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No 11, November 1964

- North Vietnam -

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JPRS: 27,971 (23 December 1964) contains the translation of an article, entitled "Welcome the 47th Anniversary of the October Revolution" and numbered pages 1-4, which had been inserted as a loose fly-leaf in this issue of Hoc Tap. It is a substitution for an article which had appeared in some early copies of the November 1964 issue of Hoc Tap and deleted from later copies.

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SOME EXPERIENCES IN AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVIZATION IN NORTH VIETNAM

[Following is a translation of an article by Nguyen Chi Thanh in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 11, November 1964, pages 1-20.]

The peasants in North Vietnam, including those in the delta, midland, and highland, have been led to the adoption of agricultural cooperativization following the years of socialist reform. New production relations were established. They have been consolidated in order to develop and to stimulate the new productive forces.

Many new and precious experiences have been accumulated through many years of organization and management of the co-operatives. We do not intend to make a complete survey of the agricultural cooperativization movement in North Vietnam, but we want to recount some of the profound experiences that can be used as basic information for our studies and research on the formation of directions and development of the movement.

I. Application of Lenin's Cooperativization Plan to North Vietnam

The genius cooperativization plan of Lenin forms the universal model for all countries which are embarking on socialist construction. However, in the application of that plan, each country must pay attention to its own peculiar characteristics.

1. The Soviet Union and some countries in the socialist bloc have undertaken simultaneously agricultural cooperativization and mechanization because they have had a modern industry

to start with. Moreover, their economic, political and social conditions differed from those in North Vietnam. Without agricultural mechanization, they would have difficulties in attracting the working peasants to follow the cooperativization road.

In our country, since the time that we have embarked on the cooperativization road to the present, our industry has not developed rapidly, and it cannot supply abundant modern equipment to agriculture. It will take a long time, perhaps tens of years, for our industry to be able to supply adequate equipment and chemical fertilizers to agriculture. It will take our backward and poor agriculture many years to modernize and catch up with advanced countries.

Our Party, however, did not wait until the time that we have all requirements for the cooperativization of the agriculture. Based on concrete situations of North Vietnam, our Party has solved our agricultural problems, and it has brought our agriculture to embark on the road of socialism. These concrete situations were: individualistic production; backward technology; the "average three-sao of land per capita"; impossibility for North Vietnam to undertake socialist industrialization, development of the national economy, and improvement of the living standard of the people; high political awareness of the working peasants and their confidence in the Party since its founding; and the democratic people's authority under the leadership of the working class -- a progressive authority which controls all economic activities -- was a powerful supporting force for the cooperativization movement. Therefore, under the leadership of the Party, all revolutionary forces which supported the cooperativization movement maintained the absolute position in political, economic, and social activities. Our Party, therefore, undertook socialist reform of the production relations and the development of the productive forces, i.e., the simultaneous application of cooperativization in agriculture and mobilization for technical reform, production increase, and development of agricultural production.

From the experiences gathered during the past years, it is evident that the reorganization of the peasants has created conditions for the agricultural cooperatives to apply advanced technical measures, to rationally utilize land and labor, and to effectively fight against natural disasters, etc. As a consequence, the production of the cooperatives has developed, their income has increased, and the living conditions of the people have improved. Therefore, the working peasants have been mobilized and encouraged to take part in the cooperativization movement. The enter-relationship between the production

relations and the productive forces obeys the objective law of development. We all must admit that without the reorganization of the peasants, it would be impossible for agricultural production to develop; and without undertaking the campaign to improve techniques, to increase productivity, to develop production, and to raise the living conditions of the peasants, it would be impossible to attract the broad masses of the peasantry to join the cooperatives. We cannot neglect either one of them since they are inter-related and each supports and stimulates the other.

Our Party, however, did not stop at that point, but it also proposed that in the process of industrialization of the country, our agriculture must be gradually irrigated, mechanized, electrified, and made to utilize chemical fertilizers. It has done so with the conviction that socialism can only achieve fundamental victory when our industries, agriculture, and other sectors in the national economy have a modern material-technical foundation.

If we do not actively foster our socialist industrialization in order to build up the agricultural material-technical foundation, we will not complete the socialist reform in agriculture, since, as Lenin has taught us, only industries, and, first of all, heavy industry, have the capacity to reform agriculture. Without socialist industrialization, we cannot completely overcome poverty and backwardness, and we cannot reform the psychology and the traditions of the poor peasants in the countryside. Under the existing conditions in North Vietnam, it would be a mistake and mere mechanical practice if we were to wait for industries to develop before we undertook the reforming of production relations in agriculture. Since exploitation in the countryside will not be eliminated if we do not reform the individualistic production relations in the countryside immediately in order to develop agricultural production, that is, the base for socialist industrialization of our country. It would be a mistake if we were to reform the production relations without taking into consideration the improvement of agricultural techniques and socialist industrialization in order to form the technical-material base for the cooperativized agriculture. By so doing, we would not, therefore, apply creatively the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism on socialist construction.

2. Agricultural cooperativization in our country has developed rapidly and orderly, and it has the support of the majority of peasants because, in organization as well as in management, we have proceeded from small- to large-scale, from lower to higher level, and from simple to complex problems. We have obeyed one of the important principles of Lenin on cooperativization, that is, to choose and pro-

pose the most appropriate form and to make the cooperativization the "simplest, easiest, and most adaptable way by the peasants." In countries such as North Vietnam, agricultural cooperativization develops under conditions in which the material-technical base of socialism in agriculture is still weak, agricultural production is still dispersed, and the cultural level of the peasantry is still low. Therefore, this principle must be faithfully observed because the peasants can only absorb and understand what is really concrete and easy.

That is why the majority of our agricultural producer cooperatives have gone through the form of labor exchange team -- labor exchange team is also divided into seasonal, piece work, and regular labor exchange team -- and it has developed from low to high level and from small- to large-scale. The enlargement of the cooperative scale must be done gradually and firmly, and it must depend on the construction of the material-technical base of the cooperative, on the progress it has achieved in agricultural techniques, and on its managerial level. The enlargement of the cooperative's scale must have as its aim the development of production and the increase in the number of products. If the scale of the cooperative is done rapidly, or if it is too large, then production will not benefit from it because the managerial level of cadres at cooperatives and the construction of the material-technical base cannot catch up with it. But the maintenance of small-scale cooperatives for a long period of time is not beneficial for the development of productive forces. At the present time, we have temporarily stopped at the hamlet-scale cooperative in the delta and midland, and "ban"-hamlet [ban is a group of families in the highland] in the mountain region for a period of time in order to stabilize organization, consolidate production relations, and to develop production. At the same time, we should study to formulate "bridging" forms in order to enlarge the cooperatives. For instance, a number of cooperatives in a region can build and managed jointly and irrigation project which will serve these cooperatives, or to build processing plants to process agricultural products, and lime and brick furnaces to supply these products to a large area. This is one important step in the preparation for the enlargement of agricultural cooperative in a firm manner in order to develop large-scale agricultural production, under a favorable material-technical condition.

It would be the same for the production direction. The cooperative should not have many trades all going at the same time; nor should it manage all the trades at once, but it

should start with important branches which produce a large quantity or those sectors which directly serve agricultural production. The registration of work-day, work-points, and the application of the three-contract system must also be done from the easier to the complex stage, according to the level of understanding of the cooperative members and the managerial level of the cooperative. The organizational aspect of agricultural cooperativization movement is fundamentally stabilized. However, many managerial problems remain that require further study. We should study in detail many managerial problems, such as the fixing of work norms, the arrangement of work, the management of agricultural produce, the organization of collective livestock rearing, and the allocation of trades and occupations, etc. Only then can we answer to the demand for the improvement of management and consolidation of cooperatives in order to develop production.

In the organization and management of the cooperative, we should follow the well-known principle of proceeding from the lower to the higher level, from the simple to the complex matter. In some cases, however, we do not have to follow that principle. For instance, when the cooperativization movement has covered the majority of the peasants and it has been consolidated, then we can by-pass the labor-exchange team. In some areas in the mountain region or in previous plantations, we can jump directly from labor-exchange team to high level cooperative. This also agrees with the dialectic development principle.

3. Having made the correct application of Lenin's principles of voluntary and mutual benefit in the concrete situation of North Vietnam, we have scored great successes in the cooperativization movement. The voluntary principle not only applies in the organization and admission of peasants into the cooperative, but it should also be applied in all activities of the cooperative when it is founded. The mutual benefit principle must not only be applied to middle and poor peasants who are members of the cooperative, but it should also be applied to cooperative members and the cooperative, the subsidiary economy of cooperative members, the collective economy of the cooperative. It should also be applied to teams of the same cooperative, the cooperatives themselves, and between the cooperatives and the State. In other words, the mutual benefit principle must be applied to the cooperativized peasantry and the people's democratic authority led by the working class. These two principles have a close relationship, with one another. Without understanding this relationship, we will, in solving managerial and organizational problems, commit errors, display bossist attitudes, or show lack of leadership.

A very important factor for the peasants to adhere to the cooperativized campaign is their absolute faith in the Party. However, their zeal to build up the cooperative will not be developed if their political enthusiasm is not accompanied by material encouragement. The material foundation of the voluntary principle is the realization of the mutual benefit principle, that is, the benefit between the cooperative members themselves, between the cooperative members and the cooperative, and between the cooperative and the State. There is another reason for the peasants to enthusiastically join the cooperative, in addition to their faith in the Party. The cooperative is a socialist economic device which cleverly fosters the interest of cooperative members, i.e., of the middle and poor peasants; of the cooperative members and the cooperative, of the cooperative and the State. The mutual benefit of these groups has helped to raise the income of cooperative members, strengthened the cooperative's economy, and helped the cooperatives to fulfill their obligations toward the State.

Whether or not the peasants really volunteer in joining the cooperative depends on the satisfactory solutions for the interest coming from the land, livestock, production, and collective part that are not unfavorable to the middle and poor peasants. Many places have not satisfactorily clarified the sharing of cooperative members and payment for collectivization of their production tools; therefore, many cooperative members have asked to leave the cooperatives. The reasons for these actions are the violation of the principles of mutual benefit and voluntary committed by the managerial committees. These principles are very important for the operation of the cooperative, and they will determine the labor enthusiasm and the attachment of the cooperative members to the cooperatives.

In applying the principle of mutual benefit, we do not ask for an absolute and ultimate justice, since it will not be attained no matter how perfect the management would be. The principle of mutual benefit must be applied in every regime, policy, and managerial activity. The interest of cooperative members, of cooperative members and the cooperative, and of the cooperative and the State must be solved satisfactorily with the aims of strengthening the collective economy, raising the living standard of the cooperative members, and serving the socialist industrialization of the country. In the application of the principle of mutual benefit, we should firmly adhere to the policy of distribution according to labor, which forms the foundation for the policy of material encouragement. If we only emphasize the general principle of material encouragement without specifying its basic content, i.e., distribution according to labor, we

will perhaps encourage the development of unhealthy tendencies which will, in turn, affect the strengthening of the collective economy, such as the tendencies to run after profits, of enriching the cooperative through other means than production, and the development of family economy instead of the collective economy. The principle of material encouragement must be closely combined with political education. Only then can we correctly apply the principles of distribution according to labor and of mutual benefit because our managerial level is still low. Political education also helps us to partially overcome some difficulties and material shortages that the cooperatives in North Vietnam will suffer for a relatively long period of time.

To successfully materialize the principles of voluntary effort and mutual benefit, we must strengthen democratic management. For, only by having democratic activities within the cooperative combined with centralized guidance of the managerial committee can the cooperative develop the creativeness of the collective management, and mobilize the labor enthusiasm of its members in the construction of the cooperative.

4. Lenin also proposed another principle with regard to his cooperativized plan. For the successful construction of the cooperative, the State and the working class must give continuous and total help to the cooperativized countryside with regard to materials, finance, organization, and culture. Lenin said, "A social system can develop only with the financial help of a certain class." (Note: "On the Cooperative System," Works, Vietnamese edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, Vol II, page 666.) This is a common truth for any social system. We must pay special attention to this principle because the new production relations in our countryside develop from a poor material-technical foundation. The success and the speed of agricultural cooperativization in our country depend on the technical, financial, organizational, and cultural help given by the State and the working class.

Socialist industrialization is the most fundamental and realistic help given to the cooperativized countryside by the working class. Financial, technical, and cultural help as well as the supply of cadres are also important and must be done in a comprehensive manner. This help is most important since we have not completed our socialist industrialization.

The collective production relations must have their own material-technical base. At the same time, these production relations demand advanced techniques which are com-

pletely new to the peasants who, until recently, have produced separately and alone. The State must have a plan to train tens of thousands of high-level and middle-level technical cadres who will help the cooperatives to apply advanced techniques. At the same time, technical organizations of the State must also offer short courses on basic agricultural techniques for tens of thousands of youths who have graduated from the first and second level of secondary schools who will go to the cooperatives and work with the cooperative members. The educated cadres and youths will help us bring advanced techniques to the countryside in a short period of time, and they will help the cooperatives to make great changes in agricultural techniques. The supply of tens of thousands of youths to the countryside and work as accountants is also a way of helping the cooperativized countryside by the people's authority.

We also help the cooperatives in their organization, for instance, the regionalization of agricultural production. This is an important problem in the guidance of the agricultural production. It requires a high organizational level, and a close relation to many branches and regions. Therefore, without the direct help from the State, regionalization cannot be achieved. With regard to large land reclamation projects, help is not limited to the organizational aspect, but it also covers the financial and technical aspects, etc.

We must take precautions against the attitude of dependency of cooperatives who look for help from the State without developing their self-sufficient spirit to build up their material-technical base. It is only by their own efforts that the cooperatives can develop a powerful force for the development of the collective economy and the effectiveness of State aid. On the other hand, State organizations should also fight against any laissez-faire policy. They should not only only advocate self-help, but they should also have comprehensive and regular help and they should also positively take part in the consolidation of the new production relations in the countryside.

To avoid these deficiencies, it is necessary to understand that the help given to cooperatives is required to speed up the development of the collective economy of the cooperatives so that they can stimulate the development of agricultural production and strengthen the foundation of socialist industrialization. This is not only an economic problem, but it is also a political problem which has as its aim the consolidation of the political alliance of the working class

and the working peasants who have joined the cooperatives to successfully build up socialism in North Vietnam.

II. The Class Line in the Agricultural Cooperativization Campaign

An important factor in Lenin's "Cooperativization Plan" is the maintenance, consolidation, and strengthening of the political alliance between the working class and the working peasants under the leadership of the working class.

To ensure this political alliance, it is necessary to have a correct class line. The class line of the Party at each period depends on the conditions of different classes in the society and on the missions and demands of the revolution during that period, with its aim as to ensure victory for the class struggle. Therefore, the class line changes according to the changing conditions and the revolutionary missions, or it must be changed to fit the new concrete situation.

Our Party has proposed the class line for the agricultural cooperativization campaign. It is "complete dependence on the poor and lower-middle peasants; unification with the upper-middle peasants; elimination of the economic exploitation of rich peasants; ideological reform of the rich peasants; prevention of the rising of landlords; opening of new roads for the landlords to reform and become new persons; and the determination to bring the peasants along the agricultural cooperativization road to reach socialism."

This line reflects the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete situation of North Vietnam. The results of the agricultural cooperativization campaign during the past few years have shown that that line is completely correct.

"The determination to bring the peasants along the agricultural cooperativization road to reach socialism" is a common law that all countries which are building socialism must follow. With regard to the policy concerning different classes and strata in the countryside, each country must determine it according to its own characteristics.

In our country, the lower-middle peasants do not differ much from the poor peasants with regard to the economic

and political aspect. These two social strata are the most revolutionary strata. They also form the majority in the countryside after land reform and before agricultural cooperativization. Therefore, we do not depend entirely on the poor peasants, but we also depend on the lower-middle peasants. With the complete dependence on these two strata, we will have a powerful force which forms the core for the agricultural cooperativization movement.

Before and after land reform, the economic foundation of the middle peasants was very weak. The economic difference between the poor and middle peasants was very small. Therefore, the middle peasants are close to the proletarians and they are positive in following the Party to promote revolution. The middle peasants in our country are different from those of other countries. Their negativeness and their self-generating capitalist nature are secondary. Therefore, in the people's democratic revolution as well as in the socialist revolution, our Party has proposed that we should unite with the middle peasants. Poor and middle peasants united and formed a strong and positive force during the resistance and during the land reform period. In the socialist revolution as well as in the agricultural cooperativization movement, poor and lower-middle peasants have cooperated with the middle peasants and formed a positive and powerful force.

Compared with rich peasants in other countries, the economic power of the rich peasants in our country is also weak. From the political aspect, the rich peasants in our country were exploited and oppressed by imperialists and feudalists; therefore, to a certain degree, they have a relatively positive attitude toward the people's democratic revolution. That was why we cooperated with the rich peasants during the people's democratic revolution. During the socialist revolution, we have proposed that "the economic exploitation of rich peasants must be limited and eliminated, and their ideologies must be reformed" during the agricultural cooperativization movement. The reform was done by peaceful means, which differs from many other countries in the socialist camp. It is the creative aspect of our Party with regard to the class line in the countryside.

Having a correct line is not sufficient since we must carry it out in order to successfully fulfill the revolutionary missions. The position, ideology, and viewpoint of the proletariat are shown in all activities of the Party in the countryside. therefore, we must pay attention to all activities. But in the application of the Party line in the country-

side, there are also many unsatisfactory points. Some comrades have said that it is only necessary to rely on the "poor and lower-middle peasants." This alone is sufficient and we can neglect all other aspects. It is correct to depend on the "poor and lower middle peasants," but to neglect other aspects, particularly cooperation with the middle peasants would be narrow-minded and it is not advantageous. On the contrary, too much emphasis on cooperation with middle peasants will lead to a rightist tendency, and the fear to fight against mistaken and negative tendencies of the middle peasants, particularly of the upper-middle peasants. These deviations are results of the lack of a firm understanding of the position, ideology, and viewpoint of the proletarian class. They will cause great damage to the materialization of the class line of the Party in the countryside.

To correctly carry out the class line in the countryside at present, it is necessary to spread the class line to all activities of the cooperatives. For instance, in the organization of the cooperative, it is important to use poor and lower middle peasants as the core. It is necessary to ensure that the majority of cadres working at the cooperatives are advanced and positive elements belonging to the poor and lower middle peasants. However, we should also pay attention to positive persons belonging to the middle peasant class. With regard to the ideological aspect, it is necessary to educate the poor and middle peasants and to be determined to fight against backward ideologies and self-developing capitalist ideologies. It is natural that the middle peasants, particularly the upper middle peasants are more susceptible to these ideologies, but we should be patient to educate and persuade them, and we should not use rough measures or pressure against them. We should also be exact in carrying out other policies. We should not raise the rent of cattle and tools from poor and lower middle peasants, and reduce the rent of the middle peasants. With regard to distribution, we should adhere to the principle of distribution according to labor, and we should not give more to the poor peasants and less to the middle peasants, etc. The agricultural cooperativization movement developed strongly at places where the class line of the Party has been correctly carried out since the positive character and the enthusiasm for production and for the build up of the cooperatives have been developed among the working peasants, including poor, lower-middle peasants, and the middle peasants.

The countryside in North Vietnam has changed. Agricultural cooperativization is fundamentally completed. The rich peasant class, the last exploiting force in the country-

side, has been eliminated. Conditions giving rise to exploitation have been fundamentally eradicated. The new production relations have been established. Nearly all working peasants have joined the cooperatives. A new class -- the collective peasant class -- is forming. Private production tools are becoming collective property. The collective ownership has been consolidated and enlarged gradually. The socialist spirit of unification and mutual help is taking root in the countryside. These are important and crucial aspects of the countryside. Other aspects must also receive our attention. Agricultural cooperativization has been fundamentally completed, but the majority of the cooperatives are low-level cooperatives; the majority of land and cattle are employed in a uniform manner, but they have not become the collective property; the collective economic foundation is still weak; the cooperatives have just been established and they have not been consolidated; the last exploiting force has just been eradicated; the landlord class was overthrown, but the landlords have not been completely reformed into working peasants; the collective peasant class is forming, but it is not yet a uniform class because there are differences in the living conditions and in the thinking of the cooperative members, that is, between the poor, lower middle peasants and middle peasants. These conditions indicate that the old has not been completely abolished and the new is just developing.

Under such conditions, it is not appropriate for us to change completely the class line in the countryside because the situation is not ripe yet. However, we should not maintain the old class line without any modification. In so doing, we will fall into conservatism, and we will not see the new changing situation. We should, therefore, execute the class line proposed by the Party during the agricultural cooperativization movement, but we should apply it with a new spirit in order to fit it into the new situation. That is, we should emphasize the unification and unanimity of the poor and lower-middle peasants and the middle peasants (including the upper-middle peasants) with regard to labor production and peasants have joined a certain production organization where important production tools have been transferred into the hand of the collective. Moreover, these production organizations have been consolidated and enlarged. On the other hand, there are differences in financial and particularly in ideological levels of these two classes -- these differences are remnants of the past regime -- therefore, we should distinguish between what is our support and what is our unified target.

Some comrades maintain that the distinction between the support and the unified target is no longer necessary because

all working peasants have joined the cooperative. These comrades see only one side of the coin. They do not realize that the working peasants have just joined the cooperative whose production has not been developed strongly; their living conditions have been improved but not very much; and their ideology has been elevated, but has not become pure yet. Speaking from the class viewpoint, the poor and lower middle peasants in general, and the poor peasants in particular, are more positive and enthusiastic in the cooperativization movement. Therefore, poor peasants and lower middle peasants form the unique support of the Party in the countryside. The lack of distinction between the support and the target for unification, between poor peasants (including the lower-middle peasants) and the middle peasants, and the emphasis on the difference between these two classes are completely wrong.

Some other comrades maintain that we should not change the class line at all when it is not necessary to do so. If we propose to apply the class line creatively and in a new spirit, we will create confusion and difficulties. This situation will lead to a lack of understanding of the position and class viewpoint. It is clear that these comrades want to simplify the complex reality. They want to maintain the old situation which has been transformed. These mistaken views have led them to take the conservative road.

Our objective is to eliminate the difference (the difference among the working peasants which has existed since the old regime) between poor and lower middle peasants and the upper middle peasants, and to transform the working peasants into a new and genuine class -- the collective working peasantry. That is the aim of the class line of the Party in the countryside. Following the socialist basic economic principles and the development of the national economy, the economy of the cooperative will develop continuously to meet the ever-increasing demand of the peasants and the people. It is certain that in a period of time, the difference between poor and middle peasants will be eliminated. It is natural that at that time, there will be differences in the living conditions of the peasants, but these differences are the results of the capacity to work and the quality and quantity of labor; these differences will not be determined by the class origin of each person.

It is correct and scientific to pose the problem of consolidating the support and the objective of unification within the cooperative in order to bring to perfection the new production relations, to develop the productive forces,

to step up agricultural production, and to abolish the differences between the poor and middle peasants. But we cannot eliminate these differences in lowering one group of persons down to the level of other group; on the contrary, we should try to unite the cooperative members, and we should encourage them to positively participate in the economy of the cooperative so that it can develop and the living conditions of the members will be improved therefrom.

In order to apply the class line with a new spirit for the consolidation of the support and the strengthening of the unification in the countryside, it is necessary that, from the political and organizational point of view, the majority of leader cadres of the agricultural cooperatives must be positive elements coming from the poor and lower middle peasants. We should also pay attention to positive elements from the middle peasants. It is natural that to bring party members into the leadership of the cooperative, we should not mechanically refer to their class origin, but we should pay attention to their position, ideology, viewpoint, and the mass confidence in them. From the ideological point of view, we should educate the cooperative members the proletarian ideology and the socialist ideology. We should correctly criticize the backward thinking of the peasants, and the self-generating capitalist ideology of any person, whether he is from the poor or middle peasant class (most likely from the upper-middle peasant class). We teach them the unification spirit, enthusiasm for production, and build-up of the cooperatives. We teach the middle class that they should not have prejudice against the poor peasants; and the poor peasants should understand that in the land reform program, they have the right to have more land. However, once we have proceeded to socialism, we must apply the principle of distribution according to labor. From the economic point of view, we must have a comprehensive outlook. All policies concerning pricing, procurement, work points, and distribution, etc., should be done in a business like manner, and they should be just.

In the countryside at present, the exploiting class has been overthrown. Some elements belonging to that class have really participated in labor and have been reformed into new men. A few of them, however, have allied with the reactionaries and voluntarily plotted against the revolution. We do not overestimate the enemy and their forces, but we should not relax our revolutionary vigilance, nor should we forget the class distinction or the class enemy. Our Party maintains that the class line must be linked closely with the class struggle, and the class struggle must be done not only

on the production front, but also on the front of productive forces. Class struggle not only has the mission to reform the old production relations and to perfect the new production relations, but it also has the mission to develop production, to increase the wealth of the society which is the ultimate goal of the class struggle. In this struggle, we should consolidate the Party chapters, prefect the managerial committee, develop the exemplary character and the capacity to undertake unexpected tasks of the Lao Dong Youth League, and strengthen the socialist education for the cooperative members in order to form the driving force for the development of the new productive forces. The secret for the success of Dai Phong cooperative and other advanced cooperatives is that they know how to firmly grasp these elements in order to stimulate the agricultural production. And in the class struggle, they have paid attention to and cleverly employed the interaction of the new production relations and the development of the productive force in production.

To find out whether the application of the class line is correct or not, it is necessary to examine the result of the cooperativezation movement. The cooperatives must perform work in unification as well as in production activities. They should carry out the policies satisfactory, and they should have a high awareness against the class enemy. If these results are not reached, then it is necessary to re-examine the application of the class line and the class struggle, or to re-examine the class line itself and the class awareness in order to ascertain problems and to correct them to conform with the new development in the countryside.

III

Reform and Raise the Managerial Level of Cooperatives

The management of the agricultural cooperative is composed of three aspects: the management of production, the management of labor, and the management of financial affairs. We do not want to cover every aspect of the management of the cooperative, but we only want to discuss in detail the most difficult and complicated problems associated with it.

1. The Production Direction of the Cooperative

To find out whether or not a cooperative is an advanced unit, one must first of all examine its production direction. If the production direction is correct, then the production of the cooperative will be able to grow and develop continuously. The cooperative will be strengthened and the standard of living of the cooperative members will be improved. In the past, our agricultural production was based on feudalist production relations, and therefore it did not have any clearly defined production direction. It developed in a blind manner, and was subjected entirely to the fundamental sic: this should read "capitalist" economic principles and other economic principles of that regime. It could not employ all of the favorable conditions; nor could it overcome the difficulties arising from natural conditions. Sometimes, it could not even materialize simple production. Under these conditions, our agricultural production was stagnant and backward, and it lasted in this condition for many centuries. The exploiting class, however, was well-off, while the working peasant was getting poorer and poorer.

After the land reform program was instituted, the peasants became more active in production, and, as a consequence, agricultural production began to develop apace.

However, production under land reform was based on the economy of small peasants; therefore, the proposals for the new production relations and their implementation were restricted. Under the leadership of the Party and with the help of the people's democratic authority that controls the mainstream of the economy, the positive aspects of the economy of small peasants were developed. Nevertheless, the negative aspects of that economy prevented agricultural production from following the socialist road toward improving the standard of living of the peasants and people and serving socialist industrialization. The individualistic production practices and habits of the peasants were based on conditions of dispersed and isolated agriculture. It could not have a comprehensive and long-range direction, and hence it could not produce or create a fundamental solution for overcoming backwardness and poverty. Therefore, to liberate the productive forces in the countryside and to open the way for the development of socialist industrialization, our Party has reformed the individualistic production relations of the peasants for it is only with advanced production relations and a socialist production relation that we can achieve advanced production directions.

The situation is completely different at the present time. In the countryside of North Vietnam we do not find a large number of individualistic farmers such as we found in 1958 or 1959. To replace that situation we have created at present nearly 30,000 cooperatives which are ready to accept the new production directions in order to improve the standard of living of the people and to serve socialist industrialization. These cooperatives also form the foundation for the construction of an independent economy and for cooperation with other countries in the socialist bloc. The new production relations are compatible with the objective law that asserts that once these relations are liberated the productive forces will begin to develop rapidly. Without an understanding of this point, and without an understanding that it is necessary to have a revolution in the production direction of agricultural production, we cannot really effectively grasp the spirit of the resolutions of our Party with regard

to the development of agriculture, and we shall not be resolute and determined in proposing the agricultural production plan and in implementing that plan.

To achieve these demands, the production directions in agriculture must, on the one hand, depend on the weather conditions in the region, the cultivation habits and practices of the masses, and the advanced production experiences. On the other hand, we should base our plans on the demand for economic development of the national economy in order to determine what we should produce. The production directions that are proposed by the cooperatives must be singularly concentrated and must have a comprehensive character. Our agricultural production in the past was a monocultural production which was characterized by self-sufficiency. Therefore, it could not completely exploit the natural riches and resources of the tropical region. The production direction of the cooperatives should try to eliminate that monocultural situation and the conditions associated with that in order to transform the backward economy into a comprehensive and diversified agriculture. Experiences from advanced cooperatives permit us to declare that, before we can modernize our agriculture, the cooperatives in North Vietnam must fundamentally overcome the monocultural situation and conditions associated with it.

A comprehensive agricultural development means that there must be cultivation, livestock rearing, and subsidiary occupations. However, cultivation must play the most important and central role, and the other two must remain secondary. In cultivation, the production of grains is the most important task, but we should also pay attention to the development of industrial trees, fibers, and timber trees, especially long-life trees, as these represent important and great sources of revenue. Only those cooperatives which have the help from the State can have the capacity to engage in their production and to transform the whole economy of a region. In addition to cultivation, livestock rearing and subsidiary trades are other sources of revenue for the cooperatives. Everywhere fish can be bred in the rice fields and in ponds. Fish breeding does not require much outlay of

capital, labor, or high technical level of skill, but the return is high in a short period of time.

The development of agriculture must be comprehensive, but it also must be centralized. We should combat the situation that has resulted in reverses and suffering for many cooperatives at present, that is, the situation of producing everything on a small scale. The dispersed production direction is not the direction of an advanced production relation because it cannot bring about the production of abundant merchandise and goods and it cannot answer to the demand for specialization. Therefore, in setting its production direction, each cooperative must determine which one is its main product, and which is to be its secondary product. Each cooperative must try to have at least one or two secondary products which have a technical and organizational link with the production of the main product in order to create favorable conditions for the latter to develop. Subsidiary trades must have as their objectives the fulfilling of the demands of the members of the cooperative. Their products will be sold as other goods when their supplies surpass the demand of the cooperative members.

The direction of each cooperative depends on the production direction and specialization of each region. Many economic regions are forming at the present time, such as the peanut region at Nghe An, the cotton region at Thanh Hoa, the sugar cane region at Ha Nam, the hemp region at Hoa Binh, the jute region at Hung Yen, and the mulberry region at Ha Dong, etc. The productivity of the plant at these regions is higher than at other places because they have practiced specialization, they have had more experience, and they have invested more on fertilizers and labor. These economic regions are formed as a result of the demand of the national economy and of the weather conditions regionally and the cultivation tradition of the masses. There are also many newly established economic regions, such as the newly reclaimed areas in the mountain regions. The cooperatives in these regions are the places where advanced production relations and directions have been introduced. These places

have the capacity to supply abundant products useful in a number of industries, such as livestock rearing, industrial trees cultivation, and forestry.

During the irrigation movement, we have built large water reservoirs which can hold tens of millions of cubic meters of water. These reservoirs open the way for the development of cereals, grazing lands, and the processing industries. Therefore, we will have many new economic regions and local industries constructed and located around these reservoirs. They will form a link between agriculture and industries, between urban and rural areas, and between the workers and the peasants.

Party Committees of all levels must pay more attention to the economic regions. They should concentrate their leadership and supply fertilizers, capital, insecticides, animal power, and working tools to these areas where the main products are produced. They should have plans to form a technical network which is composed of specialist cadres who will study in detail each economic plant. The Party committees should also try to complete the managerial reform movement in these places. If these things are done, the productivity of the plants and the volume of agricultural products at these places will increase greatly in a short period of time.

That is the general direction that we must take. But the most important tasks which must be done in order to create conditions for the development of the economy of the cooperative are the enlargement of the cultivated land areas, the improvement of techniques, and the intensive cultivation for increasing productivity of the plants.

The enlargement of the cultivated land through land reclamation in order to break the "three sao chain" will create a new impetus for the cooperative in its production. The experiences developed at Dai Phong and other advanced cooperatives have indicated that the average land per capita must be higher than three sao in order to have a rapid change

in the production of the cooperative. With the three sao per-capita of land, the technical improvement, the increase in productivity, and the production increase will be restricted. It is difficult for the cooperative to improve its working tools, to provide employment for its members, to raise the labor enthusiasm of the people in the cooperative, to strengthen the collective economy, and to step up the production of goods if the arable land in the cooperative is too small. Therefore, the enlargement of the cultivated land is very important for the development of production of a cooperative.

It would be worthless if we were to pay attention to the enlargement of the cultivated land without also paying attention to technical improvement, and to practice intensive cultivation over the arable land. It would not change the production situation of the cooperative, but it also would have a bad effect on the ideology and labor power of the members. We have not completely exploited the potentialities to increase productivity of our agriculture which is located in the tropical region. Once this is exploited, our agriculture will be able to produce many tropical products on a relatively small piece of land. The enlargement of the cultivated land, the improvement of techniques, and the raising of the productivity of the land will stimulate other activities of the cooperative. The supply of grains will be insured, and thus we can develop industrial trees and livestock. With the development of livestock, we will have more fertilizers to supply to cultivation. The income of the cooperative will increase, and so also will accumulation. It will then have the capacity to further step up its production activities. It is natural that the standard of living of the members of the cooperative will be improved, and it will encourage them to be positive in production and in the build-up of the cooperative. With the development of production, the need for labor will be increased, and thus there will have been created greater demand for the improvement of working tools and techniques. These activities will ultimately bring our agriculture to the advanced scientific road. This has been proven by Dai Phong and other advanced cooperatives.

Therefore, with its correct production direction, the cooperative can solve many important political, economic, and social aspects of the consolidation and development of agriculture in order to increase production. It will break the monocultural situation and overcome the way of doing many small trades which prevents the majority of our cooperatives to develop. It will also create favorable conditions for the application of the socialist distribution principle. It will help to develop the positive labor enthusiasm of the peasants, and to avoid the shortage of work for those families that have many members and dependents. The execution of the class line of the Party will be performed satisfactorily, the enthusiasm to labor and to build up the cooperative will be enhanced because the cooperative members will then be able to catch glimpse of a bright future and their standard of living will have been greatly improved. The cooperative will then be further strengthened and will form a solid foundation for socialist industrialization.

In order to determine the correct production direction for the cooperative, it is necessary to thoroughly understand the agricultural production directions proposed by the Party, to apply them to the concrete situation of each cooperative, and to consider them as the immediate and long-range targets of the cooperative. For those cooperatives whose cultivated land is not too extensive, in addition to the positive technical improvement and intensive cultivation, they should try to enlarge the cultivated land area. The production direction can be considered as the leading political direction which will guide all activities concerning the division of labor, technical guidance, and the organization and training of cadres. The determination and application of the production direction will not be a smooth road, but there will be many contradictions that must be solved satisfactorily in order to develop production. Experience from many cooperatives has indicated that many new problems will emerge and require new solutions, for instance, how to organize and manage labor, and how to raise the efficiency of labor in order to avoid labor shortage during the peak activity of the season, etc.

To satisfactorily materialize the production direction, it is important also to build up the resolution of cooperative members, Party chapters, chapters of the Lao Dong Youth League,

and members of the management of the cooperative. Everybody must have the desire to do big business, and the members of the cooperative must develop their collective spirit in order to look for a new production direction. We must introduce great changes in organization and in ideology. We must support those people who dare to think and to perform boldly and imaginatively. We must fight against ideologies of making small efforts but maintaining numerous trades, a situation that still exists within the cooperative and that is coupled with expressions of conservatism, complacency, hesitation, etc.

By doing all of this we can correctly determine the production direction for the cooperative and implement and materialize it. It is the basic condition and the decisive factor for the comprehensive, firm, and resolute and strong development of agricultural production which was proposed by the Party.

2. Labor Management

Labor management is an important problem in the management of the agricultural cooperative. A good labor management means to fully employ all labor capacity, to raise the efficiency of labor, to economize the labor force, and to rationally utilize labor. In North Vietnam where the land is scarce, and the material-technical foundation of the cooperative is backward and poor, there exist the three important problems in the labor situation: surplus of labor in the delta (from 30 to 40 percent); irrational utilization and organization of labor, and low efficiency and inferior quality of labor. These problems have not been solved satisfactorily; therefore, the volume of idle labor is large and the wealth created by labor is still small; the number of working days is great while the work day distribution is low, and the income of each work day is also low.

Good and full utilization of collective labor and the labor of family cooperative members are very important in the management of labor of the agricultural cooperative. The utilization of labor of family cooperative members has not been done satisfactorily everywhere, but it is relatively easy because the peasant himself is accustomed to arranging the work in his family. What is needed is general guidance and a coordinated plan between family and cooperative. To

satisfactorily employ the collective labor of the cooperative is a difficult matter, and one that is complicated and completely new for the peasants. In the past, when they were producing on an individual basis, they used to manage from five to seven workers in their family and exercise management and control over the cultivation of only a few mau of rice fields. Now, they have to control tens of hundreds of workers, hundreds of mau of rice fields, and many other trades in addition. It is a difficult task, but we must do a good job. We must emphatically reach summarizations and conclusions while we are working and learn from our practical experiences. Moreover, this problem has great political and economic significance.

Under our system, the superior nature of the agricultural cooperative is heralded and shown in its ability to create conditions for everybody to work in order to create more wealth, to improve the standard of living of the farmers and people, and to serve the socialist industrialization of the country. Therefore, we must work very hard because our peasants and farmers want to work harder in order to have more income. In the countryside of North Vietnam, we have the capacity and resources to employ more labor in the production of the cooperative. We can use more labor on the land in order to materialize the intensive cultivation. We can mobilize surplus labor in the delta to build up fisheries or the salt industry in the coastal regions. Within the cooperative itself, there are many possibilities to employ labor in order to develop livestock rearing (particularly the collective part) and other trades and occupations, and to build up the new countryside, etc. Therefore, if the labor of the agricultural cooperative is not fully employed and the production does not develop, and if the standard of living of the cooperative is low, then it is the fault of the Party branch and the management board of the cooperative. On the contrary, if we do these tasks satisfactorily, it is certain that the cooperative will be consolidated and firmly developed.

More wealth will be created with good labor management conditions. With regard to a cooperative member himself, good labor management shall mean an increase in the quantity and value of each work day in the service of the collective economy. However, attention should also be given to the development of subsidiary industry of the cooperative member. These are

two economic sources which can raise the income of the cooperative member. With regard to the cooperative, good labor management means an increase in the accumulation fund and enlargement of the material-technical foundation of the collective economy. Good labor management does not mean limiting the working capacity and will of the cooperative members or preventing them from developing their labor enthusiasm for the development of the cooperative or their own family. Some cooperatives are making this sad mistake.

To perform effectively in labor management, we must first of all have good production direction since this is the requirement for the mobilization of cooperative members and for the rapid increase of the number of work days within the cooperative. Cereals and industrial trees require that a large amount of labor be expended during planting time. The volume of labor required will be greatly increased if we also include the work of processing, etc. Labor can be used in the reclamation of land, increase of the number of crops, the development of the collective livestock rearing, and other trades and occupations, such as the production of bricks, lime, etc. The mobilization of the labor force of the cooperative members for capital construction in order to serve production and the common good and welfare is also a way of economic accumulation which is compatible with the situation in the countryside of North Vietnam, i.e., the cooperativization of the countryside under a situation in which there is surplus labor, but the material-technical base is backward and poor.

It is not sufficient to have a correct production direction, but it is also necessary to know how to organize labor. The basic labor organization in a cooperative is the production teams. These teams must be stabilized in their organization, that is, in the organization of labor, land, cattle, and the working tools. Only then can they fulfill or overfulfill the contract between them and the cooperative. It is necessary to set up specialist teams or squads at places where, in addition to the production of foodstuffs, there are other trades. In the organization of these squads and teams, in addition to having experienced hands, it is required to have the participation of the Party members and members of the Lao Dong Youth League, and we should also organize short training courses. Many places have organized irrigation teams which form the main force

of the two-year irrigation movement. Their productivity varies from one-and-a-half to two times the productivity of those that have not been organized. If they are equipped with improved tools and semi-mechanized tools, their productivity will be further increased. This proves the fact that labor productivity increases many times when the workers are cooperativized and when they use improved tools.

In the management and organization of labor, we all know that we have a shortage of labor during the peak season, and we have a surplus of labor during the rest of the season. Therefore, the majority of the labor force must be mobilized to serve agricultural production during the peak season, and they should return to their regular trades and occupations afterwards. The cooperation between production teams within a cooperative, between the cooperatives themselves, and between agricultural and non-agricultural workers is very important. Under the old production relations, the mobilization of labor was subject to the law of value. Under our present system, in certain cases, it is necessary to have a rational coordination of workers of different cooperatives, based on the principles of voluntary and mutual benefit, in order to overcome the shortage of labor during the harvests.

On the one hand, we should try to increase the number of work days, but on the other hand, we should also pay attention to increasing labor productivity. The continuous development of the cooperative and of the national economy demand labor and capital from the agricultural sector. This situation leads to an increase in the demand for labor, but the number of persons that have reached working age is limited. If we do not try to raise the productivity of labor, we will not satisfy the demand for labor under the new conditions. Moreover, we cannot ask the peasants and farmers to work very hard for a long period of time.

A large number of workers will be saved and employed in the enlargement of production if we continue to effectively raise labor efficiency. At present, there is waste in the utilization of labor. To raise the productivity of labor, we should, on the one hand, organize and utilize labor rationally, and improve the management of the

cooperative; on the other hand, we should try to improve working tools. To raise the productivity of labor means also to raise the quality of labor. To reach this goal, in addition to the political mobilization and ideological education to develop the spirit of being the master of the cooperative, we should praise organizational spirit and discipline in working whenever we can and in a timely fashion. With regard to management, it is necessary to apply the three-contract system which is based on the working norms, arrangement of work, and the application of the reward and punishment regulations. These are the conditions to raise the productivity of labor. However, many cooperatives have not done so correctly.

Labor management is a complicated task for the cooperative. It must be continuously improved to fit the changes in the material-technical foundation of the cooperative and the political level of the cooperative members. We will achieve good results if we study the problem and draw conclusions from it.

3. The Construction of the Material-Technical Base in the Countryside

The improvement of the material-technical foundation of the cooperative will help the cooperatives to enhance their productivity and total output. To equip a modern material-technical base for agriculture, it is necessary to have large and modern industries which can improve the agricultural sector. For those countries which have a modern and developed industry, it is a relatively easy problem. In our country, the formation of the material-technical foundation for agriculture has many limitations because our modern industries has not been strongly developed. Nevertheless, under our present condition, we can develop the creative spirit and energies of the cooperative members to build up gradually the material-technical base for each cooperative in order to develop the advantageous nature of our tropical agriculture, and to increase the agricultural productivity and total output. Having adhered to this spirit, we have strengthened the material-technical foundation of the cooperatives in the past few years.

Irrigation is the foremost measure to develop agriculture in North Vietnam. Water works have been undertaken by the State or the cooperative, or by both of them. As a consequence, water works have been stepped up and they have created favorable conditions for the cooperatives to achieve good results in intensive cultivation, development of fish breeding and fisheries in the rice fields, and the improvement of communications and transportation in the countryside. In addition to constructing irrigation systems, the State has also built many plants to produce chemical fertilizers and insecticides. The movement to make fertilizers (such as the planting of duckweeds and plants to make green fertilizers, and compost-making by the production teams, etc.) is spreading among the cooperatives.

In addition to intensive cultivation, the cooperatives have mobilized the people from the delta to the mountain regions to reclaim tens of thousands of hectares. They have therefore opened up new production directions and have created new changes in the cooperatives in the delta. The improvement of working tools to increase labor productivity and the improvement of the working conditions in agriculture have achieved good results. Many cooperatives have undertaken the tasks of improving their working tools. Many cooperatives have mechanized their work, such as the employment of water pumps in the delta, the use of the automatic turbine motor in the mountain region, or the utilization of diesel or electric motors to run agricultural processing machines and equipment. Many other cooperatives have also built many other installations, such as warehouses, drying yards, agricultural processing plants, etc. The Party and State have also paid attention to raising the cultural level of the cooperative members, especially youths, so that they can have conditions to rapidly absorb modern agricultural techniques. At the same time, many training schools have been opened to train and strengthen specialists and technical cadres for the cooperatives.

Progress has been made in the construction of the material-technical base for the cooperative. As a consequence, many cooperatives now have conditions to apply advanced techniques. Their productivity and their income have been improved. North Vietnam at present has tens of

thousands of cooperatives which can produce over 25 ta of rice per hectare, or about 50 ta of foodstuffs, per year.

The material-technical foundation of the cooperative, however, is still weak. We should keep these characteristics in mind when we try to build our material-technical foundation for the cooperative in the countryside. We should continue to build it up in order to step up the development of agricultural production to consolidate and develop the agricultural cooperativization movement. In the construction of the material-technical foundation for the cooperative, the State has the duty to help agricultural cooperatives to build it; but the cooperatives themselves must develop their creativeness and their self-reliant spirit to rapidly build it. In doing this task, we should pay attention to simple and modern projects, and immediate and long-range plans. We should gradually move from the lower to the higher level; with exceptional cases, we can move directly from backward to the modern stages. At present, and for a relatively long period of time, we must still utilize improved and semi-mechanized tools; we must still rely on animal power and manual work. In certain region, we have begun to mechanize some of our works. In the mechanization of agricultural production, we do not limit ourselves to the utilization of tractors only (we are using tractors in a small area in order to carry out research or to serve production), but we should think of the employment of other machines such as water pumps, agricultural processing plants and equipment, etc. We should fight against the leaping tendency, that is, to mechanize our agriculture in a short period of time, but we should also fight against people who want to stop at the stage of production with manual labor or hand-operated tools.

The construction projects of the countryside are also important and closely related to the construction of the material-technical base for the agricultural sector. These projects include the construction and build-up of installations which serve production, such as irrigation installations, warehouses, drying yards, roads, etc. At the same time, we

should construct public welfare installations, such as kindergartens, child nurseries, hospitals, schools, and houses. It is time for us to solve these problems in a comprehensive and planned manner as a result of the development of production and the demand for the strengthening of the collective economy and improvement of the material and cultural life of the people. If we neglect the construction work of the countryside, we will not satisfy the demand for the improvement of production and the standard of living of the people, we will not be able to control our construction plan, and we will not be prepared to supply materials and raw materials adequately. Waste in labor and materials will occur because we have to build and rebuild the countryside many times.

In the construction of the countryside, we must keep in mind that production is our main purpose, but we should begin also to think about the construction of the collective welfare projects and the houses of the peasants and farmers. If we pay attention only to the construction of production installation without paying attention to the construction of the collective welfare buildings and the houses and dwellings for peasants and farmers, we will therefore divorce ourselves from the aspirations of the people. On the contrary, if we pay attention to the latter without taking into consideration the former, we will divorce ourselves from production and the economic development policy of the cooperatives. We should also guard against formalism and wastefulness among us.

The direction in the construction of production and residential buildings in the countryside is permanent, semi-permanent, or temporary buildings. We should, however, try to gradually construct permanent and semi-permanent buildings. In the near future, we will try to build up the countryside at many different regions. In each region, we will build a number of communities and cooperatives according to our plan. That is the experience of Dai Phong cooperative (Quang Binh). The first step is the construction of production installations. The second step is the continuation of the first step, with the additional stepped up construction of collective welfare projects; and the last step is

the continuation of the second step and the construction of houses for cooperative members.

In the construction work of the countryside as well as in the construction of the material-technical base for the cooperatives, we should fight against reliance on assistance from the State. We should also fight against the tendency of doing nothing after the industries have been developed. This would mean that the cooperative could not do anything without the help of the State, or the development of industries. It is not like this in real life. Under the leadership of the Party and with the help of the State, based on the condition in which our industries have not been developed strongly, as compared with the time when the cooperatives were newly first built, we can say that the agricultural cooperatives have created for themselves a material-technical base that is much stronger. If the cooperative members help each other to build their houses (such as at Quang Binh province), and if the communities use their public funds and help each other to build bridges and roads, etc., then the problem of housing for the peasants will be solved in about ten years. With appropriate help from the State, many communities and cooperatives can build up the new socialist material-technical foundations.

4. Distribution

Distribution according to labor is a socialist law which is determined by the socialist fundamental economic principles. It is also a basic problem in the management of our agricultural cooperatives. The application of that law in an agricultural cooperative means that the distribution of consumer's goods is determined by the quality and quantity of labor of each cooperative member. It is therefore compatible with the production goals of socialism. It is easy to understand that law, but it is difficult to apply it in the difficult and complicated situation in North Vietnam. We have no intention of making a complete survey of this problem here, but we only want to point out some experiences and problems that have occurred.

We have fundamentally completed agricultural cooperativization, low-level cooperatives, for three years. However,

the material-technical base of the cooperative is still weak, production techniques have progressed slowly, and the standard of living of the people has been improved but it is still low also. Under these conditions, what distribution policy shall we follow to raise the standard of living of the peasants and people, to increase the accumulated funds, to strengthen the material-technical base of the cooperative, and to fulfill our obligations to the State, that is, to serve the socialist industrialization of our country? If we can achieve this, everybody, including cooperative members, the cooperatives, and the State will benefit from it. Our distribution policy must encourage the cooperative members to work, maintain the internal unification of the cooperative, stimulate the technical improvement, and develop production according to the new production direction.

The production of our cooperatives has been developed, but its rate of development is slow, and the total output is low. Therefore, the distribution policy must adhere strictly to concrete regulations and policies. Our production is still low, but if we know how to perform correct distribution, we can meet the basic demands of the cooperative members and we can also accumulate an important part for the enlarged reproduction and the fulfillment of our obligations to the State. On the contrary, if we do not know how to distribute the products, even with our high production, it would be difficult for us to maintain the internal unification of the cooperative members, to strengthen the cooperative, and to fulfill the obligations to the State.

The duty of the cooperative with regard to the State includes payment of taxes and the selling of agricultural products to the State. This situation has been stabilized recently. This was a very important decision made by the Party and Government in order to gain the confidence of the cooperatives and to encourage them to develop production. For those cooperatives which have a bumper harvest, in addition to their normal food obligations, they can sell more agricultural products to the State with incentive prices. As a consequence, the State will have more grains

and materials to meet the ever-increasing development of the national economy. The cooperatives and cooperative members will also benefit from it.

The cooperative fund is composed of the accumulation fund and the welfare fund. If the funds are too small, the cooperative will not have conditions to develop production and to look after the welfare of the collective; if the funds are too large, then the part distributed to the workers is too small. We must raise the accumulation and welfare funds when production is good, and vice-versa. The conference on the management of cooperatives that was held in December 1961 determined that from five-to-seven percent of the income must be reserved for the two funds. Many cooperatives in recent years have not wanted to raise these two funds, or they have only raised the welfare fund without raising the accumulation fund. They failed to use the income to buy agricultural tools, fertilizers, animal power, or to build up their agricultural capital construction, in order to enlarge their reproduction, but they deposited their money in the bank or in a savings account while they still continued to borrow money from the State.

To insure expanded production and reproduction, expenditures must also be subject to a certain percentage according to the business of each cooperative. It is necessary to prevent and overcome two tendencies: the first tendency is the high production costs regardless of the revenue; and the second tendency is fear of investing in production tools and in the improvement of techniques in order to develop production. Both tendencies are mistaken and they are contrary to the fundamental economic law of socialism, that is, to improve the standard of living of the people on the basis of the changing technology (especially when our material-technical foundation is weak, we must pay more attention to the important socialist principle of economizing in production as well as in consumption). Chairman Ho has often reminded us on this particular point.

In the low-level cooperatives, there are two forms of ownership: collective ownership and private ownership.

To take into consideration the private aspect of the cooperative members, in addition to the distribution according to labor, there is also distribution according to production tools, that is, to distribute a part of the products according to the percentage of the land, cattle, etc. that the cooperative member contributes to the cooperative. This part of distribution will be reduced as a result of the increase in production, and the revenue of the cooperative members and of their higher level of awareness. When the unit becomes a high-level cooperative, the members will not receive this part of distribution any longer. It is a mistake to eliminate completely or reduce drastically the distribution of agricultural products to cooperative members, because it will hurt the economy of the middle peasants and of some poor peasants. On the contrary, it is also a mistake to oppose the elimination of the distribution of agricultural products when the standard of living of the cooperative members has been improved as a result of the development of production because this violates the principle of distribution according to labor, and it also deviates from the class line of the Party because those who have more land usually belong to the upper-middle peasant class.

The principle of distribution according to labor is also subject to the work-point policy. This is a very complicated problem because our agricultural production is still backward and simple. To correctly apply the work-point policy, first of all, it is necessary to determine the labor standards and arrangements of work in order to set up standards for the calculation of the work-points. The determination of the labor standard means the determination of the quantity and quality of each task in a day's work, under a certain production condition. The arrangement of the work means the calculation of work-points according to the principle of distribution according to labor and it is based on the labor standard. Both tasks must be done carefully and painstakingly because the nature of agricultural production is very complex. For instance, for plowing, there are many types: plowing in the dry fields and in the wet fields; the wet fields are in turn divided into chiem rice fields and mau rice fields; the plowing is done either by water buffalo or by cow, and it is done with an improved type plow or the single-blade plow, etc., etc. The determination of the labor

standard and the arrangement of the work are difficult, but they must be done in order to rationally compute the work-points. The policy of the work-point must have as its aims the encouragement of the peasants to raise their quantity and quality of labor, the guarantee of technical standards, and the compliance with the date of delivery. It must also have as its aims the encouragement of cooperative members to improve their working tools and to improve techniques. This policy must be applied flexibly, of course. For instance, the work-point must be higher for the unusual or unexpected task which requires immediate attention to meet the time limits. However, it must be done together with the promotion of ideological and political education and mobilization.

Another important point is the perfection of machinery that does not directly take part in production. The number of persons who receive allowances must be reduced so that the part of income distributed to the cooperative members will not be reduced greatly. We should also prevent the situation in which allowances are given to everybody, even though the sum is very small. Allowances given to expectant mothers, kindergartens, and child nurseries are good indications and should be promoted. This indicates that we are paying attention to women and children, culture, and the welfare of all cooperative members. A part of these allowances comes from the public fund, and another part should be contributed by the cooperative members themselves.

The principle of distribution according to labor must also be subject to the reward and punishment policy. We should award those production teams which overfulfill the plan assigned by the cooperative, but we should find those teams which do not fulfill the assigned task because they have failed to try to carry out the task, and they also therefore have inflicted damages on the cooperative. To perform effectively in the reward and punishment policy and system is to correctly apply the principle of distribution according to labor because the reward is given for large quantity and superior quality of labor, and vice-versa. Depending on the concrete situation, reward and punishment is administered in kind or in money. The awards and fines

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must be administered seriously in order to encourage the collective labor spirit, to insure the execution of the policy and regime, and to correctly materialize and implement the principle of distribution according to labor. Any production team or individual that fulfills the work must be awarded, and any production team or individual that fails to do so must be fined. But, in general, it is far better to give awards than it is to fine individuals.

At many cooperatives, there are older people or sick people who still have many difficulties in their daily lives. The cooperative is the collective organ of the peasants, and it should help these people in order to demonstrate the superior nature of the socialist regime. The production of the cooperative has been developed, but the cooperative still has many difficulties, and its welfare fund is still poor. Therefore, the cooperatives cannot support these people completely. Our people, however, have the tradition of mutual assistance and help. We should demonstrate this tradition and spirit and help these unfortunate people. This means that we should apply the principle of distribution according to labor and the principle of mutual help in assigning appropriate work to them so that they will receive some work-points, but we should also mobilize the cooperative members to financially support them, with the help of the cooperatives, if it is needed. If we simply apply the principle of distribution according to labor, it is obvious that these people who are sick and elderly will be confronted with many difficulties in production and in their daily lives. On the contrary, if we give them too much support, we will also be faced with certain difficulties in failure to encourage their working capacity, but we will therefore develop a dependent attitude among them; furthermore, we will discourage the cooperative members in their production. A correct application of the principle of distribution according to labor and the principle of mutual aid is beneficial to the production and the ideology of the countryside of North Vietnam.

Therefore, to correctly apply the principle of distribution according to labor within a cooperative, we must do the following: first, base ourselves on the concrete situation of the cooperative in order to set forth a concrete

plan, and we should not do this in a merely general manner; second, we should skillfully combine ideological education and political mobilization with material encouragement and inducements. If the distribution according to labor is the lever to stimulate the labor enthusiasm of the cooperative members, then the political and ideological education and mobilization is the foundation; third, in distribution, it is necessary to thoroughly understand the class and labor viewpoint, and to praise the mutual-aid spirit in order to strengthen the internal unification of the cooperative. If we fail to thoroughly understand the labor viewpoint, we will not dare to boldly and imaginatively apply the principles of distribution according to labor. As a result, the conscientious people will be encouraged to be lazy, and the lazy people will become lazier. If we do not thoroughly understand the class viewpoint, we will violate the principles of voluntary and mutual-aid assistance easily. If we do not have the tradition of the mutual-aid spirit, and the love of the class, we will be in conflict against the interests of a group of cooperative members, and, in general, it would be extremely difficult to strengthen the internal unification of the cooperative. At the same time, we should fight against two tendencies: first, egalitarianism which represents the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie on socialism; and second, the tendency to ask for absolute justice. Both tendencies are not good for the strengthening of the unification and the development of production.

5. The Relations between the Collective Economy of the Cooperative and the Subsidiary Economy of the Cooperative Members, and between the Socialist Market* and the Rural Market

*(Note: The socialist market is composed of the State-operated market and the purchasing and selling cooperative.)

At present, the economy of the cooperative has not developed strongly, and the income of the cooperative is still low. The economy of the cooperative only supplies about half of the income of the cooperative members, and the other half is derived from the subsidiary economy of the cooperative members. Under such a condition, if we do not

correctly solve the relationship between the collective economy of the cooperative and the subsidiary economy of the cooperative members, and the relationship between the socialist market and the rural market, it will have a bad influence on the standard of living of the cooperative members, and on the circulation of goods and commodities that are necessary for the people. As compared with the collective economy, the subsidiary economy is very small: in addition to the five percent of the land remaining in the hands of each family, each household has a few hogs, chickens and ducks, and it also makes baskets, etc. On that foundation, the subsidiary economy of the family member supplies for itself about 50 percent of its income, or even higher, particularly in the mountain regions.

We should not neglect this reality. Some cooperatives have just solved this problem satisfactorily, and the cooperative members are happy to engage in production as a consequence. Other places have not seen the problem clearly. In the part, some places were afraid that the subsidiary economy of the cooperative members would generate capitalism, and therefore they have tried to restrain it by reducing or eliminating the five percent of land reserved for family cultivation. Recently, some places have encouraged the development of the subsidiary economy and the collective economy of the cooperative simultaneously. They did not distinguish between what is primary and what is secondary. Some places even accorded the subsidiary economy a higher priority than the collective economy of the cooperative.

The subsidiary economy of the family member of the cooperative is not the collective economy of the cooperative; it is not the capitalist economy, nor is it the individualistic production economy because its principal working tools belong to the cooperative. Therefore, there is nothing to fear about the subsidiary economy in this respect. But we must realize that the subsidiary economy is under individual ownership; therefore, it carries with it some negative aspects. If we do not carefully control and guide it, it will develop and create damages. For instance, the cooperative member does not want to sell fertilizers to the cooperative or he wants to keep the best fertilizers to apply to his 5 percent of plot of land; or he does not do the cooperative

work, but does other work to earn more money, etc. The family economy maintains a function that is complementary to the collective economy of the cooperative. It will fully utilize the working capacity of each person in the family that the collective economy of the cooperative has not been able to use. It will produce additional material wealth and supply some necessities to the cooperative members that the collective economy cannot supply, or has not been able to supply adequately.

The collective economy of the cooperative is completely different. It has as its foundation the collective ownership of the means of production, and all principal production tools in the cooperative belong to the public. Labor in the cooperative is collective labor which is organized and mobilized according to the unified plan of the cooperative. The products produced by the cooperative, after having their costs and expenses deducted, will be distributed to the cooperative members according to their work-points. All of the products of the cooperative are exchanged with the socialist commercial organs (State-operated markets and the purchasing and selling cooperatives), and they are not to be sold in the "free market." Therefore, the collective economy of the cooperative is a form of socialist economy in the countryside of North Vietnam. It is the backbone of the socialist economy in the countryside, it is the firm support of the collective peasants, and it is the foundation to materialize the planned economy of the proletarian state. The more the collective economy of the cooperative is developed and strengthened, the more the cooperative members will tie themselves closely with the cooperatives, and socialism in the countryside of North Vietnam.

To satisfactorily solve the relationship between the collective economy of the cooperative and the subsidiary economy of the family member of the cooperative, it is necessary to clearly see the role and function of each sector. We should know that the collective economy is the important and principal factor, but we should also give an appropriate role and function to the subsidiary economy. From the basis of that understanding we will hopefully concentrate our efforts to lead the collective economy in order to develop its production, increase its income, and raise the real income of the cooperative members. This is the

principal and most important task. The subsidiary economy is of secondary importance, and it is not difficult for us to solve its problems. What we should do is to guide the peasants in performing well in their family work in order to coordinate that with the production and labor plans of the cooperative. We should strive to develop the collective economy of the cooperative, and we should also give appropriate attention to the subsidiary economy. In absolute terms, the income from the collective economy and from the subsidiary economy can be increased at the same time, but percentage-wise, the income from the collective economy should be higher than that of the subsidiary economy of the family member of the cooperative. In fact, the 50 percent of real income of the cooperative members that is derived from the collective economy of the cooperative is not too soundly based. From the economic point of view, this percentage does not encourage the cooperative members to attach greatly to the cooperative since all of their principal working tools and labor belong to the cooperative, and yet only 50 percent of their real income comes from that source. But to change this percentage does not mean to reduce the role of the subsidiary family economy in order to raise the economy of the cooperative. But we should develop the collective economy greatly.

We should fight against the tendency to eliminate the subsidiary economy by reducing or completely eliminating the five percent of land reserved for family cultivation, or by forbidding the cooperative members to engage in those activities that the cooperative has not managed, or cannot manage while there is surplus labor. Those who adhere to this tendency divorce themselves from the real situation of Vietnam. Such people have failed to see that this piece of land is very important for the cooperative members. Moreover, with the five percent of land reserved for themselves, cooperative members will be able to supply to themselves vegetables, to rear hogs in order to supply fertilizers for cultivation, and to intensively cultivate their land successfully. Nevertheless, we should also fight against the tendency which considers that the subsidiary economy is ideal or perfect, that is, to see in it only its positive aspects but to neglect its negative aspects. As a consequence, they will not try to correct the deviating developments that can occur in the subsidiary economy of the collective member's household. Some places have permitted the subsidiary economy to develop freely. The collective economy was thereby weakened, and the cooperativization movement was seriously threatened and harmed.

It is not enough to have good solutions for the collective economy of the cooperative and the subsidiary family economy of cooperative members: we should also solve satisfactorily the relationship between the socialist market and the rural market, since these two problems are closely intertwined.

The rural market as a consequence of the subsidiary family economy has come into being and rests on that basis and because of the availability of the agricultural products. This is an objective reality that we must not neglect. In addition to their selling of products to the State according to their obligations and the incentive prices, the peasants can sell freely and it is however necessary therefore to sell some surplus products in order to have money with which to buy some of the necessities, such as the sales of chickens, vegetables, baskets, etc. These exchanges, selling and buying, are small, but they are necessary, and the State-operated trading stores and even the purchasing and selling cooperatives cannot adequately meet these demands. Therefore, the rural market is viewed as a necessity for a long period to come. If there is no place for the peasants to sell their surplus products, they will become discouraged and will not try to produce more. As a consequence, agricultural products in the countryside will not be abundant, the standard of living of the people in general will not be comfortable, and the daily life of the cooperative members will be fraught with difficulties.

The rural market is not the free market of capitalism; nor is it the State-trading store of socialism. It is a necessary products of the new countryside, the cooperativized and socialist countryside. Similar to the nature of the subsidiary economy, it is a complement to the State-operated trading stores and the purchasing and selling cooperatives since the latter cannot fully perform this function, or it is not necessary for it to do so. The rural market falls into the sphere of individual ownership. It has its negative aspects, and it can disturb the prices of some products. We should see its positive as well as its negative aspects in order to exert our leadership in this direction and to prevent dangers from arising.

We must fight against the tendency to kill the rural

market and thus to concentrate on the socialist market simply because we are afraid that the rural market will create difficulties. We must also fight against all tendencies which consider that the rural market is practically perfect or ideal, and thus neglect our leadership, management, and supervision over it. The correct solution for us to follow is: consolidate and develop the State-operated trading stores and the purchasing and selling cooperatives, pay attention seriously to leadership and guidance of the rural markets, and help the markets to operate normally and free of negative aspects or influences.

The agricultural cooperativization being undertaken in North Vietnam, a colonialist and semi-feudalist country which is leaping over the capitalist stage in its development, is based on a poor and backward material and technical foundation, and a low average land area per capita. Therefore, in addition to abiding by the many principles similar to other socialist countries, our agricultural cooperativization program has developed principles and characteristics of its own. We have herein related some experiences which can contribute to the summation of these principles.

The most difficult problem that we now face is how to gradually build up the material-technical foundation for our modern cooperativized agriculture. We are striving to step up the campaign for the improvement of management and techniques. After the completion of the first stage of that campaign, we will enter the second stage in which we will pay special attention to the strengthening of the socialist ideological and political education, to develop patriotism, the love of the cooperative and socialism in order to form the driving force for socialism in North Vietnam.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and of Chairman Ho, and with ever-increasing enthusiasm of the people of North and South Vietnam, two revolutions are simultaneously developing (the socialist one in North Vietnam and national liberation in South Vietnam). We firmly believe that the agricultural cooperativization will ultimately succeed, and it will bring North Vietnam to socialism and will form a solid support for reunification of the country.

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PREPARATIONS FOR 1964-1965 WINTER-SPRING SEASON

[Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No. 11, November 1964, pages 21-25.]

During 1964 agricultural production has made progress in all aspects. The last winter-spring season was the most productive in many years. The foodstuffs planting area is 50,000 hectares greater than that during the previous winter-spring season. The production of rice, corn, sweet potato, and other foods has surpassed the quotas. The tenth-month rice yield is higher than that of 1959, which was then considered as a big year. Cereal production is half again as high as last year. The total food production surpasses the quota by nine percent. More valuable industrial plants such as tobacco, tea, hemp, mulberry and others were planted and their yield is higher than last year. The number of buffaloes, cows, and pigs is larger than last year. Barring great natural calamities, this season's crop will be a good one.

Thanks to the great increase in agricultural production, trade activities as well as other kinds of activities are developing very satisfactorily. The market prices are stabilized and the quantity of agricultural products used in socialist industrialization is higher. The farmer's life has improved. Cooperative members are more confident in the collective method of working; they are trying to consolidate the cooperatives as well as the new production relationships in the countryside in North Vietnam. All of these circum-

stances have created a new force for the implementation of the 1965 plan and the First Five-Year Plan. This new force also serves to further the development of agriculture which is the base of our country's industrialization.

The weather in 1964 has generally been clement. Weather is a very important factor in agricultural production. However, the determining factor for the high agricultural production in 1964 is our own efforts. The policy and methods for the development of agricultural production laid down by the resolutions of the fifth and eighth meetings of the Party's Central Committee have penetrated to the lowest levels. Having been put into practice, they have shown each farmer the advantage of taking his share of the work and have convinced the farmers of the need to implement these regulations. The Central Committee and branches at all levels have made great efforts to follow closely the characteristics of each province and each region in setting up the production policy. They have also decided on a number of regions that are ready for adaptable production, and have made some changes in the leadership of very important areas.

Some branches, especially the water works, industry, and transportation have made great efforts to help agriculture. Mobilization for the reorganization of the leadership of the cooperatives in the lowlands which has basically completed phase 1, has helped the cooperatives to determine correctly the production direction and has begun to build up the material and technical bases for production development. Many places have concentrated on solving the problem of water works quite satisfactorily, and they have implemented the network system. The emulation campaigns "study of the experiences of progressive cooperatives" and "work twice as hard," in the countryside have expanded. The leadership and organization of these campaigns, which are fairly strong, have the responsibility of surpassing all agricultural production norms.

However, in working for agricultural production in 1964, there has begun to appear a tendency to rest on past achievements, especially the results of the latest winter-spring season. Some areas, because of negligence of leadership, were not able to reach the planned norm for rice, other cereals, and industrial plants production during the fall season. There has been less use of fertilizer, less effort to destroy insects, and more waste in the use of foodstuffs. We must remember that our agricultural production is still backward, that our technical and material foundations are

still weak and dependent on nature, and that hence production is irregular. This year is a good one, but this might not be true next year. Within a season one crop is good in one area, bad in another one.

On the other hand, although agricultural production has developed fairly well in the past few years, it has not met the increasing needs of industrialization, exports, improvement of the people's livelihood, and the defense of our country. Therefore, we cannot be complacent, but we must strive to constantly prepare for the fulfillment of planned agricultural production throughout 1965 and most urgently work for a successful 1964-1965 winter-spring season.

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1965 is the final year of the First Five-Year Plan. To reach the planned norm for agricultural production in 1965 is an extremely important part of the overall objective of the First Five-Year Plan.

A successful 1964-65 winter-spring season is essential if we are to reach and surpass the planned norm for agricultural production in 1965. The winter-spring season is crucial in North Vietnamese agriculture. The winter-spring season crops cover two-thirds of the planted area. All cereal plants and industrial plants grow during this season. It is also the time when domestic animals reproduce and when more food for these animals is produced. Thus, the success of the 1964-65 winter-spring season is all-important for the achievement of agricultural production goals for 1965 and hence important for the First Five-Year Plan.

The direction and duties defined for agricultural production in 1965 must embody the spirit of the resolutions of the fifth and eighth meetings of the Central Committee. They must also take into account requirements of the new situation and the responsibilities to the revolution. The latter demands that leadership should be centralized and that all planned norms must be surpassed to the greatest degree possible in order to meet the requirements of industrialization, exports, improvement of the people's livelihood, and strengthening of natural defense. It also demands further efforts

in the building and development of the economy in the mountain regions, the combination of economy and production development, and the creation of favorable conditions for the success of the First Five-Year Plan which is also a means to contribute to the struggle for the unification of our country.

We must increase the production of foodstuffs and rice, and especially cereals and vegetables. We must grow more industrial plants and develop animal husbandry.

We must strive to prepare the material and technical bases and technical methods, and concentrate leadership in carrying out successfully all important phases and methods, and in vital regions. We must increase leadership in the mountain areas to ensure the surpassing of planned norms for rice, cereals, vegetables, industrial plants, and animal husbandry. There must be considerable improvement in intensive cultivation productivity together with the expansion of the area of arable land by interplanting and by planting between seasons.

As for foodstuffs, we must strive to increase rice production. In the lowlands and middle region, local conditions determine whether two kinds of rice are planted during one season or one kind of rice during two seasons, but production must never be allowed to decrease. In the mountain area, attention should be given to the logical division of areas between winter "chiem" rice and spring "chiem" rice. If the area is too cold, and the transplanted "chiem" rice is not rooting well, other plants such as manioc or barley should be introduced; in more temperate areas spring rice can grow well with an adequate labor force, a good water supply, and good weather conditions. Wherever these conditions are not present, it is better to plant cereals to ensure good crops.

With regard to cereals, we must concentrate on sweet potatoes and all kinds of beans. Abandoned lands must be put into cultivation and crop rotation should be practiced to increase production without endangering the productivity of the most important crop. In the middle region and highland, we must push for more planting of corn, potatoes, manioc, and beans of all kinds. Many kinds of vegetables must be planted in areas around the cities and industrial zones, and in the lowlands in order to ensure an adequate supply of vegetables for the people and to prevent hunger during periods between crops.

As for industrial plants, we must concentrate on expanding the area and increasing the production of plants such as cotton, jute, peanuts, soy beans, and mulberry in the lowlands, and hemp, tea, soy beans, cotton, and sesame in the middle region and highlands, and fruit trees in all areas. On poor lands where large plots of land are abandoned, peanuts, beans of all kinds, and sweet potatoes can be planted to increase the yield and foodstuffs production as well as to expand the cultivated area.

On animal husbandry, the first consideration is the relationship between the demand for meat from the government and the people's taste, between the cultivated areas and draft animals, and between cultivation and the demand for fertilizer. These must be considered in drawing up a plan to strengthen animal husbandry which will increase the number of domestic animals and relate production to the kind of dishes the people eat. During this winter-spring season, it is important to improve animal breeding in the highlands, middle region, and lowlands, and to popularize good lessons on caring for buffaloes and cattle that are used in the fields in the lowlands. It is also important to increase the quantity and quality of pigs through collective methods as well as through encouragement to individual cooperative members, and to raise more poultry and breed more fish, horses, goats, and bees wherever the conditions are favorable.

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After having determined the direction and responsibility of the agricultural production plan for 1965, and especially for the winter-spring season, we must begin immediately to prepare realistic plans, methods, and means of organization, for these will be the determining factors for success.

The completion of each phase of the mobilization for "improvement of cooperative leadership," and "use of better technique to achieve an overall development of agricultural production," is necessary for the strengthening and development of the movement for cooperativization in the countryside. This also plays an important part in the overall implementation of the 1965 agricultural production plan and that of the 1964-65 winter-spring season. We will begin with the winter-spring season to improve leadership at the second phase

in cooperatives in areas which are important producers of rice, cereals, vegetables, and industrial plants. By 1965 we will be able to complete the basic improvement at the second stage for the lowlands as well as the middle region. In the highlands, we must expand mobilization aiming at leadership and technical improvement. In addition, we must begin fortifying each cooperative step, leading the weak cooperatives and bringing them to a higher level.

Together with the new developmental aspects of the production relationships in the countryside, we need to centralize a number of correct methods so as to raise the productivity of intensive cultivation and improve its quality.

Throughout the year, drought often occurs at the beginning of the winter-spring season, and floods cause plants to rot at harvest time. These conditions have an enormous effect on agricultural activities. At present, the activities for "two years of water works" have solved many problems of water supply for agricultural production. Nevertheless, we must develop small water works, for example, building partition dikes in order to exploit all the potential capacity of the most important activities. In developing these small works the irrigated areas for rice, cereals, and industrial plants can be greatly expanded. The experiences collected during the 1963-64 winter-spring season show that a regionalization plan and a determined proportion of land to be left fallow must be devised at the beginning of each season. Once this is done, we can supply water for agricultural production without fear of drought or rot. This is a careful way to work with land and to achieve a realistic method of irrigating plants.

An important factor which contributed to the success of the 1963-64 winter-spring season in surpassing previous production quotas was the larger area of fertilized land. Each hectare of land received an average of 5.8 tons of fertilizer. The area covered with water lentils was half wider than that in 1963 and three times as large as that of 1962. The most important factor in obtaining good fertilizer in large quantity is the strengthening and expansion of the movements for making fertilizer in the countryside.

In the meantime, more pens, more compost pits, and more processing plants are to be built for the production teams. Toilets and latrines must be built for excrement collection. Teams to divide cooperative work must be organized. Production of plant fertilizer such as water lentils, humus, and others is to be developed. We now have little nitrogen

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fertilizer. Hence, we must supervise carefully the distribution and use of this kind of fertilizer, which is necessary for vegetable cultivation in the cities, for important industrial plants, and for principal rice crops. On the other hand, more phosphorus fertilizer can be used.

An adequate supply of good seeds is necessary to ensure successful crops. The cooperatives must consider goods seeds as essential. The provinces supply seeds only in emergencies. The production of good seeds is a long-range and complex task, but the present step is to select seeds carefully and keep a good supply so as to ensure a balanced and timely distribution, thereby solving the problem of seeds for the current season.

The farmers' lives are busier during the fall harvest when they are also beginning the winter-spring season, and during the harvest of the winter-spring crops when they are also starting the tenth-month season. If they are not prepared with a sufficient number of draft animals and farm implements, and an adequate amount of human labor, they can easily fall into a situation where there is too much to be done in a short time. Such tasks as ploughing the fields, transplanting, and harvesting may then be done carelessly. A good winter-spring season depends on the satisfactory solution of these problems. In order to have the fields well ploughed on time, we must try to have enough buffalo and cattle available, and, where the land conditions are favorable, we must expand the areas using mechanized ploughing; when there is an inadequate supply of draft animals, we must work the land by hand.

As for implements, we must use, as much as possible, the kinds that have proven to be good while continuously experimenting with those on which the results are not conclusive as yet. We must also widen the use of small motors and machinery. Where there are high-voltage wires nearby we can use electricity to operate water pumps, rice-stripping machines, rice mills, and others. The use of machinery in agriculture must be concentrated in areas where rice, cereals, and industrial plants are important crops. In the distribution and use of labor there must be more workers for the water works, ploughing, fertilizer production, and animal husbandry. In the meantime, there can be a reduction of labor working on the harvest of crops and on transportation so as to concentrate on increasing production.

Because of our climate especially during the winter-spring season, insect diseases appear and multiply greatly,

thereby causing heavy damage to our crops. To deal with this situation, the only means is to take more care in preventing the spread of these diseases by wider and greater use of insecticides and by spraying. We must have a good supply of insecticides and good sprays. We must make plans to destroy the nine main types of insects. Much attention must be devoted to implement these methods in the areas most affected by these insects. Step aimed at the prevention of insect diseases must begin with the selection of seeds and with more examination of plants to prevent the spreading of diseases.

As for animal husbandry, feed is the most important factor. In addition to the five percent of land reserved for animal husbandry by families of cooperative members, another five percent must be set aside for collective animal husbandry. As much as possible, we must use surplus agricultural products to feed the animals. In some areas land can be reserved for grazing purposes. Improved tools may be used in preparing animal feed. As to breeding, it is necessary to select good stock within each region and to cross-breed (especially for pigs) between many areas. We must expand institutes of artificial insemination and encourage the raising of sows and breed hogs; meanwhile, we must continue with the selection of breed. In addition, hygienic conditions, injection rooms, pest-prevention and disease -treatment must be carried out and inspected carefully. In caring for the domestic animals and cattle we must strive to prevent hunger and cold.

To have a concrete plan is very important, but good leadership and successful implementation are necessary for the realistic fulfillment of the planned norms. The lesson to be drawn from 1964 is that our success in cultivated areas and production was due to our determination to implement the State Plan and to advance in the leadership methods in agricultural production. Henceforth, the immediate step is to make the entire Party and the entire population realize the important role of agricultural production in 1965 and in the 1964-65 winter-spring season, and to make them understand the spirit of the resolution of the eighth session of the Party's Central Committee in accordance with the new needs of the revolution in agriculture. Using this first step as the base, we must raise the spirit of responsibility and follow the heroic examples of cadres and of our fellow countrymen in the South to "work twice as hard," to learn from progressive experiences, and to exploit all hidden talents, to overcome all difficulties, to fulfill the needs of agricultural production so as to contribute to the building of

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socialism in North Vietnam and to strengthen our defense and preparedness for the battle as the base for our struggle to achieve national reunification. In the meantime, we must take all precautions to fight any feeling of complacency about last year's achievements in agricultural production as well as conservative thoughts under the pretext that the 1964 results are high enough and that it is impossible to surpass them. These attitudes are the main obstacles to the realization of the plan for agricultural production.

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The responsibilities of agricultural production for 1965 and the 1964-65 winter-spring season are great and complex. The committees at all levels must strengthen centralized leadership, have in hands all vital indexes, and control important areas and the highlands. They must reserve a reasonable amount of cadre force, material, and technique for important production areas in order to build up these regions into areas of balanced production and of high productivity, and to help the government control the principal source of agricultural products.

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In the meantime, the branches related to agriculture, because of their duties, must encourage the spirit of co-operativization to serve agricultural production. The people's organizations must mobilize the entire population to carry out their duties toward agricultural production. The agricultural production of our country may suffer from sudden changes of weather. Therefore, we require the centralization of leadership forces at each important phase. For each term, once the most important phase of production and the principal method to be applied are determined, the other phases can be carried out much more easily. It is especially essential that during sudden changes of weather timely decisions, efficient leadership, and the substitution of difficult-to-obtain items with readily-available items are necessary to preserve the plan for overall production. Technical leadership must be exercised in all areas, but it must be in firm control during the most important phase.

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Meanwhile, it is necessary to implement the policy of encouraging production (such as the foodstuff policy with regard to the cultivation of industrial plants, the price-setting policy, and the loan policy). Places that have not implemented these regulations in a concrete fashion must take steps to ameliorate the situation. For items covered by regulations but not carried out, steps must be taken immediately to implement them. It is only in so doing that we can apply the principle of combining political education with the desire for material advantages to mobilize the people to improve agricultural production.

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During implementation of the agricultural production plan for 1965 and that of the 1964-65 winter-spring season, there will be, naturally, many difficulties, but there are also many advantages and these advantages are fundamental. With the determination of the entire Party and of the people, with the favorable decisive change in spiritual awareness and in the leadership at all levels and in all branches to implement the plan, it is certain that we will take full advantage of these conditions to overcome the difficulties. We will fulfill the production responsibilities for the coming winter-spring season as well as the agricultural production plan for the entire year of 1965 so as to contribute toward agricultural development under the First Five-Year Plan.

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DEVELOP WOMEN'S POTENTIALITIES TO BUILD SOCIALISM

[Following is a translation of an article by
-Nguyen Thi Thap in the Vietnamese magazine
Hoc Tap (Study), Hanoi, No 11, November
1964, pages 32-38.]

Great Achievements and New Requirements

Our women are traditionally diligent and undaunted about working. The women working forces play an extremely important role in socialist production. To develop constantly women's great potentialities is a very important problem in our people's construction of socialism. The resolution of the Party's Third Congress has stressed the following: "Our Party shoulders a great responsibility in the liberation of women and in the development of their great potentialities in the building up of a new society. It is necessary to nurture the thinking, to raise the political and cultural level of women; to help lighten their family burden so that they can participate in production and social activities; to utilize in a rational manner women's labor force. We will thereby always improve the role of women in production and management of State affairs." ([Note]: Documents on the Congress, Published by the Central Executive Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, 1960, Vol I, p. 192)

In past years, under Party leadership, women have been actively struggling and working on production to contribute to the building of socialism and to the struggle for national

reunification. In every field of social activities, women have scored outstanding achievements. At present, our peasant women have developed into a mighty collective labor force. More than 90 percent of peasant women have joined the cooperatives. In agricultural production, women's work represents 60 percent of the total labor of the cooperatives. In some regions, this figure reaches even 70 or 90 percent. Women are very good in farm work and have contributed a decisive share to agricultural production. They have increased the number of work-days from 200 to 230 or even 300 days a year (for instance, the Mai Son cooperative in Son La).

In industry, commerce, culture, and social activity, the number of woman participants is rather large. As compared with the total number of workers and employees in all branches, the number of women represents the following proportions: Industry: 23 percent (light industry alone: 44 percent); handicraft: 40 percent; commerce: 26.8 percent; public health, culture, and education: more than 40 percent. In the patriotic emulation drive to build up socialism and to struggle for national reunification, women have been striving to raise their own political, cultural, and technical level; to promote many initiatives in organizational rationalization, technical improvement, economization of raw materials, materials, and time; to improve the quality of the products; to increase labor productivity, and to contribute an active share to the fulfillment of the State plan.

From the number of women emulation fighters recognized in the first national congress of emulation fighters (17 in 1952), representing 12.7 percent of the total number of fighters, to the third national congress of emulation fighters (in 1962), the number of women fighters rose to 167, representing 18 percent of the total number of fighters. In addition, four women labor heroes have also been recognized. In this total number of women fighters there were 80 women working in agriculture and 28 of these were of minority nationalities. In the collective socialist emulation movement, in 1961, there was work cell that handled small-size stones of shift A of the Haiphong cement plant, led by woman comrade Truong Thi Len.

By the end of 1962, the number of socialist labor cells composed mostly of women, rose to 252, representing 24 percent of the total number of socialist labor cells. Women's achievements in all fields in the past have been most noteworthy. From the position of a dependent in the family and society in the old regime, today, they have gradually attained equality with men in the political, economic, and cultural fields.

These achievements originate from the fact that the socialist production relationship has begun to remove many elements that have in the past obstructed women's progress.

In addition, women have been exerting great efforts in overcoming their old way of thinking and habits as well as the difficulties that confront their families and themselves, in order to raise their level of consciousness in all aspects. Nevertheless, women's latent potentialities have not been adequately developed. This is clearly shown in the fact that the majority of women do not participate regularly in production, and that their labor productivity is still low as compared with men. There are some all-women production cells whose average labor productivity is not low; sometimes this productivity is even higher than that of all-men production cells. The proportion of women working in the branches where a high degree of technology is required is too small as compared with them. The creation of conditions for women who are over forty years old living in the big cities, to participate in production, still has many obstacles to surmount. The number of woman cadres is still too small as compared with the needs of the activities.

At present, the building of socialism and the struggle for national reunification require superhuman efforts from our people. While women represent half of the labor force of our Fatherland, the development of their capacity has as yet not amounted to an important significance. Naturally, this is a problem that involves multiple difficulties because of the restrictions imposed on women -- a result stemming from the age-old feudal and imperialist oppression. The removal of the vestiges of the old society must be coupled with the reform and building up of the foundations for the new society, with the development of the material and technical basis of the economy and with the raising of the cultural, scientific, and technical level of our people. Nevertheless, relying on the practical experiences gathered during the past years, we must and can deal with some most urgent problems to create conditions for women to surge forward.

Rational Division of Labor For Women

In order to create favorable conditions for women to develop their great capacity in the construction of socialism, a great social-question that must be studied and actively solved is the rational division of labor for women. Our women

are, by tradition, an important force in production. However, under the old regime, this force has turned into a source of labor to enrich the exploiter classes. In the old society, the distribution of labor for women was in many ways irrational and unjust. Women produce a huge quantity of material wealth for society; but they are ill-treated in many ways.

Furthermore, women have to handle work that is beyond their physical capacity. Therefore, their health has been greatly impaired, and their intelligence and talents have no conditions to develop; worse still, they deteriorate. The socialist production relationships established in North Vietnam have created the basic conditions for the gradual eradication of that despicable situation. During the last few years, thanks to the improved division of labor in society, women's labor productivity has been increasing steadily. In a number of branches which are suitable to women's capacity, women's labor productivity surpassed that of men. This proves that in the cases where women's labor productivity remains low, it is not because of woman's inherent inferiority as held by a large number of prejudiced comrades: it is due mainly to the deficiencies in the division of labor for women.

Under the conditions of the new production relationship, our Party maintains that one should improve the division of labor for women to coordinate it with the gradual realization of a new division of labor within our whole society. Our Party recognizes the following characteristics in women: their task in childbirth and in bringing up children, and their aptitude for some specific economic branches and crafts. Therefore, one should arrange and utilize women's force in the branches and crafts that are congenial and suitable for their physical constitution and faculties, enabling their talents to develop every day, contributing to the development of production in society, and, at the same time, causing no damage to the mother's health.

Our Party resolution clearly states the following: "It is necessary to study the arrangement and utilization of women's force in a rational manner, to increase the number of women in the economic branches, crafts, and jobs that are compatible with women's physical constitution and faculties (work that requires meticulousness, patience, dexterity, and sentiments as in many branches and crafts represented in the light industry, public health, education, trade, and servicing branches) and then, gradually transfer the men, who are glutting the labor market in the above branches and crafts, to those that agree better with them. Under the present circum-

stance in which some enterprises and work camps put women on heavy work, one should also make a study of the situation, and transfer women to other branches. This must be done now in the cases where work is extremely heavy; and attention must be paid to the fact that women are not allowed to work on jobs that may hurt them while they are pregnant([Note]: "Resolution on Agitation Work Among Women of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party," Phu Nu Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, p 14). The Party resolution stressed the following: "The problem of arranging and utilizing women's labor force in a rational manner is one which must be positively and resolutely realized. At the same time, we must understand that this is a complex problem that needs to be studied for step-by-step realization according to the conditions and possibilities, to make a difference between what is to be done first and what is to be done next. One certainly should not be impatient and want to escape from reality quickly ([See the footnote above])).

Due to the need of developing production to build socialism, the women's labor force has begun to be used in a rational manner. For instance: From 1960 to 1964, in the mining branch, the proportion of women in the total number of workers and employees dropped from 30 to 16 percent. Conversely, in the cultural, educational, and public healthy branches, this proportion rose from 20 to 40 percent. Nevertheless, at present, cases of irrational arrangement of work for women still abound. At many places, the direction and plan for the utilization of women's labor force are not clear and are aimed only at meeting the immediate needs while disregarding the long-range interests of our society. Standardization and specialization for a number of women working in the capacity of cadres in charge of product, or involved directly in it, have been poorly managed.

In order to bring about a vigorous mobilization of the women's labor force for the realization of the coming Five Year Plan, it is necessary to raise the level of women's consciousness concerning social classes and socialism, to strive to attain greater rationality in the utilization and organization of women's labor, to raise the level of technology and production management in women -- especially the younger women -- transforming them in the years to come into a labor force with a lofty sense of being masters, and with an adequate level of technique and managerial ability. For the problems at hand, we must continue to transfer the women who are working on heavy jobs to more appropriate branches or crafts.

At the same time, we should study the organization and utilization of the women's labor force in the new branches and crafts required by the new economy. In addition, we should concentrate on helping the women who cannot find jobs in the big cities, to overcome all difficulties and participate in production. For the problem at hand, we should actively mobilize these women to participate in the construction and development of the economy of the mountainous regions, contributing to the development of the production forces in our society.

Always Raise Women's Cultural and Technological Level

Another extremely urgent measure to promote the great capacities of women in the construction of socialism is the constant raising of women's cultural and technological level.

Women's cultural and technological level is actually low and constitutes a great difficulty for them. At present, in agricultural production, the women's labor force represents a large proportion in the total amount of labor. In addition, the many types of work assumed by women, such as transplanting of rice plants, preparation of seeds, animal breeding, etc., require a constant technical improvement in order to increase the general labor productivity. However, due to the inadequate level of culture and technology in women, their assimilation and application of progressive knowledge and experience remain limited. In industry and other branches, the utilization of the women's labor force is also restricted. This restriction is also found in industry and other branches. There we find conditions such that women must work longer hours or increase their work speed without any guarantee for the quality of the products, accompanied by the waste of manpower, raw materials, and other materials.

Progress made in the cultural and technological fields is one of the important conditions to attract women to participating in larger numbers in all aspects of production. Thanks to the gradual mechanization of the production process, all heavy and difficult work will be reduced and will guarantee for women a higher labor production every day. Therefore, one may say that the further the cultural and technological revolution is carried, the more favorable will be the conditions that are created for the liberation of women. To this end, the women themselves must strive to raise their own cultural and technical level. As compared with 1956, at present the

number of school girls and female students in the middle-level vocational schools and universities, has been increased ten times. In production, the number of women workers who possess a good grasp of technique and who are capable of handling precision machines is increasing by the tens of thousands. The number of scientific and technical women cadres trained since the day peace was restored, has met part of the urgent needs of some branches and crafts. As compared with the needs of the growth of production and of the revolution, the rank and file of women cadres is still small in number and poor in quality.

Noteworthy is the fact that a number of women, though trained for working in some specific branches or crafts, have been employed in other fields; therefore, the specialized knowledge they acquired in school is not properly applied in practice. In order to provide better services for production, these cultural and technical women cadres should have their level of political consciousness raised, their revolutionary ethics improved, and their spirit of serving the laboring people forged in practical work. In parallel with the existing number of scientific and technical cadres, we should actively train more of them according to long-range projections and aims, purposing to service the branches and crafts that agree with women's capacities.

Apart from these cultural and technical women cadres, the number of middle-aged women represents a considerable force that is well experienced in production, especially in agricultural production; they must be given special attention and have their cultural and technical background replenished. At many places, women only pay attention to production and neglect the study of culture and technology. One should do research in the content for study and find out the organizational measures for it in a more realistic manner so as to bring about a wider participation by women and to attain better results.

Build Good Mess Halls, Baby-Sitting Groups, and Nursery Schools

Household chores also constitute a great obstacle to the development of the great capacities of our women. Many women do not feel secure as yet to study, to search and to develop initiatives, to improve technique, and to increase productivity. This is due partly to the fact that they still have to spend a lot of time looking after the children. At some places, the number of leaves of absence taken by women

to look after their sick children represents nearly one-third of the total number of work-days in a year. Apart from the eight hours of work in production, cooking, and the other chores take up a specific number of hours, and preclude any self-teaching and greatly impair women's health.

At present, the number of women working in organs, enterprises, work camps, and farms, and cooperatives, grows every day. To help women arrange their family chores means to bring about a good influence on the effectiveness of their activities. Thus, our Party is paying particular attention to developing mess halls, baby-sitting groups, nursery schools, and the protection of women and children's health. In emphasizing the importance of mess halls, kindergartens, and nursery schools, Lenin considered these institutions as "the roots of Communism" ([Note]: Lenin, Marxism and the Liberation of Women, in Vietnamese, Phu Nu Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 138). Lenin believed that in the future Communist society, the way of life for all would be the collective one. In the process of expanding the building of socialism, the private life based on the family as an unit will no longer exist side by side forever with the collective production done on an increasingly larger scale every day.

Today, the family's private life not only constitutes an obstacle to the full emancipation of women, but also a tremendous waste in manpower. Family relationship is a constituent part of social production relationship and is determined by the latter. In order to make the production relationship compatible with the needs of the growth of the production forces, the gradual realization of the socialization of family labor becomes an urgent task. In the past, the organization of mess halls, food supply cells, baby-sitting groups, and nursery schools, have enabled women to reduce the number of absences caused by mother and child sicknesses, and to spend less time on cooking.

However, quantitatively and qualitatively speaking, these organizations fail to meet the immediate needs on time. The network of kindergartens and nurseries in the areas of government offices and in the cities is not far-flung enough. The situation is even worse in the countryside. At present, the number of children in rural areas put in child groupings represents only one percent. The many baby-sitting groups that have been set up by the cooperatives are still heavily formalistic and do not bring about any actual result in the liberation of women's labor force. Nursery schools grow at a snail's pace; at some places, the number has dropped sharply.

A number of these schools do not accomplish their purpose, which is to forge a new generation of people for the future society, to protect children, and to contribute to servicing production. This state of things prevails because many of our comrades fail to see the importance of these institutions and to exercise tight supervision and close leadership.

They fail to study the use of the collective welfare budget, to organize and realize concrete regimes and policies agreeable to the local needs and conditions. They especially fail to mobilize the large masses of people to participate in setting up these institutions in a realistic manner. In spite of their ordinary nature, baby-sitting groups, nursery schools, and mess halls are revolutionary institutions that contribute to the emancipation of women and bring about equality between men and women. Therefore, to set up these institutions according to their strict revolutionary significance, is an extremely indispensable task. Experience shows that to ensure rapid progress of these institutions, the ideology of the organizers and participants must be revolutionized.

To create conditions for the mothers to do a good job in production and activities, apart from attention given to the above institutions, it is necessary to protect women's and children's health. Concerning this problem, our Party and Government have set forth many concrete programs and policies and measures which many localities and units have seriously carried out and achieved many results. However, some places failed somewhat to carry them out. This failure was mainly due to the fact that the comrade in charge did not pay adequate attention, in his own unit or locality, to the concrete measures for a lively and effective application of what had been decided upon; for instance, the protection of labor and women during pregnancy, childbirth; the break in the middle of the work-day for breast-feeding babies; the construction of sanitation rooms for women during their menstruation period, of bathrooms for women; the guidance provided for bringing up and educating children. Planned parenthood is an active method to protect women's and children's health. The propaganda campaign for a full, overall, and thorough realization of planned parenthood for urban and rural inhabitants is an immediate problem which must be further intensified.

Step Up Ideological Work and Boldly Train and Promote Women Cadres

The more the construction of socialism in North Vietnam is developed, the larger will be the number of women participating in all social activities. This situation requires a larger rank-and-file of women cadres with a lofty political consciousness, and a high cultural and technological level so as to contribute to the leadership in all branches and to the mobilization of the women masses to strive to develop their own positiveness and creativity in the construction of socialism.

To date, there are tens of thousands of women cadres throughout North Vietnam, representing 14 percent of the total number of Party and Government cadres, including 85 percent of women who have been trained and who have matured since the restoration of peace. This rank-and-file includes the political, technological, and economic managerial cadres; the majority of them come from worker-peasant background. In the field of participation in the administration alone, the number of women cadres elected to the People's Councils of all echelons, was 25,833 in 1964. This is an increase of nearly 6,000 over 1959. The number of women delegates to the Second National Assembly is 49 out of the 362 delegates re-elected in North Vietnam. In the election of the Third National Congress, the number of women elected rose to 62 among the 366 re-elected delegates.

Generally speaking, in the leadership committee of all branches and organizations, all the women cadres have actively fulfilled the responsibilities entrusted by the Party and Government. These figures prove that the actual rights to democracy and equality for women in our society are guaranteed. The fact that a large number of women participate in the management of State affairs speaks for the outstanding progress made by women, especially in the political field. The participation of women delegates in the administration has developed the women's work force, intelligence, and talents in the consolidation of the Socialist State. Nevertheless, as compared with the needs for growth of the revolution, and as compared with the great number of women participating in production and activities at an increasing rate, the number of woman cadres in general, and women participating in the leadership and management of State and economic affairs in particular, are still too small in spite of the annual increase.

On looking back over the path we have taken, we may affirm that we cannot separate the revolution and the emancipation of women from the training and developing of woman cadres. With the leadership and guidance provided by the Party, the women cadres not only have the capacity of feeling close to, and carrying out the mobilization of, the people of their own sex, but they also can participate in the management of the State, the economy, and culture, including the assumption of the major positions in all social activities.

Therefore, the education and mobilization of women to participate in production with enthusiasm, and the nurturing and promoting of talented and capable women into the leading echelons, are two important aspects our Party understands as part of the development of women's great potentialities in the building up of socialism. These two aspects are closely related and influence one another. While working on the first aspect, we should think also of the second one. It is only when the first one is done well that we have conditions for doing a good job on the second one. And this latter will exert a positive effect on the former.

In order to attain satisfactory results in the training, nurturing, and promoting of women cadres, the most important thing to do is to pay attention to building and consolidating the movement, and on this basis, we can make selections and gradually train the outstanding elements among them in order to make them into steadfast cadres. As compared with men, our women suffer greatly from the disastrous consequences of the colonialist and feudalist regimes (for instance, their deficiency in their cultural and technological background; the wrong preconceptions about the role of women in society ...). Furthermore, women meet with many difficulties in their families and themselves. They must go through a specific period of time before they can overcome these difficulties.

Therefore, the training and nurturing of women cadres must also be done in a patient, thorough, and well-prepared manner including that women should do themselves and what the people around them should understand thoroughly. We cannot train at one time a large number of women cadres to supply the revolutionary movement. For the problem at hand, we should concentrate on training a large number of women cadres according to the branches and crafts that are compatible with women's capacity; then, only, in the future, can we have enough cadres to promote to the leading echelons in the specialized branches and crafts.

In the whole work of training, developing, and promoting of women cadres, the developing phase is the most important because it provides a steady foundation for training and promoting. The developing of women cadres depends on each category of people: the old-fashioned, the modern-minded, the old, the young. Generally speaking, we should work more on the aspect in which women are deficient; and the best method is to raise gradually the political and technical level of women through their practical work. The effective way to train and promote women cadres is to assign them with a concrete volume of work, going from easy to difficult, from smaller to bigger jobs, putting them in the leadership from the lower to higher level according to their capacity. We should avoid the tendency of assigning too many jobs at one time because we just find some capable women, or conversely, we should avoid letting women hold the same job all the time. And once these women cadres have been assimilated into the leadership echelon, the principle of "actual function, actual rights" must be fully respected.

In the interest of the revolution and of the characteristics of women, the Party Central Committee has repeatedly reminded all echelons to boldly promote women cadres. To do so boldly is to avoid narrow-mindedness and the tendency of playing it safe vis-a-vis women cadres. This does not, however, mean that we should do it perfunctorily or deviate from the fundamental principles of the Party concerning the promotion of cadres in general, namely, class background, requirement concerning the moral qualities and capacity of the leading cadre, etc.

Overcome Erroneous Thoughts to Further Develop Women's Capacity

As analyzed above, the rank-and-file of women cadres at present is still inadequate for meeting the needs of the revolution. In some cases, male cadres are assigned to jobs which should have been handled by women cadres. The general difficulties that confront North Vietnam, the weaknesses of the women themselves, and the deficiencies in the direction and plan for nurturing and training women cadres, influence the development of women's revolutionary capacity in general, and the strengthening of the rank-and-file of women cadres in particular.

However, we should mention here another important cause which is the underestimation of women's revolutionary capacity.

This type of thinking has been somewhat curbed as compared with the past, but it still exists among the people and a number of cadres and Party members. In their leadership over the organs, enterprises, and cooperatives, these comrades used to one-sidedly emphasize women's deficiencies, and to belittle their qualities. These comrades fear that much money would have to be spent on the recruitment of women and that labor productivity would be reduced in their units. They do not even want to recruit women for the branches and crafts that are compatible with women's capacity.

To deal with the utilization of the women's labor force according to the above viewpoint, one shall not be able to replenish or strengthen the rank-and-file of women cadres, let alone the emancipation of women. Therefore, this viewpoint is entirely contrary to our Party's policy concerning the mobilization of women. It reflects near-sightedness in that only purely economic interests and no political interests are considered, seeing only the immediate advantages and not the long-standing interests of the revolution. We do not deny that, under the present circumstances, the admission of a large number of women into production and activities will temporarily create a number of difficulties for business. However, if we know how to step up our educational and political agitation work, to make rational use of women's labor, and, at the same time, to actively carry out all State policies aimed at protecting women's labor, it is certain that women's contribution to socialist production will increase considerably.

The underestimation of women's capacity does not prevail only among men, but also among women. At present, many women are still weighed down by an inferiority complex. They lack an active and creative spirit to overcome difficulties. They do not resolutely fight against all erroneous thinking so as to fulfill their duties. The emancipation of women must be undertaken by the women themselves. The laws of our government concerning women's rights to equality with men are only a springboard for women to fight. In themselves, these laws cannot improve the position of women in our society. President Ho has taught us the following: "The strength of this revolution resides in the political, economic, cultural, and legal progress achieved. One should revolutionize each person and each family in the entire nation. In spite of the greatness and difficulty of the undertaking, it is certain that one will succeed." ([Note]: President Ho and the Question of Women, Phu Nu Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 23).

The campaign for the emulation drive to realize the "five good [See Note] at present, is, by nature, a revolutionary movement launched by women in the emancipation of their own class and themselves.

[Note]: The campaign for the realization of "five good," part of the general emulation drive of the North Vietnam people, was set forth by the Central Committee of the Women's Federation, aiming at mobilizing women to fulfill the urgent and long-range tasks of the State and of their own classes. The "five good" comprise unity, production, good economization, good implementation of policies, good participation in the management, good study of politics, culture, and technology, good building up of families and child-rearing.

In the recent all-North Vietnam women's festival to emulate the "five good," President Ho reminded women of the following: "Women must set high their spirit of being masters; try hard in study and struggle; they must eradicate conservatism, inferiority complex; they must develop the spirit of self-reliance and independence. Thus the "five good" movement will spread and take root, and will guarantee a 100 percent realization of equality ([Note]: Quoted from President Ho's talk at the All-North Vietnam women's festival to emulate for "five good," Nhan Dan, 1 May 1964).

The experiences gathered in the recent emulation drive for "five good" have clearly shown that in order to overcome an inferiority complex, to develop self-reliance and independence in women, the women must be made deeply conscious of the interests of their own class and of their particular rights and interests; and the women must assimilate the ideal of socialism and communism. This is because women not only sustain the oppression and exploitation of other laboring classes, but also the disadvantages of their own class. It is only through the tight coordination of the education in the revolutionary ideal and class consciousness, and consciousness of the interests particular to women, that women will see clearly the target of their struggle, will strengthen their love for their own class, their unity, and mutual assistance. They will be more resolute in struggling to overcome all difficulties to fulfill the immediate and long-range tasks.

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By tradition, the women of our country are heroic in struggle, diligent, patient, enduring hardships, and have an absolute faith in our Party leadership. Therefore, the revolutionary and labor capacity of all strata of women in our country is great. The assistance provided for women to develop their latent potentialities in order to build up socialism is a great and important problem. Naturally, to solve this problem, we shall have to meet many obstacles. There are many problems which cannot be satisfactorily solved all at once; instead, a positive and gradual solution must be found: for instance, the socialist division of labor for women must be managed in a rational manner. Nevertheless, the most important factor is that everybody must have a correct conception of women's role in the construction of socialism so that, from this moment on, people will have an idea of coordination to deal with the problems related to women in a more positive and urgent manner. This is to contribute to the liberation of the classes, the emancipation of women, to step up production, and to push the revolution forward.

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ECONOMIC CONTRACTS AS AN EFFECTIVE MEASURE FOR FULFILLING THE STATE PLAN

[Following is a translation of an article by
Nguyen Tran An in the Vietnamese magazine
Hoc Tap (Study), Hanoi, No. 11, November
1964, pages 39-45.]

The system of economic contracts was promulgated in our country early in 1960. At that time economic and cultural reform and development had made great successes; the State-operated economic sector had grown powerful and had taken a leading position in our national economy; our level of planning had been greatly improved; and the whole nation was enthusiastically making preparations for the first Five-Year Plan. Under those circumstances, the proclamation of the system of economic contracts was a necessity. The system provides a legal tool that binds various sectors of the economy into one bloc and makes them function in harmony and balance.

The economic contracts that are signed between various socialist organizations are based on the indices in the State plan and are intended for the good fulfilment of this plan. In the present conditions of the economy of Vietnam, they are the contracts on production, supply, consumption of merchandises, transport, delivery, and capital construction, signed among the State organs, army units, State-operated enterprises, state-private jointly operated enterprises that have set up their own economic accounting; they are signed every time there is a transaction whose nature is a collaboration, aiming at fulfilling the State plan.

A few years later, economic contracting work made considerable progress and had a definite effect on the stimulation of the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the State plan. It contributed to elevating ideological concepts, to raising our level of planning and economic management, to further tightening the socialist relation between various branches and echelons. Nevertheless, the many deficiencies that occurred have proved that we did not fully grasp the new spirit and content of the system of economic contracts; for instance, the refusal or delay in the signing of contracts; failure to see that the signing of economic contracts is a discipline; failure to adhere to the indices in the State plan on the excuse that these indices are not close to reality; lack of the sense of responsibility and socialist collaboration in the implementation of economic contracts; the handling of the violations of the contracting system is not done on time; failure to adhere to the motto: "seriousness and cautiousness." These deviations are harmful in the implementation of the contracting system. It therefore limits the effectiveness of the contracts which are a tool to carry out the State plan.

Socialist economy is a system that develops in a planned, balanced, and harmonious manner; an economy in which all sections and echelons are closely related. Agriculture supplies food grain to the people and raw materials to industry and handicrafts; at the same time, it requires fertilizer, farm tools, and machinery produced by industry. A developed industry will provide machinery and raw materials for all branches and commodities for the people. Industrial and agricultural production has a great influence on national revenue, on the stabilization of the market and the domestic circulation of goods. Capital construction requires large quantities of local and imported raw materials. To complete a project on time means to determine the time taken for manufacturing the products indispensable for our economy and for everybody's life. The growth of industry, agriculture, commerce, and capital construction, in turn, requires transport. Poor transport will result in stagnation of goods and will hinder the activities of other economic branches.

Having been officially proclaimed, our national economic planning will be in the form of an order which all branches and echelons are obliged to fulfill and overfulfill. However, no enterprise, organ, or business unit can, by itself, fulfill its plan without the coordination with other enterprises, organs, and business units. Even if it can do it all alone, it is only a small part; it is not the overall and

overfulfillment of the State plan. Conversely, only one enterprise, organ, or unit need fail in its task to thwart the general plan and to hurt other economic activities.

To guarantee close coordination among all branches and echelons, between production, construction, and circulation of goods, there must be economic contracts. Without a contract, supply will lead to the procurement of sub-standard products for the consumers, to the supply of products at the time when the consumers do not need them, or to the supply of products which is so far lagging behind the schedule that it results in the stagnation of raw materials, materials, and merchandise. Without a contract, the organs of consumption will order the goods which do not agree with the needs of the market; or they will refuse to accept merchandise or delay any clear-cut settlement. Without a contract, capital construction will prolong the time spent on heavy work, delay the integration of the project into the production process, or refuse to guarantee the quality of the project. Without a contract, transport will waste the available facilities and manpower.

In a word, without a contract, all organs, enterprises, and business units will not function normally, and this will hurt our national economy. Therefore, the system of economic contracts is necessary for the strengthening of all economic relations on the basis of the socialist collaboration spirit, aiming at stepping up production, construction, transport, supply and consumption of goods, and at consolidating the sense of responsibility in all branches and echelons in the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the State plan as well as in the full implementation of the principles of the system of economic accounting.

In order to understand thoroughly the spirit and substance of the system of economic contracts, we must get a firm hold of the following concrete items:

1. The signing of economic contracts is a discipline. The economic contract is a legal instrument that binds all branches of the economy into one unified bloc and make them function with harmony and balance. Starting out from the interests of the State, the economic contract is a compulsory contract; and the signing of it is a discipline. "To delay or to refuse to sign economic contracts is to violate the discipline of the system of economic contracts" ([Note]: Memorandum No. 24/TT of 22 January 1960, from the Premier of the government).

Although we say that the economic contract is compulsory, it still must rely on a democratic basis because the principle of democratic centralism is fundamental in the management of the State, under our regime. All indices of the State plan are formulated from the lowest echelons on up. The aspiration and capacity of all enterprises, organs, and business units are included in these proposed indices. The State synthesizes, balances out, and makes public the indices; and then returns to the organizations concerned to be used as a basis for the signing of economic contracts. Thus, upon signing the contracts, the organs, enterprises, and business units assume the responsibility of implementing the indices which they have helped to formulate, aiming at guaranteeing the success of the State plan which includes fulfillment of their own plans. Therefore, the signing of economic contracts is a compulsory discipline, but it must remain democratic.

Furthermore, apart from the planned indices, the contracts also contain items of promises or details of performance. This part is agreed upon and decided by both parties. It is natural that these decisions are aimed at serving the interests of the State and must conform to the existing laws; otherwise, the contracts would not be valid. Upon deciding the details of the fulfillment of the planned tasks and turning them into the various clauses of the contracts, both parties must discuss matters affecting the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Neither party can rely on any power or advantages to force the other party to sign. In reality, contracts that are signed under coercion are easily violated because one side feels that it is too restricted and that its interest is not guaranteed; it gets fed up and does not carry out the contract. As for the other party which feels that it is already on the safe side, it usually looks down on its counterpart and does not adhere to the contract either.

Some people think that since the State plan is, in itself, an order which everybody should carry out fully, then what is the use of signing economic contracts? This is a wrong view because the economic contract is the legal basis for determining to what degree -- good or bad -- the organs, enterprises, and business units have carried out this order. To carry out the State plan without signing a contract is only to fulfill one's duty vis-a-vis the State -- the duty being administrative in nature. To enter into an economic contract is to assume one more responsibility -- a material one vis-a-vis the other contracting party, that is to say, to use one's own property to compensate the other party which sustains damages because of non-implementation of the contract.

For the party which has to do the compensatory payment, this may produce an effect on the circulating capital, the accumulated funds, or the budget of reward money belonging to the enterprise or business unit in question whose activities may reduce and directly affect the material and cultural life of the workers. It is this material responsibility that strengthens the sense of responsibility of the organs, enterprises, and business units vis-a-vis the result of their activities. It stimulates these organizations to concentrate more on technical improvements, reduction of costs, improvement of quality, speeding up of capital rotation, and avoidance of dead hours in the production process, and avoidance of the stagnation of merchandise.

One should have firm hold of these notions before entering into a contract. Only by so doing can one boost the sense of responsibility toward the legal aspect of the State plan. At the same time, one should concentrate on the arrangement to agree on the specific clauses of the contracts so that they become compatible with people's feelings, laws, and the interests of the organs, enterprises, and units as well as the general interest of the State. Only by so doing can one enter into an economic contract with full revolutionary enthusiasm. One should not rely on any pretext to put off the signing of contracts, or to do so perfunctorily without any intention to carry them out. The discipline in the signing of economic contracts must be understood in a thorough and self-conscious way.

The responsibility of signing contracts falls on the heads of organs, enterprises, and business units. In the past, this was not implemented in a serious manner. The delegating of power to many echelons was a rather widespread practice.

In the final analysis, the economic contract demonstrates all of the activities of an entire economic branch. The progress or retrogression of these activities depends on the effective or poor implementation of the contract. The head of an organization is the person entrusted with the task of leading the entire organ, enterprise, or business unit. There is no reason for him to refuse or neglect such a task which is closely connected with the very existence of his own organ, enterprise, or unit. One must have a correct conception of the importance of one's own signature. Only the head of the organization is qualified to set forth the conditions for discussion or to accept the proposals of the other party in a manner which agrees with the capacity of his side. It is also through the signing of economic contracts that the head of the organization can discover all of the obstructions and difficul-

ties in order to devise measures to strengthen his guidance of production. In delegating one's power to another person to sign a contract when this is not necessary, one goes contrary to the contractual principles. This is the manifestation of the neglect of responsibility entrusted by the higher echelons, the neglect of other friendly organs or enterprises. Such an act would reduce the voluntary and equal nature and the legal effectiveness of the contacts. Reality has proved that the person who receives the delegated power to sign a contract -- being incompetent and unable to have an overall view of the situation -- generally fails to fight actively to defend the interests of his own branch, composes loosely formulated articles, or acts like a machine without any liveliness in the discussion of the various clauses, and thus creates difficulties for the signing of contracts. People usually do not adhere to, or carry out fully, the contracts signed in this manner or style.

In aiming at the purpose of boosting the sense of responsibility of the contracting parties, the State has decided that "if the person in charge of signing contracts delegates his power to another person, the latter must have proper and valid papers and must assume the same responsibility as the former" ([Note]: Memorandum No 24/TT dated 22 November 1960 of the Premier of the government).

2. The signing of contracts must be based on the indices in the State plan. The basis for the signing of contracts is the indices set forth in the State plan. These indices represent the revolutionary tasks in each specific historical period.

Nevertheless, the indices of the plan are merely the targets for the struggle, they are the generalized figures. They do not and cannot determine all of the details of the relationships among the organs, enterprises, and business units in the implementation of the State plan. Only the economic contract can concretize the indices in the plan, such as quantity, quality, specifications, time allowance, delivery point (for the contracts of supply and consumption of merchandise); value of the project to be built, deadline for beginning and completion, deadline for delivery, blueprints, raw materials, materials, and equipment (for the contracts of capital construction); quantity, weight of freight, transport means, deadline, delivery point (for the contracts of transport).

In other words, only the economic contracts can recognize the concrete responsibilities among actual economic branches,

and convey concrete tasks in the plan to actual people who have to carry them out. Therefore, if the shaping of the plan is the premise for economic contracting, the signing of economic contracts is the conclusion of the formulation of indices for the plan. Smooth and favorable economic contracting depends on the accuracy of the indices of the plan.

In our country, the system of economic contracts is becoming more and more effective in snurring the good realization of the State plan and in the discovery of the errors in the plan. It helps the planning organs rectify a number of unbalanced indices. We may say that our planning work has been much improved and brought to a higher level than before. This was due to the signing and implementing of economic contracts. Nevertheless, due to the prevailing wrong conception held about the economic contracts and about the indices in the plan, the signing has often been done without any reference to the indices or has been done according to one's own capacity or inference that the indices are not close to reality. It is obvious that this is a shortcoming that must be overcome.

To build up a national economy is a difficult and complex effort. We must recognize that in the present development of our economy, while our planning process is not steady and our agriculture still depends on natural conditions, the formulation of unbalanced and incorrect indices in planning is unavoidable. Within a short period of time, we cannot overcome all of the shortcomings and weaknesses in our planning. Nevertheless, we can limit them through the unceasing improvement in the quality of planning and in our style of work.

Furthermore, one should not think of the function of economic contracting as purely for rectifying the deficiencies of planning, or of poor contracting work as merely caused by the shortcomings of planning. Such a conception would lead us to lower the main function of economic contracting which is the mobilization of the masses to fulfill the plan. Starting from this basic premise, we may adopt a negative attitude and a disbelief in the plan. We may even wait until the plan is rectified before we agree to sign any contract.

In signing and implementing the contracts with boldness, we will have a realistic basis to uncover the errors in planning for the qualified organs to rectify and correct; we will realistically contribute to reducing the difficulties in planning, and to raising gradually the quality of planning. In addition, around the middle of the year, the State used to revise planning and rectify the indices found to be unrealizable in reality due to a lack or an absence of possibilities.

Thus, the main thing is still the fact that we must think and discuss in the spirit of socialist collaboration to overcome the difficulties, that we must exploit to the fullest the capacity of the masses and mobilize them to step up the emulation drive to carry out the contracts. That is the popular character of economic contracting. In order to start the improvement of the method of shaping our plan, a distinction between two kinds of indices has been made in the 1964 State plan, namely indices by decree and guiding indices. Both types must be implemented by the contracting parties with seriousness. One cannot have an "expedient" attitude toward the guiding indices because they are also set forth by the State.

Economic contracting and planning are closely related. The guidance of planning cannot be separated from guidance and direction in economic contracting because the latter not only concretizes the tasks of planning, but also controls the implementation of the plan in two ways. Economic contracting is a legal instrument to check the performance of both contracting parties. According to the spirit of socialist cooperation, there cannot be the phenomenon of "feeling perfectly safe because the fire breaks out in a neighbor's home." On the contrary, apart from being concerned about one's own performance, each contracting side must pay direct attention to the realization of the plan of the other side because every obstruction occurring to this latter interferes with the realization of the State plan in general. This reciprocal control "alerts" both parties concerned to devise timely measures to deal with or prevent possible great damages.

Furthermore, economic contracting is a legal means for the State to check the implementation of the plan through the organization of the supervisory council ([Note]: Set up by the ministries, general offices, and administrative committees of zones, cities, and provinces, to handle cases of refusal to sign or breach of contract). While handling cases of complaints about the refusal of signing or breach of contract, these organs may uncover uncoordinated or undisciplined activities in production and business of various branches and echelons. In a word, one can get a firm hold of the implementation of the plan at each enterprise, organ, or economic unit, but also of the whole economy in general. The supervisory council of various echelons is responsible for struggling against the organs, enterprises, and business units whose deficiencies have been uncovered; or if it is necessary, the council will report these deficiencies to the qualified organs. In this case, the work of the supervisory council will supplement the activities of the State inspection organizations.

3. Elevate the sense of responsibility and the spirit of socialist cooperation in the implementation of economic contracts. Article 3 of the provisional regulations concerning the system of economic contracting states the following: "Each State-operated enterprise or each State organ has the duty of implementing the contracts after having signed them."

Memorandum No 24/TTg dated 22 January 1960 of the Premier of the government added: "The signing of contracts aims also at strengthening the responsibility of each enterprise or organ toward the State in production or business. At the same time it consolidates the mutual responsibility among the enterprises and organs in socialist production and business."

Responsibility for the economic contract not only belongs to the head of the organ, enterprise, or business unit who is the person actually signing the contract, but also all cadres, workers, and employees of the organ, enterprise, or business unit. This responsibility begins with the preparation for the signing and ends with the completion of the contract.

When a contract is about to be signed, the man in charge should encourage everybody in his unit to participate in the preparations of all aspects: To actively formulate the indices for the plan of one's own unit; to check one's strength; to prepare one's organization, and to arrange the whole system in a rational manner before accepting any responsibility. One should pay attention to the signing of a contract even while working on the plan and during the negotiations for the actual signing so that the signers will genuinely represent the aspirations of the masses within the organ, enterprise, or unit that is merged with the State plan.

After the signing of the contract, the head of the organ, enterprise, or business unit must popularize it among all the cadres, workers, and employees so that these people will understand clearly their duties and will strive to promote all initiatives to implement the contract. It is in the course of the preparation for and implementation of the contract that the cadres, workers, and employees have a chance to set high their sense of responsibility and the spirit of socialist collaboration and mutual assistance to fulfill the plans of their own organizations, those of their friends' organizations, to contribute to the good implementation of the contract. Both contracting parties must strive to overcome all difficulties to carry out their promises.

The setting high of the sense of responsibility must go together with the spirit of socialist cooperation. This spirit should be manifested not only within the organ, enterprise, or business unit concerned, but also between the two contracting parties, through the permanent control and discovery for one another of the difficulties that must be dealt with on time and satisfactorily. For instance, the party that produces must follow the consumption of the products it puts out for the party that buys. If necessary, it must conduct an investigation of the habits of the people and the method of selling, so as to contribute ideas to the party that orders the products. Conversely, the party that orders the merchandise must pay attention to the party that produces, to its equipment, to the supply of raw materials, and materials for manufacturing the products. The products put out that are up to the quality required and the specifications, will win people's confidence and will be consumed fast. At the same time, they will serve the development of the economy and meet the needs in merchandise of the people, and will bring realistic benefits for both sides.

In the capitalist society, the goal in business of the capitalists is to get the highest profit. The signing of contracts is designed to protect the individualistic interest of the contracting parties, in order to fetch the profits calculated beforehand, or better still, greater profits. Therefore, each party uses all kinds of tricks or takes advantage of any unguarded spots of the opposite side to grab the best advantage for itself. The capitalist contractual relationship is one of mutual exploitation, pressure, and encroachment so as to seize monopoly in business. This relationship clearly reflects the rotten nature of the capitalist society.

In a socialist society, all organs, enterprises, and business units are State organizations that manage State property and operate according to an unified State plan. The State is the sole owner of all national properties, and the organizer and leader of the economy. All of the organs, enterprise, and business units are part of the State machinery. They cannot operate just for their own private interests. On the contrary, they must serve the communal interest of the State. Therefore, the relationship between the two contracting parties cannot be based on pressures between the people whose interests oppose one another. It must be a cooperative relationship based on comradeship between those who have the same common interest, who follow the same path, and who help one another build a new society. This relationship of socialist cooperation is constantly expressed through all phases of the

economic contract. Thus, each contracting party cannot just rely on each word or sentence in the contract to act. On the contrary, both parties must promote all potentialities and seek all measures to fulfill their responsibilities. At the same time, one party must help the other fulfill its duty, fulfill the plan of each branch, and actually contribute to the fulfillment of the State plan.

One must avoid sectional thinking and unit-mindedness that makes one think that "each party handles its own duty" or that "the supervisory council is there to handle any violation of contract," or that "the party at fault will have to indemnify the other party properly." In a socialist society, all economic branches are inter-related. If one contracting party does not fulfill its own plan, the effect will be felt on the other party's plan. It is correct to complain about any violation of the contract. But no matter how seriously the supervisory council deals with the violation, one cannot avoid hindering the progress of the plan. As for the indemnities, they can partly make up for the material damages sustained by the violated party; but, in reality, they cannot correct the great damages that ruin one's own plan, that of one's friends, and of the State. To rely too much on the indemnities, to wait for the actions taken by the referee council without exercising one's own capacity or utilizing that of friendly organizations to prevent the violations of contract and to reduce the losses for the budget, are actions that go against the spirit of socialist cooperation.

Furthermore, one should avoid the kind of socialist cooperation in appearance whose true nature is to take it easy, to overlook each other's mistakes, to hide everything from the higher echelons, to disregard the errors of the other contracting party, or to connive with the other party to violate State regulations together. If this state of things is left as it is, the State plan will suffer and the economic contract will lose its effect as an instrument to stimulate the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the economic and cultural development plan.

4. The handling of the cases of refusal to sign economic contracts, or violation of economic contracts, must be done on time and according to the motto: "Sternness and cautiousness." The economic contracting system comprises two phases: Signing and implementing of contract, and handling the cases of refusal to sign or violation of contract.

The handling of cases of refusal to sign or violation of contract is the responsibility of the supervisory councils at

various levels. Contracting work is the responsibility of the professional sections of all ministries, general offices of the central level, and the administrative committees of the zones, cities, and provinces. Vis-a-vis the signing and implementing of contracts, the supervisory council only urges, guides, follows up, and uncovers the obstacles and difficulties and takes them up with the qualified organs for solution.

The handling of cases of refusal to sign or violation of contract is an important work. Although, on the basis of socialist consciousness, many organs, enterprises, and business units have exerted efforts to fulfill and overfulfill the State plan, it is still necessary to apply administrative measures to educate the organs or enterprises that show a lack of sense of responsibility toward State orders. To set high the contracting and economic discipline is an indispensable part of the safeguarding of socialist legislation. At the same time, it is an important measure to guarantee for our economy "a speedy, vigorous, and steady progress toward socialism." Being a phase in economic contracting, the handling of these cases is aimed at elevating the sense of responsibility and the concept of organization and discipline among the enterprises, organs, and business units; strengthening socialist cooperation; fighting all thoughts and actions that are unit-minded, sectional, and regionalist in nature; and insuring the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the State plan.

The handling of these cases must be done on time. According to the decision of the State, the supervisory council must do it within twenty days, starting from the receipt of the complaint. Handling that is not done on time will impair the effect of economic contracting in the implementation of the State plan and will incur damages and waste to the public budget. There are many causes to untimely handling. Apart from the ideological and organizational causes, there are the following phenomena: the content of the contract is not concrete and clear-cut, and, therefore, it lacks a legal basis for judgement when a violation occurs; complaint is not done according to the proper procedure; the documents furnished for the complaint are inadequate and cause delay in the time spent on investigation, etc.

The handling of the cases must be done seriously and cautiously. Not only will the party that violates the contract have to go through the administrative or financial disciplinary action, but also "the party that is affected by the violation will be prosecuted if there is evidence of lack of mutual assistance vis-a-vis the other contracting party in

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dealing with the difficulties in the good implementation of the contract, or in conniving with the violator" ([Note]: Explanatory note No 1861/KT dated 21 July 1962 released by the Central Supervisory Council).

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Serious management must go hand in hand with cautiousness, that is to say, careful investigation and evaluation, based on the degree of effort exerted by each party, the level of socialist mutual assistance and cooperation, the extent of the damages caused by the violation for determining the punishment. Prosecution will not be enforced against just any case. The violating party may not be held responsible, or may be relieved of the responsibility if in the course of the implementation of the contract it has met with natural disasters or objective obstacles beyond its control. One should view these as unexpected phenomena rather than as stemming from the lack of a sense of responsibility on the part of the violating party, and that it has tried to overcome its problems and difficulties in vain. Should flood damage State property, it may be that the people cannot control it or that it is caused by irresponsibility; if the latter, then punishment as due. For instance, a flood comes unexpectedly and the water rises above the normal annual level or above that of many previous years; the merchandise has been stored at elevated spots, fenced off and tied carefully to a specific location, but are still carried away by the flood waters. This is a case of uncontrollable objective obstacles.

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On the contrary, if a flood comes regularly every year or has been announced by the weather bureau, and the merchandise is left on the bank of the river without any good storage; or there are possibilities to move them to a safer location and this has not been done and the merchandise is left to be carried away by the water. This is a case of lack of responsibility, and it must be prosecuted.

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To ascertain which party is at fault is a complex problem because each case of complaint has its own characteristics. Therefore, one cannot act like a machine vis-a-vis the cases of complaint that have a few features in common. One must make a distinction between the cases of violation caused by uncontrollable difficulties or by lack of objective efforts. One must discover the causes of the violation so that prosecution can be done properly. It is necessary to determine these cases of responsibility or relief from it in order to show correct implementation of prosecution procedure which is serious and cautious.

Untimely handling or lack of seriousness and cautiousness will result in the loss of confidence on the contractual system on the part of the signers of the contract. Therefore, one can sign the contract easily and implement it in an expedient, easy-going, and family-style manner. On the contrary, timely, serious, and cautious handling of the cases of refusal of signing or violation of contract, will elevate the sense of responsibility and guarantee the material advantages for both contracting parties; it will give more reassurance and boldness to the signers of the contract; it will promote positiveness and creativeness in the fulfillment of the contract. This is an educational measure for promoting the disciplinary character of the contract and the compulsory nature of the State plan among all branches and echelons.

The task of handling the cases of violation of economic contracts is not only an economic study but an important political duty also. Therefore, through the phase of prosecution, we cannot one-sidedly go deeper into finding out the economic and planning causes; we must also look for the political and social causes that directly or indirectly affect our economic management. Reality has shown us that in handling the cases, the supervisory councils of all echelons have uncovered many cases of corruption and waste, deeds that reveal a lack of vigilance, activities that go against the Party and government policies, and obstacles in the organization and working methods of the organs and enterprises. The councils have reported to the qualified organs for a timely rectification and solution.

To implement the economic contracting system means to carry out a revolutionary struggle against all cumbersome and expedient styles or methods of work in production and business, to elevate the sense of responsibility and the concept of discipline and organization in economic management, and to contribute to the good implementation of the State plan.

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IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS

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[Following is a translation of an article by
Nguyen Xuan Ky in the Vietnamese language
magazine Hoc Tap (Study), Hanoi, No. 11
November 1964, pages 46-51.]

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Significance of the Improvement of the Quality of Industrial Products

The improvement of the quality of industrial products is an objective requirement of socialist production and an important task of each industrial enterprise. The goal of the socialist economy is to produce more in order to meet the people's growing material and cultural needs. Each production unit should pay attention not only to the quantity, but also to the quality, of the products, that is to say, their durability, solid construction, and beauty, enabling them to meet the standard of the most rational and effective use to meet the needs and desires of the consumers. Under the conditions allowed by the organization of production, technique, and resources, the producer is bound to respect the requirements in the specified quality; and only when the enterprise carries out fully the indices set for quantity and quality can one call it the completion of the State plan.

In the management of production, the recognition and correct handling of the relationship between quantity and quality of the products carry an extremely important meaning. In general, quantity and quality are one and stimulate one another's growth. In parallel with the increase in quantity, the pro-

ducer's experience and skill also increase, creating conditions for the improvement of quality. Conversely, the progress made in technique and industrial planning and the improvement of quality are also the basis for the increase in the quantity of products. However, in the production process, quantity and quality may not go together. For instance, sometimes it is necessary to strengthen production technique and lengthen the time for heavy labor so as to improve quality; in this case, the quantity factor may be reduced. To avoid this situation, human subjective effort to find technical measures to increase quantity and improve quality is most important.

In the production process, while concentrating on increasing quantity, one should not forget that these are specific quantities and indices on quality. If the quality level is not attained, it can be considered that quantity is not realized either. If quantity grows without any guarantee of quality, consumption will meet with difficulties, and greater waste will be incurred by the national economy. Furthermore, while concentrating on improving quality, one should bear in mind that quality must go together with specific indices on quantity. If one guarantees quality without attaining the index on quantity, one will fail to meet the needs of society.

Often there occurs a shortage of merchandise on the market; supply fails to meet the demand. The producer must not, on this account, run after quantity and neglect quality. On the contrary, he should pay more attention to the quality of the products, especially under the circumstances in which raw materials and materials are scarce and have to be imported. To raise the quality of the product is to increase its utilitarian value. This means the same thing as producing more without investing any more capital, without using more raw materials and materials and labor; and this can supplement, to a specific extent, the quantitative shortage.

It is only through recognizing the dialectical relationship between quantity and quality that can one overcome the erroneous thinking of some people who oppose quantity to quality. These people believe that quality cannot be guaranteed when increasing quantity; or, they think we should lower quality if to increase quantity. In actual production, when the volume of products is small, these people can guarantee both quantity and quality. But when the volume of products is great, when the completion of any plan must meet a deadline, these people only strive to guarantee the quantity because, according to them, "when one fails to meet the quantity required, it is clear that one fails to fulfill one's duty. But quality is flexible; when it is high, it is good; when it is slightly below the standard required, it does not hurt anything."

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The question of quality of the products has great economic significance, especially, vis-a-vis the increase of economic effectiveness in industrial production and the raising of production technique and people's living standard.

To boost economic effectiveness in production, one should reduce the consumption of live and materialized labor to a minimum and gain the highest utilitarian value. This is an important source of economization of materials and labor in our national economy, creating conditions for the increase of accumulation for expanded re-production aiming at an unceasing improvement of people's life. The economization in the consumption of live and materialized labor in a unit of product usually is manifested in two ways: One is the reduction of live and materialized labor in the unit of product, and this is an economization that has an absolute significance. The other is the improvement in the quality of the product, that is to say, improvement in its utilitarian value, making the product more solid and durable. In the final analysis, it means the economization of live and materialized labor in a unit of product. And this has an extremely important meaning vis-a-vis the increase in economic effectiveness in the whole of our national economy.

Moreover, the quality of the industrial product is closely related to the advance of technical improvement and technical progress in industrial production. Unlike the farm product whose quality still depends greatly on natural conditions, the industrial product is characterized by the fact that its quality derives mainly from the level of development of the industrial branch itself and is decided by the development of technology. Together with the change in production conditions, the development and application of new technique, the expansion of the scope of the effect and capacity of production materials, the improvement in the production process, and the raising of the technical level for the worker, e.g., the quality of the industrial product will be constantly improved.

Conversely, with the improved quality of the product, technology will be affected. We all know that, within the industrial branch itself as well as between the industrial branch and other economic branches, there is a close relationship. The quality of the products of one branch will exert a direct effect on the growth of another branch. Poor-quality steel and iron will not give us good machines; the low quality of machines will adversely influence the plan and the rate of growth of many other related branches.

Therefore, the raising of the quality of industrial products, especially in the heavy industrial branch, has become a condition for the improvement in the technological and production level in our entire national economy. In addition, the growth of technology demands quality from production materials, and, especially, a constant improvement in the labor tools to keep up with the needs of social production. Therefore, all industrial branches, especially heavy industry, must not only guarantee quantity, but also struggle to improve quality all the time.

The more the society is developed, the higher will be the needs of living, while the needs in quantity and quality will grow more complex also. The constant improvement of quality not only will enrich the material and cultural life of the people, but also contribute an important share to the improvement of the people's living standard because the raising of utilitarian value, the prolongation and expansion of the life expectancy of consumers' goods, will constitute not only a source of economization of live and mechanized labor in society, but will also enable the consumers to save on their expenditures, increase their purchasing power, and therefore, further improve the people's life.

Moreover, the economy of our country is poor; the income of our people is not high; our raw materials supply is not abundant; therefore, our people's immediate need is "to eat substantial food and to wear sturdy clothes. Thus, light industry has the duty of promoting all latent forces; of making full use of the capacity of all available machines and equipment; of making full use of all easy-to-find and cheap sources of raw materials to produce consumers' goods of good and solid quality to serve the people's life. One should not think that quality cannot be bettered because there is no high-class merchandise. To produce low-quality commodities is to waste the wealth of society and to create difficulties for the people.

Under the old society, our workers were exploited mercilessly by the capitalist bosses. Under those circumstances, the worker's labor was in effect compulsory drudgery. It is neither voluntary nor interesting. In today's socialist society in North Vietnam, the workers are the master of our land, factories, and mines. Therefore, their attitude toward labor, factories, and mines differs completely with that of the past. Labor has become something glorious, brave, and heroic, based on self-conscious discipline. "Therefore, in any work entrusted by society, the worker must put in all his

enthusiasm to handle the common work of the State, of society, just as if it were his own. One should not only finish the work but also do a good job; not only attain the norm, but also surpass it; not only handle well one's own work, but also have concern about work in one's own unit and throughout the country" ([Note]: Le Duan, "Nurture and Build Up New Thinking to Speed Up the Socialist Revolution in North Vietnam," Hoc Tan, No 4, 1961, pages 40 and 41). Thus the worker must overcome all difficulties to increase quantity and improve quality. This is the manifestation of the sense of responsibility and revolutionary ethics of the working class, of the ardent patriotism and passionate love of the laboring people in our country.

Our working class must express its patriotism and love of socialism through doing a good job in leading and marching in the front ranks in building socialism and in creating a new economic management. We all know that industry must produce much new equipment, machinery, and many new labor tools to supply agriculture and other economic branches, so as to transform manual labor into mechanized labor and thus achieve high productivity. If industry supplies the farming and handicraft cooperatives with low-quality improved tools and machines, it will not only fail to help agriculture and handicrafts improve their technique to increase productivity, but also will create losses for the cooperatives, waste of technical materials belonging to society, restriction of the development of the cooperatives, adverse effect on agricultural production and handicraft and the entire social production. This will adversely affect the worker-peasant alliance and the leading role of the working class. At present, our country is poor, the workers' living standard is low, and social productivity is not high.

In this situation, we have the duty of working for the accumulation to realize socialist industrialization, improving gradually people's life. This demands that we build up the country thriftily, economize in production and consumption, strive to produce more and manufacture quality products. If we continue to produce products of low quality that are not good, or cannot be used or must be remade, we will create much waste that adversely affects socialist industrialization and our whole society. Therefore, we must make every worker conscious of his deep sense of responsibility to struggle constantly against all erroneous phenomena in the problem of improving the quality of our products.

The Quality of Our Industrial Products and the Main Causes of Their Poor Quality

In the building of socialism in North Vietnam, our young industry has scored many achievements. As compared with 1955, in 1963, the total value of industrial and agricultural production volume has increased 2.5 times. The value of the production volume of industry and handicraft increased 7.2 times including industry that grew 16.5 times and handicraft 3.3 times. In 1955, in the total value of the production volume of industry and handicraft, the proportion of industry and handicraft represented hardly 16.9 percent. In 1963, this proportion rose to 49.2 percent. From a position of having to import all of the machinery and equipment and most of the commodities, we have come today to where we are capable of producing medium-size machine tools with an internationally acceptable degree of precision; much merchandise has attained the international standard. We have succeeded in producing more than 90 percent of the volume of commodities for the people.

Aside from these great achievements, we still have many important deficiencies which must be overcome. In the realization of the indices in the State plan, many branches and production and building establishments failed to devote adequate attention to the indices that were set for quality. A state of affairs in which people run after quantity and neglect quality is still rather widespread. Many products do not demonstrate quality standard and specifications. Many had to be remade or discarded. This created much waste in raw materials, materials, and manpower.

In 1963, in the machinery and foundry branches, although their equipment and technique have been improved, the situation in which merchandise was left damaged beyond the specified point was widespread; quality was not stabilized. A number of machine tools manufactured by local industries had no guarantee in solid structure, precision, and output level; the details of the machines did not attain the mechanical, physical, and chemical standards. Many improved tools for supplying agriculture could not be used because of poor quality. In capital construction, the neglect of the quality of projects has continued to exist.

Many cases of technical violations resulted in the demolition of the projects and in their reconstruction. In the branches that produce commodities, careless and disorganized work still prevailed. The products that were made were poor in

quality, resulting in stagnation of goods, while there was a shortage on the market. Late in 1963 and early in 1964, through the education and cultivation of the sense of responsibility among the workers and cadres and through the stepped up technical control at the enterprises and work camps, the quality of the products made by some establishments has indicated some progress as compared with the early months of 1963. The Ham Rong shaft furnace has improved the quantity and quality of all types of cast iron.

A number of machine factories have cut down on the proportion of defective products. The Haiphong cement plant and the Nam Dinh textile plant have improved the quality of their products. Apart from a number of goods that always enjoy the confidence of the people like the Sao Vang bicycle tires, the Dong Xuan woven goods, other types of goods also showed some progress as compared with the past, such as furniture, canned food, boots, and a number of miscellaneous products. In the emulation drive for "one person works like two," at many enterprises, the production volume has been greatly increased while quality was still guaranteed.

However, generally speaking, with much of the merchandise, including the types meant for export, the quality is still not good. The quantity of poorly made and defective goods is still large, thus creating much waste and difficulty for the supply of goods for daily life and adversely influencing the growth of our economy and socialist accumulation.

With our country still being poor, the material and technical foundation for everything is still weak, and the managerial and technical level of our cadres is still low. The industrial recovery and development that has been accomplished during the past few years permits us to say that the achievements scored in the improvement of quality are great. However, we should recognize the fact that a quality standard is not something that is eternally changeless. The standard which, today, is still regarded as progressive, may become backward tomorrow. Moreover, the indices set for the quality of the products manufactured by our plants are in general not high as compared with the available potentialities.

Nevertheless, many products still fail to attain the quality standard that has been set. Furthermore, the needs of the State plan as well as of the people require us to improve quality all the time. Thus, we cannot be satisfied with what we have achieved, but we must surge forward to ascertain the causes of our deficiencies and so improve quality still further.

What are the main causes of the poor quality of our industrial products?

In production, if raw materials and materials are not fully supplied on time according to a set standard, the quality of our products will also be adversely affected. However, in reality, quality was not guaranteed in a number of cases mainly not because of the problem of raw materials and materials, but because of other contributing factors and causes. A number of factories have somewhat similar types of equipment and use more or less the same kind of raw materials and materials, and yet the result of production is sometimes good, sometimes bad at various places. At some places, there is wholesale defective production. In some handicraft cooperatives, one kind of raw material is used, and yet one place produces good merchandise, another place, bad merchandise. Even within the same handicraft cooperative, the products of one cell differ from those of another. Some manufacture good products at the beginning and gradually allow the product to worsen later. Through study and checking, we ascertained that the majority of cases of poor quality are caused by the producer's subjectiveness, including a poor sense of responsibility, disregard for working procedure, and mixing composition.

The level of precision and excellence of equipment and machinery and the level of the workers' and cadres' technique affect also the improvement of quality. However, is this the main cause? A particular factory made a review by itself and found that at the beginning good products were large in number whereas poor products were scarce. Later, with the same machines, workers, raw materials, and quality standards, the number of good products decreased. When the cadres and workers returned from a class on the question of responsibility in the improvement of quality, and when the Party called for the development of the spirit of ownership to find measures to overcome difficulties, the number of good products again increased. A phenomenon -- a rather widespread one -- is that every year, due to a lack of positiveness and a sense of urgency in production right at the start, the workers discover that in the months near the end of the year they have to fulfill the plan at a sprinter's speed. In this way, the quantity of poor and defective goods increases. The use, maintenance, checking, and repair of machinery is not done according to regulations, and this also affects quality.

This state of affairs shows that the low quality of our products has many origins, partly due to objective causes, but also due to subjective ones. At some places, the latter type of factors are the main ones. In North Vietnam's situation,

objective difficulties still abound and can be overcome only through a long drawn-out struggle. However, subjectively speaking, if we possess correct thinking and a good conception, if we strive to overcome the difficulties, we may be able to put an end to the present low quality of products.

In our industrial enterprises and handicraft cooperatives at present, an arduous daily struggle is taking place between the socialist thinking like the sense of responsibility; the spirit of collective ownership; self-reliance; devotion to labor; one person working for all, and everybody works for one person; everything in the service of production and socialism; and, on the other side, non-proletarian thinking like individualism; self-interest and self-benefiting; unit-mindedness; sectionalism; the thought of working for hire; the pursuit of achievements and incentives. If ideological training slackens, non-proletarian thinking will arise and exert an adverse influence on production and the quality of products.

Therefore, if we do not seriously point out and fight erroneous thinking and viewpoints in production and business, we shall never be able to build up socialist thinking, and the socialist viewpoint and style of work, in order to bring about a revolutionary change within the enterprises. When the ideological problem has been dealt with the technical organizational measures will bloom like flowers in springtime. The technical cadre and the production worker will seek all means to overcome difficulties to discover and invent, to improve technique, to rationalize production and the organization of technical control, aiming at increasing quantity and improving quality, increasing productivity and cutting down on costs, and providing effective service for production and society.

The Direction to Follow in Improving Quality

In the present condition of our country, to step up ideological training, to boost socialist consciousness are front-rank important measures useful for improving quality. The training cannot be effected merely in a general manner. It must be linked to production. Concretely speaking, one must fight against the cadres' lack of responsibility, against careless and disorganized work defying all technical rules of production and labor discipline among the workers. At the same time, one should pay more attention to boosting self-reliance and national pride among our cadres and workers and aiming at overcoming reliance on others and the inferiority complex which purports that the level of our production and

our cadres and workers' technical level are too low and are unable to improve the quality of our products. The training and improvement of our cadres and workers' thinking through intensifying the internal struggle, criticism and self-criticism, through democratic discussions among the workers, through exhibitions of good and bad products, through commendations and awards and timely disciplinary actions, are absolutely necessary for the improvement of quality.

The campaign for "three build-up, three anti" in industry and commerce is also aimed at overcoming the capitalist viewpoint in production and business, and at educating the people in the socialist viewpoint. This is a multi-faceted, great revolutionary campaign: from the management of the entire economy of the State to that of each establishment, from organization, policy, and systems to ideology, style, and method of work. This campaign is a good opportunity for us to boost socialist consciousness, to forge socialist ideology, style and method of work, and to build up a tradition of socialist management and business. Every cadre and worker and employee has the duty of participating actively in this campaign because it will greatly influence the improvement of quality.

Naturally, to improve quality does not mean dealing with the ideological question alone. In parallel with political education and improvement of conceptual knowledge, one must realize a series of measures concerning production and the technical management of science.

At present, the organization of technical management of production in our industrial production installations is still weak and has as yet no tradition. The technical potentialities available at present have not been put to good use. The cultivating of the technical level for the cadres and workers has not been given adequate attention. In the industrial enterprises, especially in the local industries and handicrafts, the leading echelons usually fail to go further and get a firm hold of this phase and to implement the technical rules of production in a serious manner. Thus, there is always an attitude of expediency and arbitrary change in the technical rules and regulations.

Concerning technical progress, some comrades still have this simple idea: "If the government would only change to new equipment and machinery, it would be quite easy for all enterprises to guarantee quality for the products." Good machines are not a unique condition for the improvement of quality. Under the condition of our technical level and

limited production capital, we cannot remove all at one time all of the old machinery and equipment to replace them with new items. Furthermore, modern machinery and equipment must go together with the workers' attainment of high technical levels. Otherwise, even with modern machinery, one cannot make its effect felt in production. Thus, in a country as poor as ours, we must make full use of the capacity of machinery and equipment, and, at the same time, strengthen technical management, manage tightly and make good use of the available force of cadres and technical workers, and pay more attention to cultivating the technological level of cadres and workers. All activities must focus on the increase of labor productivity, improvement of quality, and reduction of cost price.

A great problem at hand that must be solved is the speeding up of the formulation of technical indices to advance toward the standardization of the products, to determine the unification of all models, types, and dimensions, to create conditions for specialization, cooperativization, and unification, and mass production. All of these efforts will improve quantity and quality. To attain a speedy and effective standardization, we must have close cooperation between the research organs and all production enterprises.

On the basis of standardization of products and determination of economic and technical levels, we must strengthen technical control. We must build up and improve the office of quality control and testing in the big enterprises. The small enterprises also require professional control and testing agents. We must boldly increase the number of men in charge of control, and it is only when the guarantee of quality becomes a routine that one can talk about reducing the number of controllers. The most effective controlling method is account for control from the planning, experimental production stage to that of mass production; from checking of raw material, and semi-finished product to finished product, and checking before, during, and after the production process. The workers check themselves; the leaders of production cells and the professional controllers also make checks so that all principles will be upheld. If the raw material and semi-finished product are not up to the standard, one cannot start production; if the finished product is not up to the specifications, one should not let it leave the factory. The new product will be mass-produced and the new technique will be widely applied only after clear-cut successful experimentation has been achieved. Everybody must self-consciously and seriously carry out the system of technical control because this is not purely a technical matter; it is one of great

political and economic significance. Good control will uncover errors from their roots and will prevent chain-reaction errors and great waste. The technical control organ is one that represents the State and the people to check on the result of the use of the resources and equipment that belong to the State, and to check the workers and cadres' sense of responsibility.

Therefore, we must make everybody understand the advantages of technical control so as to bring about a self-conscious acceptance and serious implementation of the technical control system.

In addition, the increase of machinery, equipment, maintenance, and repair of machines done on a periodical and planned basis; the increase in the supply of raw materials and materials in accordance with the specified time and standard; the maintenance and preliminary processing of raw materials; the improvement of the technical, occupational, and cultural level of cadres and workers; the political education coupled with the encouragement by material incentives, all must be given adequate attention.

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Each of us must realize profoundly that he is working on socialist industrialization on the basis of a backward and impoverished agricultural economy. Therefore, we must set high our revolutionary militant spirit, promote to the fullest our self-reliance and thriftiness in building up our country, exploit all the latent potentialities, overcome all difficulties aiming at improving the quality of our products and developing production. It is only by so doing that we can express our patriotism and love of socialism, and the ethics and lofty dignity of the cadres and workers in our fine regime. Only by so doing can we successfully realize the State plan in a steady and overall manner.

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LANG SON PARTY CHAPTER FIGHTS AGAINST
RIGHTIST TENDENCIES

[Following is a translation of an article by
Be Chan Hung in the Vietnamese-language peri-
odical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 11,
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The Fifth Representative Conference of the Party chapter (dang bo) of Lang Son, which met in September 1963, severely criticized the rightist tendencies found within the chapter, and, at the same time, pointed the way to concrete directions and methods of thoroughly overcoming rightist thoughts and other non-proletarian concepts as it is determined to bolster the movement in Lang Son. Since then, owing to a vigorous and continuous thought struggle within the Party chapter, the rightist and negative expressions have begun to lose ground and retreat. The organization of the Party at various echelons has been further strengthened. A new revolutionary posture has started operating among the cadres, Party members, and the masses. The upswing movement is firmly directed and well aimed. From the position of an inferior province in every field, Lang Son has come to wrest a number of achievements in every essential field.

Concerning agricultural production, in the 1963-64 winter-spring crop, many norms of the State plan have been overfulfilled. The fifth-month rice and the spring Nam Ninh rice crops have increased by 31 percent over 1963. The secondary crops such as Indian corn, potatoes, tapiocca, etc., as well as the short-term industrial plants, have recorded

definite increases, ranging up to almost 40 percent. The area devoted to the culture of gold thread cigarette tobacco alone increased by three times as compared with 1963. The productivity of each unit area is also higher than 1963.

Concerning fulfillment of duties toward the State, two years ago, Lang Son not only was not able to perform them well, but also every year it had to ask the State to supply the province with a relatively large amount of food and food products. This situation no longer exists. In the 1963-64 winter spring crop alone, the amount of foodstuffs that the State has been able to purchase has increased twice as compared with previously. The amount of pork and peanuts purchased in the first quarter of 1964 have come to almost equal that for all of 1963. The amount of soya beans that purchased has also increased by 6.98 percent as compared with 1963. Owing to the good performance of collection work, and to the relatively close management of the "free market," we have by now not only been able to guarantee the regular supply of food and food products to the various enterprises, work-sites, government organs, and people within the locality, but we also have the possibility of fulfilling part of the food and food products requirement of the central authorities.

With regard to the cooperativization of the agriculture, we have started to rehabilitate the movement. Owing to the determination of the provincial committee members and positive activation and persuasion of the masses by the cadres and exemplary Party members, the number of households that have joined the cooperatives have increased from 46 percent to 60 percent. In the movement to improve upon the management of the cooperatives and techniques, a number of cooperatives have started being strengthened and have developed more and more a positive value. Other aspects such as local security, military training, etc. have also recorded progress. The militia and self-defense forces of the locality have been strengthened and are ready for combat. Special mention should be made of the fact that in the last Tet season, robberies and gambling have basically been eliminated.

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It is not just by chance that the movement in Lang Son suddenly recorded such new and healthy changes. After having been shown by the Party central authorities and the representatives conference of the provincial Party chapter that rightist thoughts constitute the basic cause hindering the movement -- that they are at the origin of all negative expressions and disturbances in our work -- the Party chapter of Lang Son proceeded to promote an unrelenting struggle against rightist tendencies within its organization. This struggle has been combined closely with the work of perfecting the various Party and government organizations, with the improvement of the work style and of the leading style of various echelons and branches.

The executive committee of our provincial committee has remarked that the reason why previously Lang Son had an inferior movement lay mainly in the fact that the political and ideological education of the cadres, Party members, and masses had not yet been well performed. Over a relatively long period of time, the various committees, provincial as well as district, have not paid strict attention to ideological leadership, and they have totally relied on the propaganda and training branch for this job instead. Owing to the fact that the ideological work is not closely linked with the question of realizing our political tasks in the new revolutionary stage, and, besides, owing to an already weak combat readiness, as soon as the revolution in socialism went into depth and the struggle between the two roads became complex, many negative expressions began to emerge among cadres and Party members.

A relatively large number of them, owing to a decrease of their revolutionary zeal, only thought of their individual and family self-interest. They not only forget to carry out the government policies, but they even imitate the more backward elements in going against the policy regulations, thus only creating more difficulties for the movement. For this reason, in order to make the movement progress, we must strengthen our political and ideological education. We must make the cadres and Party members keenly understand the line and policies of the Party in the present revolutionary stage. We shall, on this basis, raise the revolutionary zeal and determination to struggle of the cadres and Party members, and we shall wage an all-out struggle against rightist and other non-proletarian thoughts and guarantee the agreement between thought and action in the Party chapter.

To reach this objective, we propose to start a widespread study wave within the Party chapter, taking as content the resolution of the Eighth Conference of the Party Central Committee and the resolution of the last representatives conference of the Party chapter. Hundreds of cadres have been sent to help the basic units to study. In our studies, we pay attention both to raising our understanding and to criticizing erroneous thoughts, especially rightist concepts as expressed in various ways in our work. This study wave has been strictly implemented from the top down -- from the Party to the masses -- and it has brought about good results. Through the studies, the majority of cadres and Party members have come to realize more clearly their responsibilities with regard to the movement.

Many a cadre, owing to the fact that previously they did not have a correct understanding of the collection work and of the cooperativization movement, have displayed irresponsible attitudes such as refusing to educate and persuade their own families with regard to joining the cooperatives or selling food to the State when they did not do so. In fact, in many cases, they even agreed with their families in order to go against the policies of the Party and State. Now, these cadres have either written to their families or come directly home to activate them into joining the cooperatives and fulfilling their duties towards the State.

The realities have once again proved that our cadres and Party members are basically good. The fact that at some time and in a number of cadres and Party members, there are thoughts and actions that are not altogether fitting with the requirements of the socialist revolution is due primarily the continued low level of political consciousness of these people. It is also due to the fact that we did not do our political and ideological educational work well. Indeed, in localities where the movement was good, when the political and ideological work was not done in a permanent and continuous manner, negative factors would emerge and thus create difficulties that sapped the strength of the movement. On the contrary, there are other localities where even recently the movement was still very slow, but owing to good political and ideological work, the awakening level of the cadres and Party members has been raised, thus rapidly rehabilitating the movement and correcting the negative factors.

It is clear then that to have our cadres and Party members act in a revolutionary way, we must infuse in them revolutionary thoughts. We must constantly pay attention to

ideological education work and closely combine this work with the realization of immediate tasks, so as to keep revolutionary thinking always in a leading position. The experience of our Party chapter also shows that the process of maintaining and developing revolutionary thoughts also is a process of struggle against rightist and other non-proletarian tendencies. To promote the revolutionary posture, we must fight well against rightist thoughts. On the contrary, to be able to build up a fervent revolutionary posture also means to build a strong basis for fighting victoriously against rightist thoughts.

Together with the bolstering of the political and ideological education of the cadres and Party members, our Party chapter has also paid urgent attention to perfecting the various Party and government organizations. On the basis of the raised political awakening of the cadres and Party members, we have proceeded to the initial step of re-organizing the various committees and branches of the province; we have also rearranged our cadres' ranks, especially those in the main links, so as to make them fit with the requirements of leadership. With regard to the basic organizations of the Party, on the one hand we have perpetuated the motto considering education as the main concern, helping the Party members to relate their experiences to re-study and re-examine them so as to see the good points and deficiencies and to find the direction to go forward. On the other hand, we correctly insist on the discipline of the Party.

The provincial committee has proceeded to give direct assistance to a number of Party sections in the districts of Bac Son and Van Uyen so as to draw out needed experiences in regard to the strengthening of Party sections in the countryside. Having worked through these pilot efforts, we have found that in order to strengthen and build the Party organization into something solid, we must pay special attention to ideological education, considering it as the main concern and basic facet in the process of strengthening and building the Party. This is because the higher the level of political awakening of the Party members, the stronger the combativity of the Party members, and thus the rightist and other non-proletarian thoughts will be easily defeated. It goes without saying that in order to thoroughly fight against rightist thoughts, one must closely combine the raising of ideological thinking with the improvement of various organizations. If we only insist singlemindedly on ideological education and neglect Party discipline, paying little attention to perfecting the organization of various necessary places, we would be committing a rightist mistake, and the results of our activities would be limited.

The present situation where we have poor Party members and poor sections is not solely due to questions of understanding and ideological patterns: it also stems from organizational reasons. Checking through localities where movements are weak, we notice that the erroneous implementation of guidelines and policies not only stems from the still low level of the Party members, but also from the subversive activities of bad elements in the Party organization. This is why coupled with the ideological education work, we must have suitable attitudes for dealing with people who commit severe mistakes and who refuse to correct them even after re-education, and we must be determined to expel from the Party bad elements who try to get into the Party organization in order to sabotage its work.

It is only in that way that we can create favorable conditions for proletarian thoughts to develop, so as to have thought conformity in the Party strengthened by an organizational unity. In the township of Tu Doan (Loc Binh) and Thach Dan (Cao Loc), owing to the fact that the Party section was determined to implement disciplinary measures with regard to Party members who do not strictly execute the cooperativization and food policies of the Party, the discipline of the Party has been strengthened, the Party members and masses of the people have acquired more faith and enthusiasm, and thus the movement has developed in a very healthy manner.

In strengthening the Party sections, we have paid much attention to the improvement of the substance of the Party section activities. To guarantee adequate leadership, education, and combative quality in the activities of the Party sections, besides the maintenance of regular activities, we have directed the activities of the sections toward criticism and self-criticism, and we have re-studied the role of the Party members in the execution of guidelines and policies of the Party and Government. Owing to the fact that sections have practiced discussing at length about the work of building the Party, the guidance of the sections has not overstepped into the work of the authorities or that of various mass organizations. After having the resolution, the sections proceed to a concrete division of labor to each and every Party member, they have recapitulation sessions, criticism, drawing of experiences, etc. This is why the responsibility spirit of the Party members has been raised and the backward situation where the Party members neglect the activities of the sections and forget to pay the Party fees has been greatly improved. In the process of leading in the realization of Party guidelines and policies as well as of the resolutions,

many sections have paid attention to the question of developing the Party, especially of expanding it among positive youths so as to inject into the Party organization some new life.

One of the reasons why the movement in Lang Son was weak lay in the bureaucratic working style of the leaders at the committee level, and especially at the provincial committee level. Owing to the fact that they did not get close to the realities of the province, they did not keep close contact with the bases, and that they failed to correctly assess the situation of the movement, when they met with difficulty, many comrades became disturbed, saw their determination weakened, and they only single-mindedly insisted on the objective difficulties and characteristics of the mountain areas, and then they became rightist in thinking on all kinds of problems. For this reason, our provincial committee has realized that in order to effectively fight against rightist thoughts, the various committee members, and especially those of the provincial committee, must have, together with a transformation of understanding and ideological thinking, a forceful change in their working style and guiding formulae. The realities have shown that if we are not determined to fight against bureaucratic and perfunctory guiding styles, we cannot possibly answer in time the requirements of the movement.

After having gone through many ideological struggles within our chapter, we have realized the following efforts:

1. To determinately build a responsibility system for every echelon and every branch in order to serve well the central tasks of the Party. Previously, because we had not clearly delimited the responsibilities devolving on the civil authorities and the Party -- and in addition, our working style was most awkward, with each branch working more or less on its own, as best as it could -- the provincial committee was not able to have a full view of the various jobs in its leading process. The situation is even more serious when we come down to the district level. In many localities, when the higher echelons stressed a certain job, complete attention was devoted to that particular job, and thus the guidance of the Party became fragmented, not global. Recently, basing itself on the agreement between the guidelines and the concrete tasks of each period, our provincial committee implemented a system of clear delineation of responsibilities for each echelon and each branch, which is meant to promote the responsibility spirit in various echelons and branches.

It is owing to this fact that the contents of work of every echelon and branch become clearly defined and that the responsibility system is implemented, that on the one hand we have guaranteed the leadership of the collectivity and played up the responsibilities of the individual, while on the other hand, we have created the conditions for the cadres to go deep into the realities, to keep close contact with the bases, and to solve in time the requirements of the bases while cutting out red tape.

In actual terms, this way of working has made the activities of various echelons and branches become more regular, thus serving better the central tasks of the province. The heads of various branches in the province and districts have gone down more often to the bases and have been able to clearly find out about the concrete responsibilities of their branches in serving the central tasks. This is why they have been able to have a greater awareness of their responsibilities with regard to the strengthening of the movement in the whole province.

Within the provincial committee, each comrade member has, besides the assignment to take charge of a particular branch, the added assignment to guide a township in order to draw experience and help the bases. In addition, each branch also builds a typical unit of the branch so as to draw experience for overall management. Owing to this improved way of working and leading, the provincial committee has come to have a firmer grasp of the realities. This is why the resolutions of the committee have more practical value and more persuasiveness with regard to the lower echelons and various branches. On the other hand, this also provides the lower echelons with more faith and adequate determination in their guidance of the movement.

2. To hold initial recapitulation and final review sessions after each wave. After each work wave, our provincial committee proceeds to an initial recapitulation and final review of the work so as to draw out the necessary experience for the movement. At the same time, observations and criticism are made of each branch, including the committee member in charge of the branch, so that the struggle against rightist thoughts in the leading organ acquires deep and practical substance. Experience has shown that in the process of working, together with the appearance of new difficulties, the rightist thoughts also find expression in many new forms. This is why we can only and correctly assess our achievements by going through initial recapitulation and final review of

the work, and also why we must severely criticize erroneous expressions of thoughts and correct them. Only in this way can we strengthen the faith of the cadres and Party members and stop short the rightist thoughts as they appear in new conditions. We believe that the fight against rightist thoughts constitutes a long-term struggle that must be mastered in every facet of our work. If we consider it merely as a passing question and then subjectively become self-satisfied, refusing to continue to struggle against them, the rightist thoughts will have the occasion to sprout, develop, and cause harm to the movement.

These achievements and successes represent only initial steps, but they open many perspectives for the movement in the whole province to progress.

Besides these efforts, we still have many deficiencies that must be overcome. Our entire Party chapter is determined to continue fighting against all expressions of rightist and negative tendencies, against subjective and complacent thoughts, so as to promote the revolutionary tradition of the Party chapter and people of Lang Son, to boost the movement in the province to the level of other provinces and to fulfill well all the tasks assigned to us by the Party Central Committee and the Government.

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