fact 250 altogether. A hundred of them are KGB secret agents and the rest are affiliated with the KGB in various degrees." The broadcast also reported that the Soviet Union was stepping up its economic and cultural exchanges as well as attempting to finance Thai publications and organizations. "This is all aimed at misleading the Thai people into becoming pro-Soviet and ready to serve Soviet interests." (*Voice of the People*, 7/22/75; FBIS 7/29/75) One central aspect of Russia's Acss proposal is for a multitude of economic and cultural exchange programs to initially establish a large Russian staff in countries where they have only a standard, restricted diplomatic and trade presence today.

In a most blatant act against the Thai people, the Soviet Union has requested a military attache to their Bangkok Embassy. (*FEER*, 6/13/75) Military attaches are specialists responsible for military agreements, aid advice, and are always followed by increased entanglement and control by the imperialists. One can only ask against whom does the Soviet Union expect the Thai government to use these weapons and 'advice'? The answer is that the only on-going battles the Thai government is fighting is against the revolutionary upsurge of the Thai people.

As the US is meeting failure in Thailand, so too are the Russian plans doomed to fail in the face of the Thai people's opposition to the ruling class and its supporters. Mass upheaval climaxed in October 1973 with student demonstrations of over 200,000 people, bringing down the US-backed military regime. This summer Thailand faced its biggest wave of strikes, demonstrations and outright rebellions. Together, workers, students and peasants have at times practically brought the Capital to a complete halt. These struggles have been linked to the armed fight going on in the countryside under the leadership of the Thai Communist Party. This revolutionary upsurge is growing so quickly in the aftermath of the victories in Indochina that investment from Japan and the US is at a standstill. As one survey of foreign businessmen in Bangkok concluded, Thailand is surely the next domino in this area.

Men and Women Fighters, Thai Liberation Army



Russian Economic Infiltration

Soviet Social Imperialist economic 'aid' and business ventures with nations throughout Southeast Asia are rapidly rising. Whereas Russian economic activity in the area in the past five years has been to grab huge shares of the raw material market in rubber, tin, etc.; direct investment and control of mining, food production and industry through 'joint ventures,' a euphemism for transnational corporation-type activity, is rapidly becoming more important.

"Through 'joint ventures' the Soviet Union has exported capital to devel-

oping countries, making use of local cheap raw materials and labor force to grab up maximum profits and gradually control the economic lifeline of these countries... Their field of operation has expanded from trade to transport, mining, fishery and processing industry in the countries concerned. Soviet investments generally amount to 50% and in some cases even up to 60% of the total investments in these enterprises. On top of that, in these 'joint ventures' Russian representatives hold such key posts as general managers, managers, chairman of the board of directors and financial advisors, thus controlling the power running these enterprises. In doing so the Soviet revisionists have paved the way to controlling some key economic sectors of the developing countries. The Soviets buy up raw materials and natural resources at cheap rates and then sell the finished products back to the developing countries at huge profits...The Soviet Fishery Company and the Singapore Straits Fishery Corporation, Ltd. set up a joint fishery company to make sea going catches with Singapore as the center. The fishes are processed and sold back to Singapore. Most of the Soviet profits are reinvested in Singapore and the rest spent on buying Singapore products." (Hsinhua 9/5/75).

The 'Thief Cries Thief'

Part and parcel of Soviet designs for hegemony in Asia is their increasing attacks on the People's Republic of China. The Soviet press and diplomats are attempting to isolate China from other Asian countries, much as the US has tried to do over the past 25 years. Recently, the Soviet Union has denounced the developing state-to-state relations between China and Southeast Asian countries by warning of "Maoist maneuvers," "Maoist expansionist policies" and "great power aspirations."

In Japan, Soviet diplomats have launched a campaign designed to stop the signing of a Japan-China Peace and Friendship Treaty. The focus of their attacks is a clause which states: "Neither of the two countries should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony." The Soviet ambassador made a round of calls on Japanese leaders attacking the treaty as harmful to Soviet-Japan relations and to peace in the Asia-Pacific region. (FEER 6/13/75)

Numerous rallies and meetings have been held in Japan in support of the proposed treaty. At one meeting attended by over 900 people in Osaka a speaker exposed the Soviet Union's "Uncalled-for Confession." "The Soviet government's intervention in, and sabotage of the signing of the Japan-China Peace and Friendship Treaty by wielding its baton arrogantly is hegemonism in itself. Its opposition to 'anti-hegemony' is to stand for hegemony. What the Soviet Union has done has revealed its own hegemonism." (Hsinhua 8/18/75)

Soviet 'Fifth Column'

The battle for Soviet control of countries is not conducted by Soviet personnel alone. Around the world so-called "Communist" parties have played the role of foot-runner for the Soviet Union. In the name of the people these parties attempt to seize power in whatever way possible, while actually turning their own countries into neo-colonies of the Soviet Union. Prime examples of this today are in Portugal and in India, where pro-Soviet parties are attempting to gain complete control over the government in alliance with other proponents of state capitalism, battling it out with pro-US and nationalist sections of the bourgeoisie. At the same time these parties attempt to mislead the masses of people away from revolution under the banner of fighting for socialism.

In the Philippines, remnants of the virtually defunct, revisionist 'Communist' Party has been rebuilt as the Soviet Union's local agent. Following a phony 'amnesty' decree by Philippine fascist dictator Marcos, the leaders of this party surrendered saying "Your excellency, you have called for national unity, and we are here today in answer to your call." (NY Times, 10/17/74) Today this party has been legalized

by the Marcos regime, which has aided in its reestablishment. In turn this party has given its support to the Marcos regime in its campaign to crush the armed struggle against the dictatorship and in support of Marcos' sham 'land reform' program that has done nothing to relieve the problems of the peasantry. A pro-Soviet booklet from Manila proudly proclaims that it is not at all unusual to see the leaders of this revisionist party, standing side-by-side on the podium with Marcos, trying to encourage the people to give up their struggle for national liberation.

In Burma, which claims to be 'socialist', the Russians have thrown their weight behind the ruling Ne Win military regime. By supporting Ne Win's "Burmese Way to Socialism", defined by the Soviet Union as "a plan of reforms designed to lead to socialism," the Kremlin has gained influence with the regime. In reality this "Burmese Way" is nothing more than state-controlled capitalism, like that which now exists in the Soviet Union. Since the 1962 coup that brought Ne Win to power, the people's livelihood has grown worse and worse as the economy has plunged from crisis to crisis.



Students clandestinely put up posters in support of the New People's Army in Manila, Philippines.

A student/worker alliance is rapidly evolving in Burma and has challenged the army's control of the country three times during the past year: the general strike of June 1974; the disturbances which erupted six months later over funeral arrangements for the late U Thant, Secretary-General of the UN; and the student-worker demonstrations in June this year. During last year's general strike the government killed over 300 workers and arrested 2000 others. At the U Thant demonstrations involving over 250,000 people, there were another 400-500 bodies for burial. From January-June schools were closed down to dampen the protests. In the countryside, "for years the peasants have failed to cooperate with the government, reducing rice planting and refusing to sell to government-controlled grain monopolies." (FEER, 7/11/75).

Rather than seeing Burma's economic crisis as part and parcel of the crisis of capitalism, the Soviet Union and its allies in Burma have attempted to blame it on the people struggling to liberate their country from the grip of the Ne Win regime. The Russians comment; "the mounting insurgent movement of the armed underground, particularly the left-wing extremists, is doing harm to the economy." (Southeast Asia: History, Economy, Policy, Moscow, 1972)

Sabotaging Revolutionary Struggles

The Russians brag about their support for national liberation struggles in Southeast Asia, but it does not take long to see the truth in their practice. Not one of the national liberation movements or revolutionary Communist Parties in Southeast Asia is supported by Moscow. In fact the revisionists have openly denounced the struggles in Burma, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia.

Clearly the coming of peace to Indochina has not heralded a new day of peace throughout Southeast Asia or the rest of the world. The region is in great turmoil, and it is a good thing for the people of the world. The Asian ruling classes are struggling for independence from superpower control in a vain attempt to escape the rising storm of revolutionary struggle by the people for independence, liberation and freedom from all exploitation and oppression. Both superpowers will fail in their dreams of hegemony. Southeast Asia is a hotbed of revolution, and as such a great force for peace in the world-wide united front against the two superpowers.



Cambodia:

Triumphant Song of Self-Reliance

With the same determination and spirit that characterized 5 years of revolutionary war, the Cambodian people today are advancing in leaps and bounds. Having driven out U.S. imperialism and the system that wreaked havoc upon the people, the Cambodian nation marched into the new period victoriously, but with many difficulties ahead. How does a backward country emerging from the ravages of war move ahead? Do they turn outward—depending on other nations around the world to provide them with needed food, energy and machinery? Or do they choose the more difficult road of relying on themselves? For the Cambodian people the answer lies in summing up the lessons of the past and deciding whether or not these lessons are a guide for the future. Today, the answer to that question resounds throughout the nation: Cambodia will advance by being self-reliant.

"The people are the builders of history. This is a conception of history that has existed for a long time. Our revolutionary stand of relying on the masses and meeting one's own needs has been proven a million times over in the offensive against the enemy. It was our people who were the decisive factor. Today in every domain, our men and women and fighters in our army more and more grasp this reality and are turning it into a firmer and firmer weapon in the struggle. In our new stage, when two main tasks fall on us— to increase production and defend our nation— our people, especially the workers and peasants, guided by our 'Revolutionary Organization', are developing and strengthening this revolutionary tradition." (AKI, 7/31/75)*



Anti-aircraft machine gunners of the Cambodian PNLAF guard the coast of Kep city.

Self-Reliance in Agriculture

Without taking a breath after victory, the nation has been mobilized to cleanse itself of the remnants of the old regime and build in its place a new, democratic and prosperous Cambodia. Relying on themselves for everything involves tremendous sacrifices and demands careful planning in order to unleash the creative capacities of the people. But there is reason for great optimism as the people are now total masters of the nation and its resources— from farmlands, forests and waterways, to the vast experience gained from the advances made in the Liberated Zones during the

* Since the CIA-engineered coup d'etat and the formation of the National United Front of Cambodia (FUNK) in 1970, the Communist Party of Cambodia (called the *Pracheachon Party*) went underground and 'officially dissolved'. Since then it has been referred to as the 'Revolutionary Organization'. The same thing occurred in Vietnam in 1946 during the war against French colonialism. The Vietnam Worker's Party publicly dissolved itself for 5 years, in order to form the broadest national united front.

war. While Cambodia's natural resources were once a great source of wealth for the imperialists, today they will be exploited to benefit the nation as a whole.

With a clear understanding of the concrete conditions existing in the country, the Revolutionary Organization and Revolutionary Government have formulated the 1975 plans for the development of the economy. The plan has two overall objectives: to better the people's standard of living, and to advance agricultural production in order to lay the foundations for industrial production tomorrow. In an interview last August with Khieu Samphan, Vice Premier of the GRUNC, he explained, "*Agriculture plays a role of paramount importance in the service of industry, agriculture itself, and of the people's livelihood and the nation's defense efforts, as well as other state affairs.*" (Voice of FUNK, 8/25/75)

'Solidarity Teams'

As the first step in advancing agricultural production, the vast majority of the people have been mobilized into **Solidarity Teams**. Much like the earlier 'Mutual Aid Teams' of China and the DRVN, they are designed to liberate the peasants from their perpetual state of poverty, the ideological chains that bind them (growing out of their individual position in production), and increase production throughout the nation. These groups represent a combination of old traditions and new scientific advances.



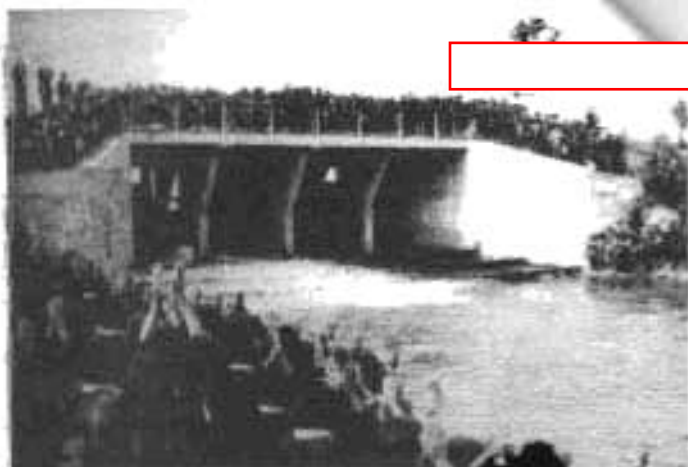
'Solidarity Teams' filling in a bomb crater in southeastern Cambodia.

"One of people's greatest traditions is to help each other in time of need. In each village at least one rest house was built for the convenience of travellers seeking shelter or for occasional local festivities. In front of each house, water jugs and drinking cups were placed for traveller's use. When there was trouble or illness, destruction or construction, fellow villagers and neighbors always turn out to lend a hand." (AKI, 9/16/75)

But as strong as these traditions are, the peasant family was still functioning as a single unit, tied to the feudal landlord class, and as a result, were caught in a perpetual life and death battle with poverty. The only way to smash these chains was to first do away with the landlord class, then redistribute the land and begin to advance the means of production. In every village and community resources, tools and labor power are pooled. While the size of the **Solidarity Teams** vary (Teams of more than a hundred are not uncommon), their purpose remains the same: "*The groups work together to solve every problem from building dams, digging ditches plowing and harrowing, sowing and harvesting, to alleviating the plight of the poor, elderly and sick.*" (Voice of FUNK, 7/28/75) The first teams were organized as early as 1973 in the Liberated Zones, and have set a good example of how working together provides a way for mutual benefit.

Within agriculture, the two most important industrial crops are rice and rubber. Providing people with food is an essential and crucial part of self-reliance. If a nation is not capable of meeting its own food needs and must rely on imports, "it may be taken by the neck at any time and find itself in a very dangerous and passive position." (*Peking Review*, 9/12/75) Without food the people can not work, and without work the country can only slide backwards.

Every effort is being made to increase this year's rice harvest. Throughout the country **Solidarity Teams** are reclaiming land, planting and building dikes and irrigation systems to bring nature under their control. Last year during the rainy season, floods caused tremendous damage and great losses in food. This year the people are determined to control the waters. "Water is needed to grow rice; rice is needed to carry on the revolution. Where there is people there will be water; where there is water there will be food." (*'The Heroic Cambodian People'*- film produced by the **PUNK**, 1975)



The people applaud the completion of a new water reservoir in July.

But the importance of rice goes beyond this. The more rice produced, the more it can be exported in exchange for money, machinery and materials needed for building Cambodia's industry. In a nation where starvation was common (during the last days of the Lon Nol regime, 15,000 people died of starvation in the cities) because the imperialists and their puppets removed the people from the land and imported rice instead of growing it, having food to eat and rice to export is a tremendous accomplishment of the people.

Rubber: A Great Source of Wealth

Second only to rice, the rubber plantations are a vital and abundant resource. Inside Cambodia, rubber can be used to produce car and bicycle tires. Tires can be used in the development of transportation which in turn can support the drive to increase production. Rubber has an even greater role to play on the international front. Southeast Asia as a whole is the world's largest source of raw latex. In the past, Cambodia has been a major contributor. In 1965, before the war, Cambodia's largest export was rubber, accounting for some 40,000 tons. During the war, the wealth from the rubber plantations filled the bosses' pockets. "Your need only to count the leaves of the rubber trees to know how much money the bosses used to make from our sweat." (*Cambodian Film*, 1975)



Today, the rubber plantations are the sight of untold energy and enthusiasm. At one eastern plantation, the **Solidarity Teams** along with the leading members of the **Revolutionary Organization** hold regular meetings to formulate a program for expansion. The plantation now has six branches but the workers feel there is room for more. Scientific

Workers & 'Revolutionary Organization' cadres inspect leaves on a rubber tree

methods are being applied in the nursing of seedlings and the caring for older trees.

In order to reap the full benefit of the rubber plantations, processing plants have to be developed. During the war, massive B-52 bombing wiped out every processing plant. But the unbending spirit and determination of the workers has given rise to new factories on the ruins of the old. Workers gather materials on their own and share their experiences to learn from each other and overcome technological backwardness. The history of every new factory is a triumphant song of self-reliance. Here is just one example of the progress already recorded:

"On the eve of liberation, the state tire factory in Takhmau city, Kandal Province, was turned into a military camp by Lon Nol. Reconstruction started immediately after liberation. Workers removed barbed wire and repaired most of the machines. In the spirit of self-reliance, all this was accomplished in just one month, and over 3,000 good quality tires have been produced. The Chak Argre bicycle plant in southern Phnom Penh resumed production in June and manufactures over 30,000 inner and outer tubes each month since." (Hsinhua News Agency, 8/27/75)

To supplement the people's food supply, **Solidarity Teams** are also involved in raising livestock, chickens, ducks, pigs and geese. These animals provide meat and necessary vitamins, and are a source of natural fertilizers. Stronger animals such as horses, oxen and buffalo are also being raised to aid in transportation. Introducing semi-mechinization (i.e.- replacing human labor power with horse-drawn vehicles) is an important step in advancing production. *"Having a horse is just like having a small truck, which can transport everything. And using the horse, we don't have to worry about running out of gasoline." (Voice of the FUNK, 6/12/75)*

Social Transformation

Breaking with backward traditions is not an easy thing. The peasants have to be carefully and patiently educated to accept their new role in society, and tremendous care is being given to this task by the **Revolutionary Organization**. Perhaps the greatest force during the recent advances, and underlying the people's overwhelming support for the state plan is the fact that the people daily see their efforts matched by a steadily increasing standard of living. The memories of the old regime die hard, but the people's hatred of the exploitation and oppression they suffered under imperialist domination steeled them in their work. Peasants who only knew hunger are now seeing their fields produce, the crops increase and are truly grasping that by relying on themselves they can meet their own needs and score tremendous victories in building a new nation:

"Koh Kong is a remote Province in southwestern Cambodia. Before liberation the entire population lived a miserable life under the Lon Nol regime. In the ricefields there was plenty of water but the traitors denied our people the right to produce. Those who did grow rice were punished severely for it. All the good land had been taken and kept uncultivated or turned into the private property of the foreign imperialists...In complete contrast, our people in all villages are now living harmoniously and on an equal footing. There is no more exploiters, no more distinctions between rich and poor. We have medical teams which are always on hand and schools to educate our people who were never taught to read or write. Our people are in Solidarity Teams and are reclaiming land and developing rice fields. The developments which are taking place enable our people to realize that only the revolution can liberate them from all the horrors of the past regime. All this constitutes the pride and joy in the radiant future of new Cambodia." (FBIS, 7/8/75)

Light Industry Develops

Knowing that agriculture is the main force today does not mean ignoring industry until tomorrow. While agriculture is the main foundation, industry (small as it may be at this time) is the leading factor in developing the nation's economy. Small enterprises which were developed in the Liberated Zones during the war, and those taken from the U.S. and their puppets receive tremendous care and attention. Handicrafts, textiles and electrical are the three main areas. Each has **Solidarity Teams**, and each has scored new successes.

In handicrafts, the things which benefit the people's standard of living and boost agriculture are the priority. Blacksmiths and carpenters have been drawn into Teams to make farming tools, while in villages craftsmen make pots and pans, and other things from the vast amounts of metal left behind by the defeated army.

Dry cell battery plants, producing easily transportable electricity sources, were among the first to be restored. Production has tripled in the two largest plants and the quality increased twofold. A report issued by the Worker's Committee in charge of the plant summed up two factors contributing to their success:

"Like other factories in new Cambodia, these factories unconditionally serve the interests of the people without attaching any importance to profit. Second, all our old and new workers in the factory are revolutionary patriots who love the people and who struggle to conscientiously fulfill their revolutionary tasks as masters of the revolution, of the factories, of industry and the economy of independent and prosperous Cambodia." (FBIS, 7/24/75)

Similar reports document the success in textile factories as well:

"The brothers and sisters keep in mind that when textile mills gradually and increasingly produce clothing materials they will be credited for helping raise the living standards of our people to a higher level. Looking at the materials they have woven, the workers are moved to think that they will reach the hands of the poor people who are their kith and kin." (AKI, 8/15/75)

Just how and what other industries will develop from here is a question we have no answer to. Yet if agricultural successes are as widespread as expected, and production throughout light industry continues at lightning pace, Cambodia will soon be the sight of tremendous change.

"It is true that the present Cambodia has few factories. However, the workers and peasants as the genuine masters of the country enjoy every democratic freedom. The people are building a New Cambodia which does not face either budgetary deficit or financial and economic crisis like in the U.S. Cambodia will assuredly be in the not so far future a modern prosperous country, abounding with water, electricity, fertilizer, farm machinery and factories. The people and 'Revolutionary Organization' have already made the society progress by a century's time because they have conquered genuine democracy and the people are on the march toward socialism." (AKI, 7/31)



Women workers weaving cloth at a textile mill in Phnom Penh.

This new period in Cambodia's history is heralding the nation's advance toward socialism, where all exploitation has been trampled under foot and the workers, united with the broad masses of people will have firm control of the nation's destiny.

It is no wonder the bourgeois media is having a field day trying to discredit the revolution in Cambodia. Fantastic stories and distortions of every kind are offered to confuse and demoralize people who opposed the war and heralded the Cambodian victories. All the Western and revisionist correspondents were asked to leave the country following Cambodia's liberation. So instead of twisted, 'on the spot' coverage, we are treated to bits and pieces of rumors quoted from 'reliable sources', who turn out to be high ranking officers from Lon Nol's army living inside Thailand.

A Component Part of the World Revolution

There should be no confusion, no disappointment in people's minds. The future of Cambodia is indeed bright, and represents a growing trend in the Third World today. Smashing the shackles imposed upon them, and freeing themselves from imperialist domination sets the stage for political and economic independence.

While self-reliance means relying on the strength and wisdom of their own people, this must not be confused with slamming the door on the outside world. To not rely on aid, does not mean refusing help from, or offering help to other developing nations. Far from turning its back on its responsibilities, Cambodia has emerged as a stronger friend determined to build the unity of the non-aligned nations, and pool their resources in order to oppose "all acts of aggression, old and new colonialism and superpower hegemonism, and building a peaceful and new economic system." (Peking Review, 9/22/75)

To further consolidate its relationship with friendly nations around the world, and to step boldly into the international arena, delegations from the GRUNC visited China, eastern European countries and attended the Non-aligned Conference in Lima, Peru and took its lawful seat in the United Nations this past month. The following excerpt from a Joint Communique issued at the conclusion of the GRUNC delegation's recent trip to China best summarizes Cambodia's view of the world situation today:

"The whole world is in turbulence and unrest. All the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening. The contention for world hegemony between the two super-powers is becoming more and more intense. The factors for a new world war are increasing. The people of all countries must get prepared. If the imperialists dare to unleash a new war, it will surely hasten their own doom and lead to new victories in the revolution of the people of the world. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case, the future for the people of the world looks infinitely bright."



Free from imperialist exploitation and oppression, the future for Cambodia certainly looks bright.



BUILDING THE NEW SOUTH VIETNAM:

A Life With a Purpose



With the total victory of the South Vietnamese people over U.S. Imperialism and the liberation of the whole nation, a new page has been opened in the history of the Vietnamese revolution. The Vietnamese people- from north to south- have risen up as one people, and brought into play all their moral and material forces in order to heal the wounds of war, reconstruct the country, do away with poverty and backwardness, and build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and socialist Vietnam.

In South Vietnam, hundreds of street parades, demonstrations and celebrations have taken place, as the people show their support for the Revolutionary Forces and their new life. Millions of people have joined the Liberation Organizations of workers, peasants, women, youth and students, and People's Revolutionary Committees have been set up in every district and city ward to protect the people.



Left-Overs From a Neo-Colonialist Economy

But despite this joy and enthusiasm, there are many difficult problems left over from 20 years of U.S. Imperialist domination and war.

"With a view to conquering South Vietnam, the Americans had squandered a huge amount of dollars and used modern techniques to set up in Saigon, DaNang and other cities in the South a great number of enterprises to serve their aggression; composed mostly of workshops and factories for the fitting of machines and equipment for the U.S. expeditionary corps, the million man mercenary army and a huge coercive machine of the quisling administration. These undertakings depended entirely for their existence on American raw materials and were no match for the nascent industry of South Vietnam. It was these workshops, factories and the goods imported from the U.S. and its allies that brought 800 big Vietnamese enterprises, 10,000 sugar mills, and 6,000 looms to a standstill; 300 saw mills were closed down and 500 other enterprises went bankrupt.

"Furthermore, the rapid collapse of the Saigon army and administration at the hands of the PLAF left a great number of enterprises without raw materials; the destruction of hundreds of bridges and thousands of kilometers of rail left millions of workers and labourers jobless." (South Vietnam in Struggle, 6/23/75)

The fall of the Saigon Puppet regime further aggravated an already chaotic economy in South Vietnam. Counting Thieu's 1.5 million man army, police and security force, the more than 500,000 prostitutes and civil servants working for the U.S. and Thieu and the 1.5 million people already unemployed, the unemployment force at the end of the war was a staggering 3½ million, more than 50% of the urban work force!!!

One of the major stumbling blocks that has prevented the PRG (Provisional Revolutionary Government) from eliminating this unemployment and restoring production at full capacity has been the artificial, neo-colonialist economy inherited from the Thieu regime. As mentioned in the above quote from an NLF newspaper, under U.S. domination, South Vietnamese factories were devoted to building up the U.S. war machine, were totally dependent on foreign capital, fuel and energy, and 80% dependent for raw materials.

Also, with the fall of Thieu imminent, and the "bloodbath scare" being pushed by the U.S. Government last April, large numbers of capitalists and businessmen fled the country, leaving 4/5's of South Vietnam's industrial and other enterprises closed, a major factor contributing to the massive unemployment and misery of the people.

Now that the PRG has seized power throughout the country, the ability to replace this chaos with prosperity and a new economic order is finally at hand. But in order to understand the economic policies of the PRG, it is first important to see the broader picture and understand exactly what stage the Revolution is at.

People's Democratic Dictatorship

There has been much confusion generated about what type of government the PRG is, and what type of social system exists in the South today. Most Western reporters and bourgeois "experts" refer to South Vietnam as a "Communist State" and the PRG as a "Communist Regime". Some more "leftist" newspapers claim that socialism is now being built. A precise description of what really is taking place was given by Pham Van Dong, at the Third (Vietnam Worker's) Party Congress as far back as 1960:

"At present, the [South] Vietnamese state is in its form a democratic republic and in its content a dictatorship of people's democracy, i.e.- democracy towards the people and dictatorship against the enemy and their puppets.

"Our people's democratic dictatorship is carrying out the historical task of the worker-peasant alliance. It smashes the rule of the imperialist aggressors and the traitors; it establishes and consolidates the people's democratic regime; it puts into effect land reform, abolishes feudal land ownership, while still leaving intact the foundations of capitalism; it develops the national economy; it consolidates the leadership of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance; it strengthens solidarity between our people and the forces of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism throughout the world.

"When the national democratic revolution develops into a socialist revolution, the dictatorship of people's democracy will become the dictatorship of the proletariat [working class]."

Following the Viet Minh victory over French colonialism in 1954 and the subsequent U.S. intervention in South Vietnam, North Vietnam advanced to socialism, while the South continued the struggle against Imperialism and its puppets in order to complete the national democratic revolution and move toward the reunification of the country.

The two main tasks of the South Vietnamese revolution in the national democratic stage are: to drive out the U.S. Imperialist aggressors and win national independence, and to overthrow the feudal landowner class and carry out land reform. In order to successfully carry out these two tasks, the Revolution rallied all the forces who were struggling against the foreign aggressors and their puppets- the compradore bourgeoisie (all the bosses and landlords who serve the interests of the imperialists), and carried out a policy of forming the broadest anti-imperialist national united front (the National Liberation Front-NLF).



The four classes of people who joined together to form the NLF and are represented today in the PRG are: the working class, the peasantry, the petit-bourgeoisie (small traders, handicraftsmen, intellectuals, etc) and the patriotic national bourgeoisie. But because the working class and peasantry constituted the great majority of the population, were the most heavily oppressed and exploited, and have the greatest revolutionary capabilities because they had no stake in the old regime and had nothing to lose by its overthrow, the worker-peasant alliance is the MAIN force of the united front.

But the working class must be the leading force. Only under the leadership of the working class and its Party- the Vietnam Worker's Party- can the Vietnamese people get the imperialists and compradore bourgeoisie off their backs once and for all. In the era of Imperialism (decaying capitalism), in any backward, semi-feudal country where agriculture is the main economic base and there is no industry to speak of, the people must either take the capitalist road, where everything is produced for profit and controlled by a handful of people (the bourgeoisie), or take the socialist road where production goes to meet the needs of the people and is owned and controlled by the masses of working people. The South Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the Vietnam Worker's Party and the PRG, have chosen the latter.

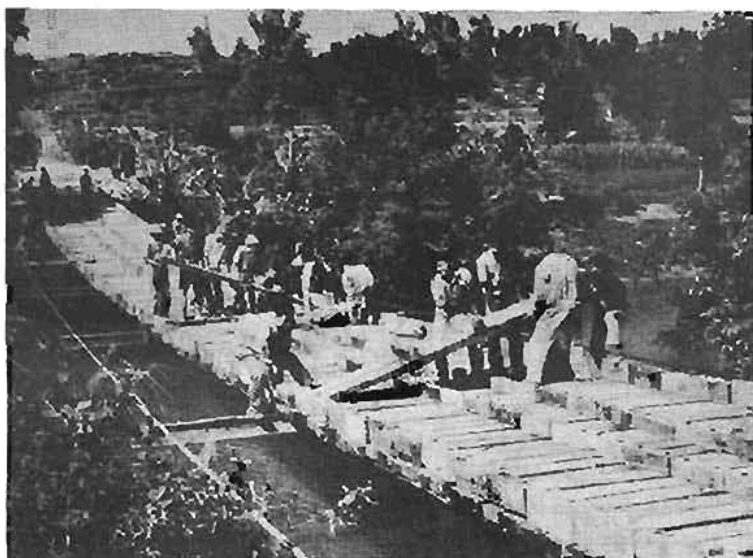
Workers Take the Lead

With a government (the PRG) in power that truly represents the interests of the working class and other labouring strata, the South Vietnamese people now have the ability to undo the chaos brought on by years of imperialist domination.

Throughout the cities and countryside, the new Revolutionary Administration has unleashed the inexhaustible enthusiasm and creativity of the masses of people, who are rapidly building and consolidating a new democratic society, and discarding the remnants of the old one.

With the assistance of the Liberation of Federation Trade Unions, the South Vietnamese working class has played a leading role in rebuilding the country and restoring production, and has greatly improved the people's standard of living, despite the many difficulties.

Since liberation, large numbers of textile, food, machinery, medicine, chemicals hardware, farm tools and other factories have resumed full production. Factories abandoned by capitalists have been nationalized and the PRG has turned control of them over to Worker's Committees. While only 20% of the textile mills were in



SV workers build a suspension bridge in order to ensure smooth transportation of badly needed supplies.

than a million refugees have returned home to their native villages, and have been given new plots of land to till. The population of DaNang, swollen by refugees to over a million during the war, has been reduced to 400,000. (FBIS, 7/24/75)

Land seized from foreigners and feudal landlords has been turned over to the people. Local PRG cadre, and officers and fighters of the PLAF are helping the peasants to build homes, canals, dig irrigation systems, plant crops and reclaim large areas of wasteland. In Quang Tri Province alone, the people have unearthed 113,248 bombs, mines and shells, and have cleared 1650 acres of land for cultivation. In addition, the peasants are being supplied with ample amounts of rice, salt, farm tools and seeds. While under the Thieu regime Saigon had to import 700,000 tons of rice annually from the U.S., and rice was constantly hoarded by capitalists and gangsters, there is more than enough rice to go around this year. In fact, it is being distributed free to poor and unemployed people. According to Nguyen Tan Phat, head of the PRG, South Vietnam expects to be exporting rice by next year.



Refugees returning to their homes.

'Labor Exchange Teams'

One important policy implemented by the Revolutionary Government to free the peasantry has been the setting up of hundreds of thousands of 'Labor-Exchange Teams'. The principles of these 'Labor Exchange Teams'- which usually consist of 10-20 people- are that "the strong will help the weak, the well-off help the poor, and thus ensure that everyone's land is properly cultivated and crops harvested." People already living in the countryside share their houses with newly arrived peasants and help them to build new houses; the use of tools and farm implements are exchanged for labor to help harvest a crop; land is shared and jointly worked; wasteland not belonging to anyone is jointly cleared and planted-- these are some of the many functions of the 'Labor Exchange Teams'.

Like the 'Mutual Assistance Teams' that operated in China and the DRVN in the 1940's and 1950's, the Labor Exchange Teams have a two-fold purpose: on the one hand they expand and develop agricultural production at a quicker tempo and on a much larger scale; on the other hand they quicken the pace of the revolution by breaking the ideological chains that bind the peasantry- the individualism and capitalist tendencies that inevitably flow from small-scale, single family production. Labor Exchange Teams display the power of cooperation and collective labor, imbue the peasants with a sense of collectivity, improve the lives of the people, and pave the way for the collective ownership of land, materials and large-scale production of agriculture under socialism.

Without the participation and support of the peasantry, the national democratic revolution could not win success. Not only must the PRG overthrow the feudal landowner class and implement 'Land to the Tiller', it must also extend the broadest democratic liberties to the people, and it must patiently educate and persuade the millions of small producers (peasants, handicraftsmen, etc) in order to involve them in the task of building a new society and advance toward socialism.

Safe-guarding the Revolution

As stated earlier, South Vietnam is governed by a People's Democratic Dictatorship:

operation previously, 80% have now resumed full production. 548 factories in 11 of the 14 production centers in Saigon have resumed operation, creating jobs for thousands of unemployed. (*Giai Phong News Agency, 7/23/75*)

Communications and transportation have been mostly restored, reestablishing the links between the cities and countryside for the first time in 15 years, and strengthening the interrelations among the people in the delta, urban centers, mountains and coastal areas.

Ports, railroads, roads and airports have been repaired. Already, more than 450 miles of railroad have been fixed, and hundreds of thousands of tons of food, fuel, medicine, building materials, tools and clothing have been transported to different areas of the country. For the first time in 30 years, the whistle of trains running from Hanoi to Saigon can be heard, as families, relatives and friends are reunited.



Workers in Quy Nhon take up arms to support new Viet Nam against counter-revolution.

By following the path of 'self-reliance' and relying on the initiative of the working class, South Vietnam's economy is steadily being transformed from a dependent to an independent one. "Workers of many factories have succeeded in using domestic materials or substitutes in making machines and spare parts all by themselves. Bien Hoa city has begun mass production of walking tractors in support of agriculture, after successful trial production." (*Hsinhua, 9/27/75*)

The Revolutionary Government is paying constant attention to improving working conditions and the cultural life of the workers. Safety on the job has become a number one priority. Living quarters, a free lunch, medical care, and nurseries have been provided for every worker. Supplementary courses to stamp out illiteracy have been opened up in every factory. Meetings are organized so that technical cadre can disseminate scientific and technical knowledge and workers can exchange experiences in production. Trade Union organizations are in the process of setting up libraries, reading rooms, physical education and sports activities so workers can study and relax when they are off the job.

Land to the Tiller

During the more than 20 years of U.S. Imperialist aggression in Vietnam, successive U.S. strategies were always based on separating the Liberation Forces from their main base of support- the millions of peasants living in the countryside- to "separate the fish from the sea". Through the use of massive bombing, terror campaigns and pacification raids, peasants were driven off the land and rounded up into 'strategic hamlets', refugee (concentration) camps, and the slums and alleys of overcrowded cities. Out of approximately 10 million South Vietnamese peasants, 6½ million were driven off the land. The overwhelming majority of Thieu's 1.5 million man army and police force came from the peasantry.

To free the peasantry and boost agricultural production, the PRG is completing a massive land reform program begun in the Liberated Zones in 1961. Already, more

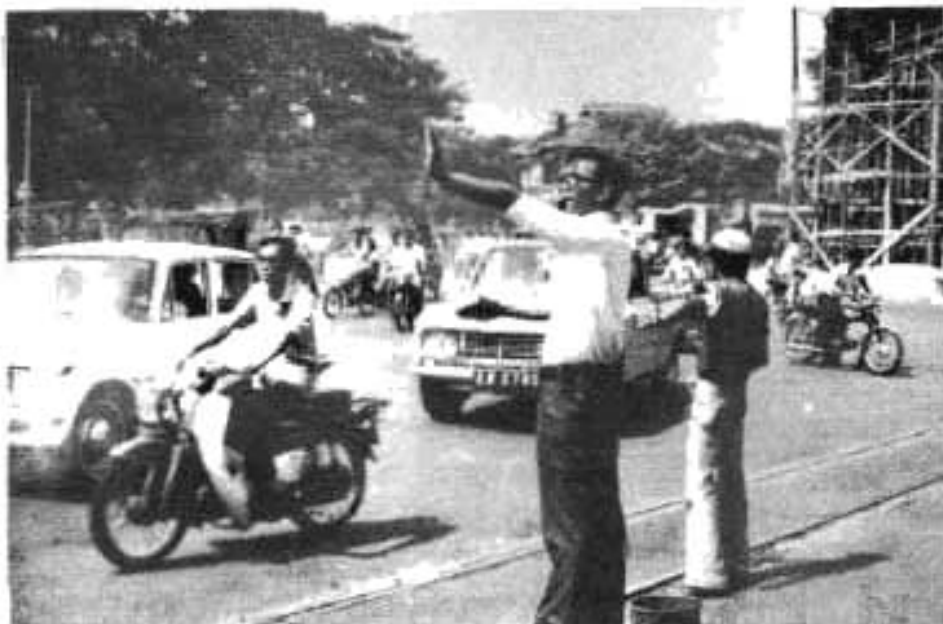
"The people's democratic dictatorship uses two methods. In regard to the people, it uses not the compulsory but the democratic method. In other words, it allows the people to take part in political activities and uses the democratic method of education and persuasion instead of compelling them to do this or that.

"In regard to the enemy, on the contrary, it uses the method of dictatorship. In other words, it forbids them to take part in political activity for as long a period a time as is necessary and it compels them to obey the laws of the people's government, to work and to transform themselves through labor... Its function is to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters who range themselves against the revolution...to arrest, try and sentence counter-revolutionaries, and to deprive landlords and bureaucrat capitalists of the right to vote, free speech and and the right to exploit the people." (Mao Tse Tung, On the Correct Handling of the Contradictions Among the People)

On the morning of Sept. 11, homes were raided, stocks seized and warehouses sealed off, and nine "inner-ring families"- compradore capitalists and gangsters were arrested and charged with hoarding, profiteering and manipulating prices. According to the Saigon Daily newspaper, *Giai Phong*, "Before liberation the compradore bourgeoisie controlled the enormous resources in South Vietnam and monopolized key branches of the economy. After liberation, they have continued to conduct underhanded sabotage activities politically and economically in collusion with counter-revolutionaries; they opposed the economic policies of the Revolutionary administration, hoarding commodities, and smuggling foreign currencies, gold, silver, jewels and drugs in and out of the country with a view to disrupting the economy." (Hsinhua News Agency, 9/19/75)

In the past few weeks, millions of people in Saigon and other cities held meetings and demonstrations in support of the PRG's policy to put an end to corruption, and to denounce the crimes of the compradore capitalists against the people.

One of the key aspects of this struggle has been the tremendous revolutionary upsurge of young workers and students. To date, more than 400,000 young people have joined the Liberation Youth and Student Federation, Self-Defense Brigades, and Work Teams to "see to law and order, take over capitulating officers and men and recover their weapons, direct traffic, combat armed robbery, clean up the streets, eradicate the vestiges of decadent and reactionary cultures, and help refugees back to their home villages." (SVN in Struggle, 7/30/75)



Students in Saigon help direct traffic.

Youths and students in the cities and towns have also set up propaganda teams. Using megaphones, literature, and carrying flags, banners and posters, every day they go through the streets in each district and city ward to explain the various policies and program of the Revolutionary Administration.

Serve the People

A massive anti-illiteracy campaign has been launched throughout South Vietnam. In Saigon, where there is estimated to be a half million illiterate people, at least 250,000 people are attending classes where they are learning how to read and write.

Under the slogan, "better to prevent than cure diseases", the Ministry of Public Health of the PRG has sent mobile teams down to every village and hamlet to give medical examinations, treatment and inoculations to the people and distribute medical supplies.

Throughout South Vietnam, the PRG is closely uniting with and putting themselves in the service of the people:

"If our people want to build a powerful administration and insure their mastership they must first build and rely on strong, revolutionary organizations, such as the Liberation Trade Unions, the Liberation Peasants' Association, the Liberation Youth and Students Organization, and the Liberation Women's Union.

"Through their revolutionary groups, our people will supervise the administration and join the revolutionary administration in solving their own problems.

"Since the administration belongs to the people, administration cadre need to place themselves in the service of the people and under the people's supervision and control. Every citizen has the right to criticize and directly control all administration acts and make his or her views known to the administration." (Giai Phong Radio, 7/12/75)

Like the peoples of China, North Korea, Cambodia, Laos, their brothers and sisters in the northern part of the country and others before them, the South Vietnamese people are demonstrating what can happen when the people rise up to rid themselves of the imperialists and local reactionaries, and take matters into their own hands. Despite more than a hundred years of colonialist rule and 20 years of havoc and destruction wrought by the brutal U.S. war of aggression, the South Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the Vietnam Worker's Party, the NLF and the PRG, have thrown off their chains, and are on the road to building a country which is "ten times more beautiful"; a society that is truly democratic and representative of the people- a life that has a purpose.

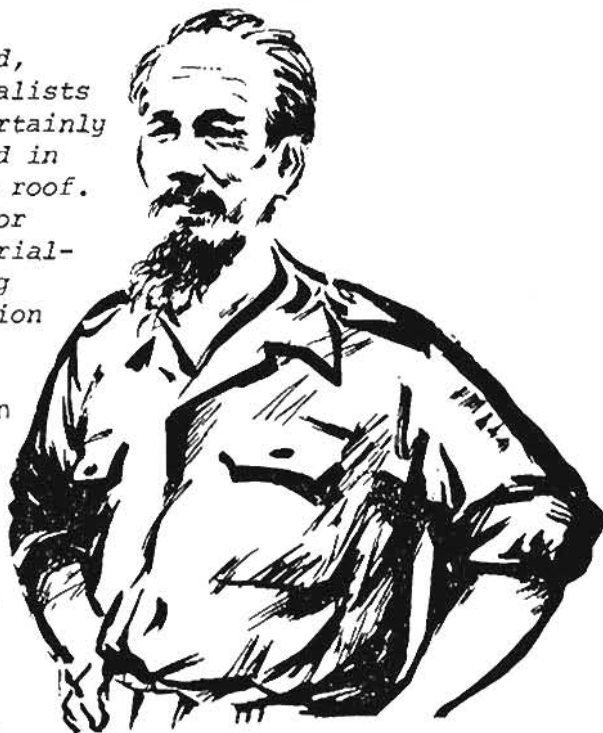


Revolution Until Victory: the Viet Nam Workers' Party

"No matter what difficulties and hardships lie ahead, our people are sure of total victory. The US imperialists will certainly have to quit. Our fatherland will certainly be reunified. Our fellow-countrymen in the South and in the North will certainly be reunited under the same roof. We, a small nation, will have earned the signal honor of defeating, through heroic struggle, two big imperialisms -- the French and the American -- and of making a worthy contribution to the world national liberation movement." May 10, 1969, HO CHI MINH.

The liberation of Saigon and all South Viet Nam in April 1975 has been mourned by the US imperialists and their agents and celebrated by people in struggle against exploitation and oppression around the world. For increasing numbers of Americans, the conclusion that the Viet Nam war came to a good end and that it was justifiably fought by the Indochinese arises out of the daily struggles of masses of American people for a better life, a life with a purpose against the attacks by the same system of monopoly capitalism and the same government serving that system that made war in Viet Nam.

For the millions of Americans engaged in struggle one question about the end of the war is clearly how did they do it? How did the Vietnamese people fight so long against landlords, French colonialists, Japanese fascists, puppet police and army forces, US imperialism and its lackeys and agents and win? They are not "supermen," they are not born strategists nor do they fashion unity among their people out of air. The Vietnamese were sure of total victory against all odds because their struggle has been and is today led by a revolutionary Communist Party, the Viet Nam Workers' Party (VWP). This is a fact mystified and ridiculed, obscured and attacked by the US ruling class and its mass media; but it is very important to the working and oppressed people of America because like our Vietnamese brothers and sisters, we fight to win total victory over imperialism.



45 Years of Struggle Led by the Party

The founding of the Vietnam Communist Party (renamed Viet Nam Workers' Party in 1951) in February 1930 by no means signaled the beginning of struggle against imperialism and feudalism in Viet Nam. For years peasant uprisings and assassinations of French and Vietnamese colonial officials had happened spontaneously or organized by Vietnamese "nationalists," usually members of the petty bourgeoisie -- students, intellectuals or small businessmen. As put by Troung Chinh, a leading VWP theoretician, in a speech in 1960: *"The birth of our Party was the outcome of the process of applying Marxism-Leninism to the workers' movement and the national liberation movement in Vietnam. In carrying out its policy of colonial exploitation and of bleeding white the Vietnamese people, French imperialism obtained a result which was quite contrary to its desire: the Vietnamese working class was born, a class whose historic mission was to lead the Vietnamese people to bury imperialism and its lackeys."* (Troung Chinh, *March Ahead Under the Party's Banner*, Hanoi, 1963.)

1930-1939: Learning The Lessons.

The history of the struggle of the Vietnamese People against Imperialism and feudalism since 1930, and for socialism in the North since 1954 is the history of the leading role of the Viet Nam Workers' Party. The Party initially led the growing workers' movement against the French colonialists and their Vietnamese contractors for the right to earn a living. The movement demanded wage increases, a reduction of working hours and an end to man-handling of workers, opposed heavy taxes and terror tactics against the workers' movement, and demanded a redistribution of communal land. It climaxed in a peasant uprising and administration in Nghe An and Ha Tinh provinces in 1930-1931, led by the local Party organizations. Although suppressed by French bombs and bullets, the Nghe-Tinh Soviet Uprising and 1930-1931 revolutionary tide was the first realization of the worker-peasant alliance which was to make possible the independence of Viet Nam.

In the next five years the "white terror" of the French imperialists killed and imprisoned tens of thousands and destroyed the nationalist organizations of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie which had sporadically resisted French colonial domination. However, the communist movement could not be extinguished and constantly sought to rebuild revolutionary bases, use every legal or semi-legal opportunity to make propaganda, organize the masses of working people and revive Party organizations, even turning the French jails into revolutionary schools.

When the Popular Front government (Communists participating in coalition with bourgeois parties) was formed in France in May 1936 and colonial policies were relaxed, the Party in Vietnam was the only political force to have survived the terror and which could build the people's fight against the French. Using all legal and semi-legal means, a genuine mass movement spread from South to North, from factories and mines to the countryside and forced the French to make some important concessions. Thousands of political prisoners were set free, labor regulations were issued, progressive papers could appear legally, workers could organize friendship associations. Hundreds of thousands of people were brought into struggle under the leadership of the Party.

1939-1945: World War II and the August Revolution.

The outbreak of World War II in Europe in the fall of 1939 was accompanied by the outright suppression by French colonialists of the revolutionary movement throughout Indochina. The Communist Party had to retreat from legal activities and switch its focus from the towns to establishing bases in the countryside. Acting on its own prediction of November 1939 that "Imperialist war and fascist domination will arouse boiling indignation among the people, the revolution will break out," the Party led two armed uprisings, at Bac Son in the north and in the Mekong Delta in the South immediately following the invasion of Indochina by Japan in September 1940. Although these failed, good lessons were learned about how to prepare an armed insurrection to seize power, and the first guerilla units were formed which were to grow into the Vietnam People's Army.

Throughout the war the French and Japanese maintained a steadily deteriorating alliance, turning Vietnam into a Japanese colony and military base. The Communist Party formed the Viet Minh Front in May 1941, directed at the colonialist/fascist alliance and leading the daily struggles of the workers and peasants. On March 9, 1945 the French colonialists were overpowered by a Japanese coup d'etat and under the Party's instruction, "Our Action when the Japanese and French are shooting at One Another."



Vietnamese
Factory Worker.



issued months earlier in anticipation of this day, the form of the struggle changed. The immediate goal became the general uprising to seize power away from the Japanese.

By mid-1945 the French and Japanese policy of seizing rice had resulted in famine throughout the northern half of Viet Nam. Two million Vietnamese died of starvation. The Party put forward the slogan "Break into rice stores and get rid of the famine" and mobilized the masses to stage armed demonstrations, break into the rulers' rice stores and distribute grain to the poor. This policy halted starvation, cemented the leadership of the Party and Viet Minh Front and resulted in the establishment of armed self-defense units throughout the country. Liberation committees seized and held political power alongside reactionary administrations in many localities; and by June 1945 a six province liberated area in Viet Bac, along Vietnam's border with China was secured as the main base for further armed struggle.

The Party's policy of launching a national anti-Japanese movement mobilized millions of people in street demonstrations, consolidated scattered guerilla units into a "people's political army," and prepared a general uprising which began August 14, 1945 in coordination with the surrender of Japan and the end of World War II. Twelve days later the administration of the country was in the hands of the people and on September 2, in a meeting of 500,000 people at Ba Dinh Square, Hanoi, President Ho Chi Minh proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

1945-1954: Nine Years Against the French.

Immediately following the proclamation of independence, 200,000 Nationalist Chinese troops entered North Vietnam under the pretext of disarming Japanese troops; and with US and British help the French returned to southern and central Vietnam. Chiang Kai-shek's troops were driven out by late 1946, but the French, seeking to reestablish their colony, attacked repeatedly. In response, after December 1946, the Party ordered a nation-wide, all-out and protracted armed resistance.



During the next four years the Party voluntarily went underground, leading the resistance war through the Viet Minh Front, which was broadened to include every possible anti-French force. Land reform was postponed in the effort to forge the strongest national unity and increase production to wipe out three immediate enemies: famine, ignorance and foreign aggression. Despite an increasing United States aid program to France, the colonialists were not able to defeat the revolutionary forces.

Following the Party's Second National Congress in February 1951, the Viet Nam Workers' Party again took up open activity, leading the national democratic revolution. The Party and government decided on immediate implementation of land reform -- seeking the overthrow of the whole landlord class but differentiating among members of this class and applying various tactics of confiscation, requisition and compulsory purchase of land, animals and farm implements based on the political attitudes of individual landlords. The success of this policy mobilized the masses of Vietnamese peasants to increase production and boost the armed struggle to final victory. The coordinated offensives by the Vietnam People's Army, local troops, militia and guerilla units throughout Vietnam, Pathet Lao armed forces in Laos and Cambodian guerillas in Winter 1953-Spring 1954 resulted in the great victory at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954 and the Geneva Conference, the end of French colonial rule in Vietnam.

tic "mopping-up" operations involving up to 30,000 men to "pacify" the population and stepping up the forcible concentration of peasants into strategic hamlets. Although armed self-defense was on the rise against this repression, struggle was largely still political through 1959 as peasant demonstrations of tens of thousands would tie up district or provincial towns for days protesting crimes against the people. Finally, the uprising of Ben Tre in the Mekong Delta in January 1960 signaled the start of organized armed struggle and liberation war. Under the leadership of Madame Nguyen Thi Dinh, later to become Deputy Commander of the People's Liberation Army, local party forces led a mass uprising which captured weapons, swept away the Diem administration and defended a whole province against attack by 13,000 Diem troops.



Roger Pic—Gamma

Nguyen Huu Tho, president of the National Liberation Front.

"By late 1960, South Viet Nam had become a huge volcano: the countryside, the cities and the mountain regions were in full effervescence. All strata of people were engaged in fierce struggle against the US-Diemist regime: workers, peasants, intellectuals, students, craftsmen, national bourgeoisie, national minorities, etc. The movement was joined also by Buddhists, persecuted religious sects, and a section of non-integrationist Catholics... To keep itself in the saddle, the regime only intensified repression. On the people's side, the various local and regional movements called for unification, with a view not only to more efficiency, but also sheer survival. Centralized leadership, both political and military, became a vital necessity for the revolution. Conditions were ripe for the creation of a national united front with a common purpose, bringing together all tendencies of the opposition. And so the

South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation was born. This was not a starting point, but a result, a crystallization: the result of six years of relentless struggle, crystallization of all patriotic and democratic forces." (*South Vietnam: From the NLF to the PRG, Vietnamese Studies #23, Hanoi, 1970*) The NLF was founded December 20, 1960 with lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho as president.

The Party in the South had survived the Diem terror, led the political struggles for implementation of the Geneva Accords, and had forged the unity of the NLF around a ten point program calling for the establishment of a national coalition government and broad democracy, the implementation of land reform, the guarantee of the rights of national minorities, the pursuance of a foreign policy of peace and neutrality and the peaceful reunification of the country. This fighting program was the basis for undertaking a national liberation war against the US and its Saigon lackeys.

1960-1969: National Defense by the Entire People.




For the next ten years, throughout the Sixties, the Party, the NLF and the People's Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF) led the struggle of the masses of South Vietnamese peasants against US imperialism and its feudal and compradore agents (the compradore bourgeoisie are those Vietnamese capitalists created and supported directly by the imperialists to maintain and bolster the status of Vietnam as a US neo-colony.) In the liberated zones, accounting for 4/5 of the countryside and ten million people by 1965, a de facto people's administration carried out land reform, stepped up farm production, built up the network of health and educational services, organized cultural activities and mobilized the people for the resistance. Every scheme of the imperialists was crushed by a careful combination of military action, politi-

1954-1960: Toward a Socialist North and Armed Struggle in the South.



Following Geneva a temporary division of Viet Nam was agreed to for the purpose of the disengagement and evacuation of French forces fighting throughout the country. The DRV took full control in the North and a US puppet, Ngo Dinh Diem was installed in the South in anticipation of democratic national elections in 1956 to be followed by reunification of the country. As it became clear that the Diem regime was consolidating a US neo-colony and military base by getting rid of pro-French factions, eliminating the core of the people's movement constituted by former Resistance members, and canceling the general elections, the tasks of the struggle and the Party shifted drastically. Since 1954 the tasks have been to build socialism in the North and continue the national democratic revolution in the South, now against US imperialism.

Before 1954 a single Party organization and a single national united front had evaluated the conditions of the fight and outlined strategy and tactics to carry on the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle together. From 1954 to May 1975 the division of the country and the new tasks -- continuing the national democratic revolution in the South and advancing to socialism in the North -- required two separate united fronts, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Vietnam Fatherland Front in the North, and the creation of a southern branch of the VWP, the Revolutionary People's Party (RPP) to lead the struggle in the South. At no time did the RPP constitute a separate Communist Party. The revolution throughout Vietnam was always one revolution with plans and strategy prepared with the needs of both North and South in mind. Today the RPP branch has again been absorbed into a single VWP structure.



In the North, land reform and economic rehabilitation from nine years of war was completed by the end of 1957. The first Three Year Plan (1958-1960) began the process of collectivization of agriculture and the socialist development of handicraft and industry. Throughout this period primary emphasis was placed on food production, medical and educational facilities to meet the needs of the entire population. In the land reform over 1,944,000 acres of land were distributed to 2,104,000 peasant families. Agricultural collectivization proceeded from mutual aid teams to small scale cooperatives, a process basically completed by the end of 1960. Politically, the period 1954-1960 in the North was a time of the consolidation of the "people's democratic dictatorship" over the landlords and reactionary capitalists and increased participation of the masses of workers and peasants in people's councils in villages, towns and districts.

In the South, the first six years of the Diem regime was marked by outright terror, first against former Resistance cadre but soon growing into a full-scale war of extermination against all opposition. 90,000 were killed, 190,000 maimed, 800,000 jailed -- and of these 600,000 crippled by torture. Resistance initially was strictly political as the people looked to implement the provisions of the Geneva Accords and to the general elections scheduled for 1956. These peaceful actions were drowned in blood, as in May 1955 when Diem responded to a May Day march of 150,000 by burning down the slums of Saigon to drive away from the city the large masses of working people dangerous to the regime.

Through 1957-1958 Diem heightened the attacks on the people, reinstating the class of landlords dispossessed during the Resistance when 3/4 of the land in the South had been under People's Power and land reform was largely carried out. Diem also attacked the national minorities in the Central Highlands, concentrating them in hamlets while moving one million ethnic Viet people into the mountain areas to take over the land. In 1959-1960 the Diem regime undertook full-fledged fascist tactics, conducting fran-



ical action by the masses of people, and persuasion and agitation among enemy troops.

By 1968 the NLF was strong enough to begin a general offensive and continuous popular uprisings to drive half a million US troops out of Vietnam. The Tet general offensive, January-February 1968, attacked in three days 64 cities and towns, 24 air bases and 35 US and puppet military centers. In 17 days of fighting, five of nine Saigon districts were liberated and Hue was held for four weeks. The morale of the Saigon administration and army collapsed and that of the US expeditionary force was irretrievably shaken. The US was forced to uncon-

ditionally halt the air and naval attacks on North Vietnam, begun in 1965, on October 31, 1968 and was forced to begin the Paris peace talks in January 1969.

Out of the battles in the cities during Tet 1968, the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces (ANDPF) was formed, representing the intelligentsia and national bourgeoisie in the cities. In summer and fall 1968 elections were held throughout the South for Revolutionary People's Committees in villages, districts and provinces. In June 1969 a Congress of Representatives of the South Vietnamese People from these elected committees was held under the auspices of the NLF and ANDPF to establish the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG). The PRG adopted the ten point program of the NLF.

In the North, the period of the first five year plan, 1961-1965, was a period of the transition to socialism in all fields. By 1965, 85% of agriculture was organized in large, high-level cooperatives, 20,000 in all. By creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in Vietnam, the DRV, starting from a small-scale and very backward agricultural economy, had bypassed the stage of capitalist development and advanced straight towards Socialism. By the end of 1965 the first bases of engineering, metallurgical and chemical industries, as well as various branches of heavy and light industry were built and in operation, owned and run by the state. This is not to say that socialist transformation was complete, that class struggle, struggle between the two paths of capitalism and socialism, was over. In fact this struggle was often very sharp, even in the party itself.

1965-1968 were four years of severe air war over North Vietnam. The US imperialists understood full well that the socialist DRV was the rear base of the revolution in the South and set out to destroy that base. In fact the bombing slowed, stopped, and in some cases set back all aspects of industrial development. However, *"In the flames of war the cooperativized agriculture still proved the strength and superiority of the collective way."* (An Outline History of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, 1930-1970, New Delhi, 1972) By 1967 93.7% of the working peasant households were in farming coops and rural production sustained the people and army—north and south—through the spring offensive this past year. Moreover, the socialist relationships of emulation and cooperation among the masses -- built in daily struggle during the land reform and farm coop movements -- was the basis for continuing to fight in the face of full-fledged US attack, under the Party slogan, "The Entire People Take Part in the Fighting and in National Defense." Socialism was in fact the anchor of the resounding victory of the Vietnamese people in April 1975.



1969-1975: The Victory of Socialism and National Liberation War.

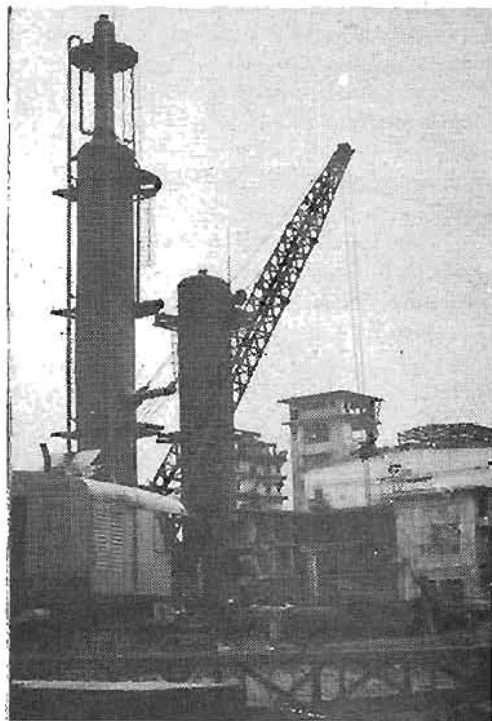
Since the founding of the PRG, the patient hand of the Party has been evident in the forward march of the revolution through the twists and turns of the struggle in

the South. All US expeditionary forces were driven from Vietnam and, despite the last ferocious Christmas bombing in December 1972, the Paris Peace Agreements were signed in January 1973. In the face of each desperate attempt by Thieu to violate and invalidate the agreement, the revolutionary forces waged political struggle, popularizing and demanding implementation of its terms through October 1974; while preserving the liberated zones and rebuilding the PLAF. This process and Thieu's terroristic response to political struggle awoke the resistance of the "Third Force," the last urban elements to take up active opposition to the Saigon puppet regime. When it became clear to all that the only obstacle to peace was the US-backed Thieu administration, and that a quick end to Thieu would mean real peace, the PRG launched a general offensive, backed by popular uprisings and political action in all urban areas. The Saigon puppets fell in seven months. Today the new democratic revolution is being consolidated and completed as reconstruction gathers speed and steps towards reunification are taken.

The last five years in the north have witnessed a new surge of socialist construction, and the achievements are stupendous. In agriculture, the DRV is currently advancing on a program of consolidating cooperatives from 20,000 independent units to 250 district-sized units, utilizing new technology, a double crop system and strengthened collective responsibility to make a leap to large-scale agricultural production. Integral to this movement, the DRV has built 1000 irrigation projects since 1955 and put 2.4 million acres (80% of the cultivated land in the North) under irrigation -- compared to 12 projects and 672,000 acres under the French.

In industry, the number of factories has increased from 100, with only 15,000 workers under the French, to over 1300 today. The value of heavy industrial output is up 100 times and is able to provide equipment and machines to other sectors of the economy -- tractors, food processing machines, 2000 ton ships, trucks, locomotives, road graders and dredgers, conveyor belts, sawing and pulp mixing machines and complete plants for some branches of light industry. Electric power is 18 3/4 times that in 1955 and electricity for agriculture is four times that in 1965 and double 1972. The output value of coal mining is 6.7 times 1955. Over 100 chemical plants now make over 300 products with a total value 60.9 times 1955. The length of highways has doubled since 1965 and of railways quadrupled since 1955. Illiteracy is wiped out; schools, colleges and universities have shown a ten to 100-fold increase. The number of doctors and surgeons is 12 times that in 1960 in the North. (data from Hsinhua, September 1, 1975; 1945-1975, 30 Years of the DRVN, Paris, 1975; and Hanoi Radio, August 3, 1975, FBIS August 13, 1975.)

Today, although the tasks of the revolution in Viet Nam are still to build Socialism in the North and complete the national democratic revolution in the South, the concrete conditions facing the Party and the people have changed greatly. The DRV's third five year plan, announced in early 1975, has been scrapped and a new one is in preparation to take into consideration the needs of the entire country. (See article this newsletter on South Viet Nam for specific tasks in the months ahead.)



The restoration and enlargement of the Ha Bac Nitrogen Fertilizer Plant.

Some Questions of Theory

From this historical review we can see that the development of the Vietnamese revolution is linked organically to the leadership role of the Communist Party. No other organization in the 45 years of struggle has been able to sum up the needs and aspirations of the people and point the way forward from victory to victory. The Party itself sees two general lessons to its success and ability to play this role. First is its grasp of Marxism-Leninism and its application in the concrete practice of the Vietnamese revolution. Second, victory is not magical, it requires a concrete analysis of concrete conditions and the strength to carry out the tasks. The Vietnamese identify six factors of success the Party has struggled at every turn to create, foster and strengthen: a genuine, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party; the worker-peasant alliance; the national united front; the revolutionary army of the people; state power in the form of a people's democratic dictatorship; and international solidarity. (*March Ahead Under the Party's Banner, Hanoi, 1963*)

A Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party.

"Marxism-Leninism is a science dealing with the development of new society, the science of the socialist revolution of the working class, the science of proletarian dictatorship, the science of building socialism and communism throughout the world, the science of revolutionary struggle of the working class and oppressed people." (ibid)

In Viet Nam, the application of this science of revolution allowed for the first time the identification of the real and fundamental contradictions in a colonial and semi-feudal society and laid the basis for a combined struggle against imperialism and the feudal landlord class. It also allowed for a concrete analysis of class forces in Viet Nam to determine, at every point of struggle, who the enemies and who the friends of the revolution are. If at any time the Vietnamese revolution had been led by idealism and mere hatred of oppression, and not by Marxist-Leninist materialism, the ability to see the real struggles of the people and identify their friends and enemies might have led to militant struggle and heroic defeat, but not to sustained revolution and total victory.



In Viet Nam the revolution demanded the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party. This means several things. First, although the VWP was born and grew up in an agricultural country with a small working class, and the overwhelming majority of its members came from the petty bourgeoisie -- first students and intellectuals and later peasants -- the party cannot adopt the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie, of individualism and concern for self, or it will lose. Rather, the Party must represent only the interests and outlook of the working class, gained in experience in production, for this is the only way it can fight and win an end to exploitation and oppression for all and build the new society.

Second, the Party must keep close contacts with the masses of people, never solidifying into a bureaucracy or a command structure. The Party leads the people to make revolution by learning from the people -- by taking the scattered and partial experiences and ideas of the masses of people; using Marxism-Leninism to sum these up and concentrate what is correct; and returning these concentrated ideas to the masses in the form of political line and policies to guide the struggle. This question of maintaining a genuine revolutionary Party has been taken very seriously by the VWP.

The Party and the People's Democratic Dictatorship

State power in Viet Nam is a dictatorship, specifically a people's democratic dictatorship. Marxism-Leninism teaches that all states and state power is a means for one class to exercise control and dictatorship over another. In Viet Nam before revolution, state power was the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and landlords, of a few over the vast majority of the people. Today the "tyranny of the majority" reigns: of workers and peasants over the landlords and compradore bourgeoisie in the South and over all the bourgeoisie in the North.

As regards **Democracy**, people's power in Viet Nam sees to it that working people actually wield power and participate in state management. As regards **Dictatorship**, all counterrevolutionary activities are prevented and repressed.

On this question of state power exist some of the sharpest differences between North and South Viet Nam. The tasks of state power in the South (worker-peasant dictatorship) are to establish and further the democratic regime and put into effect genuine democratic freedoms for the people, to carry out land reform and materialize the slogan "land to the tiller" while leaving intact the foundations of capitalism, build and develop a national and democratic economy and culture, and prepare for socialist revolution politically, economically and ideologically. The tasks in the North (actually a dictatorship of the proletariat) are to break up their power; rally the various strata of the people around the working class in order to carry out socialist transformation and pave the way for communism -- the complete abolition of classes. In neither case, however, does people's democratic dictatorship mean the end to, but rather the continuation of class struggle under new forms, by new means.

The relationship of the Party to the State is not for the Party to function as the State or to "command" state organs, but to ideologically and politically lead and educate cadre and employees in these organs. For instance, in Saigon there is a National Liberation Front city committee of dozens of leaders from all classes; a Revolutionary Committee, the highest government body responsible for political decisions in the city; and various administrative units responsible to the Revolutionary Committee. In addition there is a party structure for Saigon which has some members at all three levels of government and which gives guidance and leadership to officials not in the Party.

The Party and International Solidarity

The Vietnamese have many friends around the world and they have taken particular pains to develop those friendships to build the common, world-wide fight against Imperialist oppression and exploitation. The Vietnamese revolution is not a national-ist revolution, merely the concern of the people of Vietnam. It is in fact an integral part of the world revolutionary movement for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism; and international support has been built on the basis of contributing to these common struggles of all working and oppressed people.



RPP leader Tran Van Tra



PRG Pres. Huynh Tan Phat

The success of the international struggle to support Viet Nam depended on the Party's correct analysis of the contradictions and real struggles and of the true friends and enemies of their revolution world-wide. The Viet Nam Workers' Party has analyzed their friends as follows: the brother Communist and worker parties; the working class and peace-loving peoples all over the world; and the countries of the Third World. The enemy of the revolution in Viet Nam and throughout Indochina was primarily US Imperialism and secondarily lesser capitalist states and reactionary ruling classes in Southeast Asia.

With the sweeping defeat of US Imperialism in Indochina, the serious weakening of its position of hegemony throughout Southeast Asia, and the subsequent weakening of many of the reactionary ruling classes in the area which served as direct agents of the US, a major reassessment of the contradictions in the area and the present friends and enemies of the ongoing revolution in Viet Nam is necessary and underway by the Party. One manifestation of this changing situation is the effort to normalize state-to-state relations with governments which provided direct assistance to US aggression -- Japan, Thailand, the Philippines and Australia.

Another international concern facing the Vietnamese is what role North Viet Nam will play in the world movement for socialist revolution now that the struggle in the South against the US is no longer the primary concern. This question has been distorted by the bourgeoisie as a power struggle over Viet Nam by Russia and China. In fact it is a political and ideological question of real importance to the Vietnamese because the success of the struggle inside Viet Nam today, no less than in the past, must be waged in the context of the struggle of all working and oppressed people against Imperialism. It is not yet clear how the Party in Viet Nam has resolved this question, particularly how the world-wide crisis of imperialism has weakened and changed the US position as top dog of capitalism and what the concrete role of the Soviet Union is today -- friend or foe of revolution.

The question of who fights for revolution and who subverts and holds back the fight around the world is key to organizing the struggle and aiming the blows sharply against Imperialism. In light of the leading role played by socialist states and Communist parties in the struggle world-wide, the question of who the true socialists are and what their role should be is particularly important. Viet Nam has consistently stood with and helped spearhead the rising tide of revolutionary struggle in the world against Imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. They have clearly shown us that under the correct leadership of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party the struggle of the working and oppressed people can triumph over any odds.



In this time of world crisis for US imperialism, the struggle of the American people against increasing attacks and exploitation by the capitalist bosses and ruling class has sharpened as well. The questions of who are our friends and enemies, of correct leadership and "how to win" is important to us, because like our Vietnamese brothers and sisters, we fight to win total victory over imperialism.

May Day, New York City, 1975. Celebration of the international struggle of the working class under the slogans "FIGHT, DON'T STARVE," "WORKERS UNITE TO LEAD THE FIGHT AGAINST ALL OPPRESSION"