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JPRS: 35,313

TT: 66-31749

3 May 1966

TRANSLATIONS FROM HOC TAP (STUDIES)

No 3, 1966

- North Vietnam -

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This publication contains translations of articles from the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No 3, 1966. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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## MAINTAIN THE PARTY LINE IN 1966

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No 3, Hanoi, March 1966, pp 1-6.]

In 1965, paralleling the political, economic, and military successes, the ideological program made much progress and gathered many splendid results.

The first outstanding point, compared with the past years, is that the ideological program was continuously carried out in an all-encompassing manner, tightly combining three aspects: propaganda and education on the state of affairs, functions, lines, and assertions of the Party in the new situation; building up a degree of excellence and righteousness in the proletarian class's revolution; and raising the level of understanding regarding technological and economic management, the people's war and national defense.

In only a short period of time the Party's domestic and foreign lines and assertions regarding the war against America and for the national salvation have rapidly pervaded the masses. The entire Party, the

entire military, and all the people from top to bottom, inside and out, have grasped more and more profoundly every day the scheme of the American imperialists and their lackeys. We have grasped the comparative capabilities between the enemy and ourselves, the potentialities of the situation, and the increasing fierceness of the struggle. At the same time we clearly understand what we must do and which course we must follow in order to be victorious over the American aggressors, that primarily being the scientific foundation of absolute trust in the Party's leadership, a determination to be victorious over the American aggressors, and firm unity throughout the entire Party, all the military, and in all our people.

Nineteen sixty-five was also the year in which the revolutionary heroism of our people was strongly manifested. As the war continues, belief in the Party's line, policy, and leadership becomes more firm and determination to fight a decisive battle resolved to win over the American aggressors heightens. Hundreds of thousands of collective and individual heroic examples are appearing everywhere, in every age group, on every production and battle front. The profound source of this revolutionary heroism stems from the fact that our people have an intense patriotic tradition and a spirit of non-submission to anyone. In the past we have lived miserable lives under the yoke of imperialism and feudalism. In our hearts we have constantly borne many national hardships and much class hatred and resentment. But now we are our own masters and we are enthusiastically building our new life, a life of socialism in half of our country. The main progress of the ideological program of the past year was that we knew to use many rich aspects, outstanding of which were the political training

campaign in the spring of 1965 and the "Living as Brothers" indoctrination campaign. These campaigns built up and developed a noble quality. They deeply aroused hatred and resentment of the enemy in the cadre, Party members, and our people which has now been transformed into an unwavering anti-American and national salvation force.

Paralleling propaganda, education on policy and nobleness, and revolutionary righteousness, we have taken the first step by stepping up propaganda and education concerning the key role played by the technological revolution. Many places have paid attention to raising the level of economic management and the level of scientific and technological understanding for the cadre, Party members, and the farmers and workers. Education in scientific and technological knowledge has surpassed the scope of colleges and professional technical schools and is beginning to penetrate deeply into the leadership cadre at the province, district, and rural levels. This education is being carried on in many forms: through Party schools and brief daily training classes; through summarizing and popularizing experiences of the advanced cooperatives and organizations for numerous cadre, as well as the experiences of Party members who have come directly to do on the spot research and study at these advanced units; convening specialized meetings; stepping up the movement to increase the yields of the rice fields; organizing rice field inspections, etc... In those places where cadre can direct technical studies the first step has been taken to create prerequisites so as to unite the leadership cadre, scientific and technical cadre, and our farmers. This cohesion is the necessary prelude in a technological revolution for, generally and

specifically speaking, it is the technological revolution of our countryside.

In summary, the greatest result of the past year's ideological program was in raising the level of the cadre, Party members and people in every aspect. We have also set up a stable ideological foundation for the anti-American and national salvation struggle. This greatly contributes to pushing through the Party's programs and creates a vociferous anti-American and national salvation ardor in our people.

We can draw a number of useful lessons of experience from the results of the ideological program in 1965. They are as follows:

The first lesson is that the ideological program was carried on in an all-encompassing manner. All the various "branches of service" on the cultural and ideological front were drawn into fulfilling the three requests, the three parts of the ideological program in the new situation. It was mainly through the all-embracing education that the ideological program served so well the three revolutions that are now being carried on in the North. These are the revolutions on production relationships, technology, culture and thought. Three revolutionary responsibilities have been served. They are building and protection of socialism here in the North, the liberation of the South, and support to the revolutionary struggle of the Laotian people and the people of the world. And lastly, two flags have been united; patriotism and socialism.

The second lesson is that we have better united the ideological program with the organizational program, understanding with activity. Simultaneously, the new understanding of the masses has been transformed



into a stormy revolutionary activity, overcoming in one step a situation at odds with the ideological program and the organizational program.

The third lesson is that the ideological program is not only closely attached to the general political duties, but it also goes deeply into the realities of life, production, and struggle. It goes deeply into every area, every locale, and every branch. It goes deeply into every external thing. Not only does it reveal to the masses the responsibilities and general lines of activity, but it also goes deeply into concrete measures. It guides the masses in their struggle to carry out those measures. The way to make the ideological program more general has been slowly overcome.

The fourth lesson is that the ideological program need not stop short by just bringing the Party's thought and scientific knowledge to guide the activity of the masses, for worthwhile experiences can be extracted from those practical activities in production and struggle, and the masses can be educated from those experiences. The program's method of moving outward from the masses then reverting back to the masses and acquiring masses to educate the masses has brought additional life and richness to the ideological program making it easy for ideals and new longings to permeate the hearts of the people.

The fifth lesson is that many echelons have really grasped the ideological program and have united three aspects. Those are political leadership, ideological leadership, and organizational leadership. This guarantees that the ideological program will closely adhere to production and livelihood, that it will strengthen the nature of the leadership,

the character of the struggle, and the mass character of the ideological program.

Presently, in spite of those ever-increasing successes of the military and our people in the whole nation, the American imperialists are frantically continuing their military buildup. They are widening their war of aggression in the South and intensifying their war of destruction in the North. The anti-American and national salvation struggle has been fierce and violent from the beginning and will become more fierce and violent.

In that regard -- following the line that the South is the great front-line, the North is the great rear-line and base of the revolution for the entire country -- the entire Party, the entire military, and all the people must strive to overcome, endeavoring to concentrate our force on every aspect. It is imperative that we struggle at the same time toward the highest objective, international support. We must be determined to step-up the anti-American and national salvation task, destroying immediate and long-range schemes of the American imperialists and their lackeys who are determined to create an opportunity which will bring them a great victory. While our compatriots in the South step-up their armed struggle and political struggle, bringing the blow of destiny down upon the American aggressors and their lackeys, our people in the North must endeavor to look for every effective means to defeat the American imperialist's war of destruction. We must search for effective measures to protect the North. We must continue the work of building socialism in the North, wholeheartedly supporting the war of liberation in the South and

actively supporting the Lao revolution. At the same time, preparatory efforts must be made so as to be ready to cope with every inevitability. Our people in the North must absolutely fulfill the sacred duty manifested in the great rear-line action vis-a-vis the great front-line.

In order to guarantee that our people successfully complete that glorious historical responsibility, the ideological program must be sufficiently developed from the situation and needs of the revolution in 1966, relying on the results and experience of 1965, while continuing to pervade the duties and line "on the ideological program in the immediate situation." Those duties and directions are: "Making sure the entire Party, the entire military, and all the people believe in the Party line and assertions -- both foreign and domestic -- in every situation; a determination and resolve to fight and win over the American imperialist aggressors; energetically making sure every program of production and in the struggle is the best." (1). [See Note] And in order to achieve those three requests, the ideological program must continue "to tightly combine three aspects: propaganda and education on the situation, function, line and assertions of the Party in every new situation; raising the level of understanding on economic and technological management and on the people's war and national defense; keeping alive the righteousness and revolutionary quality of the proletariat class." (2). [See Note]

[Note]: (1), (2) Directive #94 -- CT/TU Chi thi Trung uong; Central (Committee) Directive dated 2 April 1965 from the Secretariat on the ideological program in the new situation.

In executing the above directions in the 1966 situation, we must firmly grasp the ideology contained in the following:

First of all, we must continue to build up in the entire Party, the entire military, and all the people a determination to be victorious over the American aggressors and their lackeys. We must be prepared to endure every sacrifice and adversity, overcoming every difficulty so as to complete any duty. We must struggle against any enemy and defeat any type of warfare. The determination to be victorious over the American aggressors must be built upon the foundation of profound understanding and absolute belief in the Party's line and assertion. This must be coupled with an intense love of socialism and an unyielding hatred and resentment of the American invaders who are pillaging our country with their traitorous lackey friends. We must prevent and subdue vascilation, worry of hardships, fear of sacrifice, and disrespectful subjective thought, as well as lack of vigilance in the face of the enemy's crafty schemes, etc...

The determination to be victorious over the American aggressors must be embodied throughout the Party, the military, and the people. We must clearly understand the responsibility of the North so that we can wholeheartedly assist in the liberation of the South. We must resolutely fulfill the righteous duty of the great rear-line vis-a-vis the great front-line. No matter what must be done to be victorious over the American invaders and to abate the suffering of our blood brother compatriots in the South, the people in the North must be ready to do it, to do it fast and to do it first. This blood brother spirit, this anti-

American and national salvation spirit must be forged daily into each person in the North, from the old to the young. This must be done so as to transform the seventeen million Northerners into a moving force which will bring all of their spirit and strength to bear so as to fulfill the slogan "Everything to be victorious over the American imperialists and their lackey friends."

The whole Party, entire military, and all the people must be determined to build and protect socialism in the North. We must be determined to continue building the materialist and technical base of socialism. At the same time we must finish reconstructing socialism and perfecting new production relationships. We must endeavor to build a viable North in economy and national defense so that the North can fulfill the duty of the rear-line vis-a-vis the front-line, thus defeating the American imperialists' war of destruction. We must correctly carry out the maxim, both production and struggle. We must firmly maintain and develop a collective ruling spirit and a revolutionary assault spirit, overcoming difficulties no matter what the circumstances. Agricultural production must be stepped-up and industry must continue to be developed, particularly local industry and handicrafts. The more difficulties we encounter, the more we must stretch upward, absolutely not backing up. We must sustain thriftiness and combat waste and corruption even more, educating the spirit of common prosperity and adversity, the spirit of love and mutual aid, resisting individualism all the while.

Desiring to guarantee successful fulfillment of the political duties, we not only need changes on the ideological aspect, but we also

need vigorous changes in organization and behavior. Therefore, an important request in regard to the ideological program is to guarantee that the organizational program is vigorously changed in accordance with the viewpoint of the Party Central Committee. In the present situation, the leadership of the Party must guarantee unity and centralization more than ever. Simultaneously, an active and creative spirit regarding the anti-American and national salvation task must be vigorously developed within the lower ranks and within the great force of the masses. Hence, we must intensify organizational knowledge education, raise discipline, and guarantee that we speak and perform the directives and resolutions of the Party and government correctly. We must also strengthen vigilance and we must be security conscious, combating liberalism, lack of discipline, separatism, parochialism, and regionalism. At the same time, we must strengthen the expansion of democracy, combating bureaucracy and officialdom, arbitrariness in the cadre and Party members, truly guaranteeing the people's right of collective rule.

The anti-American and national salvation resistance movement to protect the North and liberate the South is not just the national responsibility. It is also the international responsibility of our people. Our people's struggle is being actively supported by the countries in the socialist camp and by the world's peoples -- including the American people -- who are empathetically and vigorously giving us their support. The entire Party, the entire military, and all our people must raise the international proletarian spirit even higher and be determined to fulfill our international righteous duty. At the same time, we must uplift the

people's proud spirit, their self-governing, independent spirit, subduing and overcoming dependence, self-abasement and narrowness of thought.

While struggling to subdue and overcome incorrect thought, we must maintain strict centralized thought, mainly overcoming and subduing expressions of rightist and conservative thought. At the same time, we must continue to resist the influence of present day revisionism, subduing and overcoming the diseases of dogma, systematic rules, and mechanization.

Concerning the foreign aspect, we must still continue to struggle against revisionism and rightist opportunism for these are the principal perils in the international communist movement. Simultaneously, we should combat dogmatism and factionalism, guaranteeing the pureness of Marxism-Leninism, restoring and strengthening unity in the socialist camp and in the international communist movement.

Manifesting the experiences of 1965, the 1966 ideological program must strengthen the character of the ideology and the character of the struggle, thus collectively guaranteeing -- both timely and sharply -- that it is tightly attached to the concrete mission of each branch and of each locale. And it should be tightly joined to the organizational program. We need to go even deeper into other things, paying particular attention to educating the cadre, Party members, and especially the leadership cadre at the levels and branches. We must educate the youth, particularly the leadership cadre of the Youth Worker Group. We need to pay even more attention to the mountains, the sea, and the territory of the compatriots who follow the Catholic faith.

Following the duties and directions outlined above, we need to achieve the great measures which follow: make the whole Party, the entire military, and all the people thoroughly understand the new responsibilities and situation, making sure they understand the duties of the 1966 Government Plan; step-up propaganda and education on revolutionary heroism; intensify education on economic management and technical scientific management, particularly in agriculture and industry; intensify the study of military science and the study of people's wars; continue to vigorously improve the educational program on logic and politics in the Party school system; strengthen the ideological program so as to serve in building a stable Party and in changing the inclination of the organizational program; intensify the propaganda program abroad, which serves so well in the anti-American and national salvation task of our people. And in order to guarantee successful fulfillment of those measures, we must: strengthen the research of logic programs so as to raise the material and persuasive character of the ideological program; improve and intensify the organization of study at the various levels, making sure the organization corresponds to the program's duties; and continue to strengthen the leadership of the Party regarding the ideological program.

Just as in 1965, we are again this year carrying on the ideological program under very favorable conditions. Our Party has the ways and means to combat the Americans and save the nation. The anti-American and national salvation of the troops and people in the two areas is developing strongly and gaining great success. The ideological program has a



direct and all-encompassing outlook. Moreover, we still retain the very useful lessons of experience of the 1965 ideological program.

By relying on those basic advantages mentioned above, developing those results that have been achieved, and overcoming the existent shortcomings and weaknesses in the echelons, branches, and "branches of service" on the ideological front, we will raise the revolutionary assault spirit even higher. We will bring the truth and ideology of the Party as well as understanding on science, transmitting it to the people. Then we will transform those things into concrete activity on the part of the people in the anti-American, national salvation and building the North task. That is the responsibility and prideful duty of those warriors on the cultural and ideological front.

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CSO: 3520-D



THIRTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE LAO DONG YOUTH GROUP

[Following is a translation of an article by To Huu in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No 3, March 1966, pp 7-12.]

As in any country the role of youth in a revolution is a very important one. In our country the young generations are being taught and trained by our Party and are always the vanguard forces in the various stages of the revolution. Vietnamese youth in both North and South during this present glorious undertaking to withstand the United States, save the country and build socialism are becoming more and more deserving of the praise Chairman Ho bestowed on them, "A brave generation in a brave period of time."

The youth of South Vietnam have throughout the past ten years bravely gone to the forefront of the patriotic struggle to counter the United States and its lackeys and they have performed many outstanding feats of arms and upheld the glowing example of revolutionary heroism.

The youth of North Vietnam, filled with love of country and love of socialism and with a daily rising political, cultural and scientific level, have become a powerful vanguard unit on the production, combat and cultural fronts and in building a new life.

Carried out under the leadership of our Party the swift maturing of the youth has been one of the most outstanding successes of the revolution and something in which one can justifiably find encouragement and pride. It is one of the most certain guarantees for the victory of the anti-U.S.-national salvation task and the success of building socialism.

These brilliant results are chiefly due to the Party's having placed great emphasis on its youth work. Chairman Ho, in particular, has always been interested in the training and education of the younger generation.

The various youth organizations, especially the Lao Dong Youth Group, have played a positive role in uniting, teaching

and mobilizing male and female youth to advance forward under the flag of the Party.

Clearly, our work in mobilizing youth has provided tremendous successes and rich experiences. But the glorious revolutionary tasks now demand that we advance at a faster pace and with greater strength in order to defeat the American aggressors, liberate South Vietnam, preserve the socialist North and move toward the unification of the fatherland. Moreover we must gain a profound understanding of the weaknesses in the present youth work so that we can struggle to correct them.

Among some of the cadre of the Party, government and Youth Group there are matters which are not yet clearly understood which are affecting the development of the revolutionary forces of the young.

First of all, we must once again emphasize the great role and potential of youth in the present revolutionary undertaking of our country, the work of countering the United States, saving the country and building socialism.

More than ever before, the decisive struggle against the American aggressors, the most vicious and cruel of the imperialists, and the struggle to build socialism while facing all the problems of wartime, demand from each one of us a heart burning with love of country and love of socialism and aglow with revolutionary heroism; total trust in the leadership and line of the Party; a spirit of determination to fight and determination to win and of continuing to attack; the audacity to forget about one's self and overcome every difficulty and hardship; a spirit of cooperation; a high sense of organization and discipline; and an active and urgent behavior toward the timeliness of every situation. Our youth today are the children of revolutionary people; they have been taught and trained by the Party and have proven in real situations that they possess many virtues.

The present glorious revolutionary task demands from each of us an essential scientific understanding concerning every aspect of the task but especially concerning production and combat so that we can create and apply in the conditions of our country a mind eager to think about finding new things, studying new things and doing new things so that today will be better than yesterday and we will never tread water. Our youth today are a new generation of the socialist system who have proven in real situations that they are quite capable of quickly digesting scientific and technical instruction and very eager to study about and invent new things in order to make the best contribution to the fatherland.

With these virtues and abilities our younger generation today constitutes a very great force with upwards to four million male and female youths in the 16 to 30 age group. If completely organized and closely guided this unit of four million people "loyal to the Party and faithful to the people" will be fully capable of "moving the mountains and filling the sea, of completing every duty, of overcoming every difficulty and vanquishing every enemy." This strength is really endless because it is

always being taught and nourished by the Party and the socialist system and also because there will always be millions of young people hereafter. We have today more than eight million young persons and young children and just in the 6 to 15 year old age group, there are nearly six million. Our four million young men and women have a very great responsibility to teach and give example to these young children as Uncle Ho instructed in a letter he sent to the young people on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the National Resistance.

Of these four million people at present more than 1,200,000 are members of the Lao Dong Youth Group and it is completely possible and necessary that additional millions of aggressive people be brought into the ranks of the Youth Group so that the Group will become a powerful arm and very great reserve force for the Party and become a school for training and selecting outstanding young people to become Party members and good cadre for the Party and government.

This is the number one problem and all of our young people and our cadre and Party members, especially government and Party cadre at the various echelons and branches, must clearly understand it so that they can develop to the highest level the strength and role of the revolutionary youths. At present, many cadre at the various echelons and in the various branches and groups, including the Youth Group, do not fully understand the role and ability of youth in the revolution and many of them also have confused ideas and mistaken preconceptions about the young people. Because of the surviving influence of feudalist thinking these cadre fail to see the strong points of the young and do not actively support or encourage them but on the contrary often dampen their enthusiasm and creativity. Some of the older cadre also fall into the habit of the head of the family who is indifferent to his children not taking the time to listen to the anxieties, aspirations and ideas of the young people. Young women are especially penalized because of prejudices from the old society which favored men and slighted women etc.. These mistaken attitudes have given birth to many other shortcomings, particularly narrow mindedness and conservatism in the organization, teaching and utilization of youth.

We must promptly unite and draw in all four million male and female youths to organizations actively "opposing the United States and saving the country" and we must expand and strengthen the ranks of the Lao Dong Youth Group as the nucleus of the youth forces.

During the past year of the "anti-U.S.-national salvation" movement the Lao Dong Youth Group, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, launched the movement of "three principles of combat readiness" attracting millions of excited young people. A new organization was established as the "Anti-U.S.-National Salvation Vanguard Youth Unit" with two different types of organization: concentrated and in establishments. Fifty-thousand male and female youths in the concentrated vanguard

youth units showed their great courage and daily increasing efficiency in guaranteeing communications and transportation. The vanguard youth units organized in a number of the farm co-operatives and industrial establishments have been brilliantly effective in uniting nearly all of the young people, in stepping up production, in strengthening the combat force, in cultural development and in building a new life. This organization at present is swiftly expanding throughout all the establishments. The initiative in organizing anti-U.S.-national salvation vanguard youth units during this period has been very much in keeping with the requirements of the revolution and the aspirations of our young people. The various echelons of Party and government leadership and of the army and other groups must devote great attention to guiding and assisting the Lao Dong Youth Group, organize and supervise well the activities of the anti-U.S.-national salvation vanguard youth units and progress to the point where all four million young people belong to these units in order to develop the forces of the young to the highest level on the production, combat and cultural fronts and in building a new life in the cities and countryside, in the delta and in the mountain area. Each Lao Dong Youth Group member in the Anti-U.S.-national salvation vanguard youth units organized and led by the Lao Dong Youth Group must be a nucleus of his unit and a motivational force in the unit. The Youth Group members must unify, assist, guide and give example to the young people outside the Group to do their work well and make progress every day.

At present the Lao Dong Youth Group is too narrow; it must recruit many more aggressive youths in order to expand its ranks. In the coming years with the growth of young people it will be possible to organize into the Group very many aggressive young people in the 15 to 30 age group. This is a work of great importance for forging aggressive young people into people with the ideals and virtues of communism and with great loyalty to the fatherland and socialism.

We must criticize narrowminded attitudes regarding aggressive youths in production and combat and the attitude of forgetting about the responsibility of the Group toward slowly progressing youths and youths still suffering from mistaken preconceptions caused by their class background or by shortcomings in the past.

We must understand that bringing all the youths into anti-U.S.-national salvation youth units and recruiting aggressive youths into the Group in order to teach them and train them makes it possible for them to advance and make the best contribution to the revolutionary work, making them grow in love of the fatherland and love for the people and become more attached to the socialist system. This is also the best way to thwart and eradicate the bad influences of the enemy and of the old exploiting class among our people and make it possible for all of our young people to advance to future brilliance.

The "Three Principles of Combat Readiness" movement in conjunction with the anti-U.S.-national salvation vanguard youth units and the Lao Dong Youth Group is very good for teaching and training our young people about love of country and love of socialism, about the ideals and virtues of communism and about revolutionary heroism.

In discussing the work of teaching youth Lenin pointed out: "The younger generation only can study communism after it has joined each step of its study, education and training to the unending struggle of the proletariat and working people against the old society of exploiting group... We place no faith in training and teaching and study if these things are performed only in the schools and away from the tumultuous life." (1) Lenin also said: "To be a member of the Youth Group one must bring his labor and energy to the service of the common task. That principally is the teaching of communism. Only in this way can young people, whether male or female, become genuine communists. They will become communists only after they have learned how to do work with concrete results." (2)

Our experience during the past few years has completely proven those words. In teaching ideology and virtue as well as scientific and technical knowledge we have learned to admire and respect the value of people and groups that are brave and progressive. The resplendent examples of the combat and sacrifice of revolutionary heroism by Nguyen Van Troi, Nguyen Viet Xuan and many of our courageous groups have had a very large effect on teaching and mobilizing the youth and on developing their revolutionary ardor. The youth are a class of young, healthy, happy and life-loving people; sports, physical education and cultural activities are very important for developing in them a spirit of revolutionary optimism and for creating a happy and healthy way of life for them.

The Lao Dong Youth Group and the anti-U.S.-national salvation vanguard youth teams must be training places for our youth to acquire substantive and courageous experience in production, combat and service, places for strengthening their revolutionary enthusiasm, for raising their ideological and cultural levels, for increasing their cultural, scientific and technical knowledge and for improving their health, helping them become new men in every respect, guaranteeing the victory of the anti-U.S.-national salvation task and the success of socialist construction.

The decisive matter in achieving the goal of uniting, organizing, teaching and training four million male and female youths is the strengthening and training of a strong cadre corps for the Lao Dong Youth Group including young members active among the youth. The cadre of the Youth Group have to this time been very devoted to activities and made many efforts and much progress. But in the face of the new requirements of the revolution and of the large youth movement at the present time it

is necessary to supplement the training of the youth cadre in every respect but especially in relation to the scientific and technical, economic and military aspects. We must also train a very large number of new cadre to be chosen from the outstanding youth in production and combat, in scientific, technical, educational and cultural activities in other operational branches. We must place great emphasis on strengthening and training and increasing the number of female youth cadre in the leadership ranks of the Group and in the organizations and activities of youths, assuring that each echelon has a deputy secretary who is a woman.

The best way to strengthen and develop youth cadre is to boldly entrust them with responsibility for organizations and activities appropriate to their abilities and gradually and solidly raise their abilities. At the same time we must resolve to create the conditions favorable to rapidly raising their cultural and occupational levels. These are very important duties to which the Lao Dong Youth Group at every echelon must give special attention. The youth cadre must be people who know how "to organize and unite all the coming generations and give example in teaching and maintaining discipline in the struggle..."<sup>(3)</sup> They must be people with correct thinking and action and they must enjoy the trust of the youths. For this reason in consonance with educating them we must pay attention to investigating the quality and capability of the youth cadre and to giving them timely encouragement in their strong points and timely criticism for their shortcomings. We should not permit cadre who are deficient in virtue to occupy positions of responsibility at the various echelons and we must give attention to making more reasonable assignments for cadre who are very lacking in operational ability. Group secretaries in the establishments should not change assignments, especially in a situation where there is a change in a new direction organizationally, but should remain for a minimum period of two years in order to assure the completion of the new task.

Leadership from all Party committee echelons and assistance from government organs and from other mass groups are essential conditions for the correct orientation and success of the youth activities. The concern shown by the various echelons of the Party leadership in particular has a very important effect. Chairman Ho and the other leadership comrades of the Party are always concerned in every respect with the younger generation. Experience has shown that those localities and branches which devote attention to youth work and which know how to rely on the forces of Group members and youth will produce a movement with great energy and spirit. And conversely, those places which fail to give attention to young people will find that the work is done leisurely and the spirit of the people becomes stunted with age.

In order to give good leadership to the youth work at each echelon the Party committee must have a very responsible



comrade and a group to seek to understand the situation, aspirations and ideas of the cadre and youth on every aspect of activity. They must regard the youth as comrades and young friends and with their whole heart lovingly assist, teach and stimulate them, making them continually enthusiastic for revolutionary activity and deeply respectful of their Party leadership. Only in this way, under the flag of Party leadership can they develop their spiritual and material strength and attract all the people to go forward and win a complete success for the revolutionary task.

- (1) Lenin, "The Mission of the Youth Group", Selected Works, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Volume II, Part II, page 449.
- (2) Lenin, Book Has Guided, pages 451-452.
- (3) Lenin, "The Mission of the Youth Group," Selected Works, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Vol II, Part II, page 450

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UNDERSTANDING THE PARTY PRECEPT ON  
MOBILIZING WOMEN IN THE NEW SITUATION

[Following is a translation of an article by Nguyen Thi Thap, in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, March 1966, pages 13-21.]

We must now after a full year of pushing the "three responsibilities" movement and after nearly one year of carrying out the directive of the Party Central Committee on the policy and mission of mobilizing women in the new situation, appraise the development of the women's movement and review the leadership of the Party toward the movement in order to more completely and thoroughly understand the Party line on the mobilization of women, steadfastly working to step up the growth of the women's movement.

Within the fullblown anti-U.S.-national salvation movement "the three responsibilities" movement has developed rapidly and increased its strength twofold over normal. The various classes of women, especially working and peasant women, rich in traditions of patriotism and hard work, are today more and more displaying their revolutionary ardor, ability, intelligence and wisdom in production work, service to combat and participation in combat, collective economic management and government administration, in taking care of their families and in encouraging their husbands and sons to serve in combat. The examples of women courageously joining in battle and serving the fighting and models of units composed of women and individual women producing well and managing skillfully are budding forth more and more. The factories and worksites where the majority of the workers are women such as the Thanh Long cigarette factory, the Dong Xuan textile factory, the Thong Nhat salt factory, the 8-3 textile factory, the Kim Lien construction worksite, the canned fish factory, the silk factory, the accent factory, etc... have all completed the government plan beyond the levels required and in advance of the deadline. In agricultural production there has never been a year when the transplanting and harvesting and the carrying out of the foodstuff obligation for the

tenth-month and fifth-month harvests has been accomplished as swiftly and economically as last year. The more fiercely the battle with enemy aircraft is waged in the various places the more quickly the women do the harvesting and transplanting. Last year was also the year that many provinces reached their highest ratio of land transplanted according to a technique. The average ratio in the 13 rice important provinces was 17% during the tenth-month crop and 28% during the fifth-month crop. Hai Duong Province, although it had tens of thousands of hectares of rice inundated, still transplanted 83% of its hectareage in straight rows. The Dong Phuong Hong Cooperative (Thanh Hoa) with Comrade Khenh as secretary of the Party cell and The Thuong Hamlet Cooperative in Vinh Tuong District (Vinh Phuc) with Comrade Lat as chief net an average of roughly seven metric tons annually placing them in the front ranks of high rice productivity in all of North Vietnam.

During the one year of training in the new stage of revolutionary development tens of thousands of progressive women in production and combat participated in economic management and government administration. The number of women serving as chiefs of cooperatives, production unit chiefs, chairmen or deputy chairmen of administrative committees etc., has increased faster than one can estimate. In the provinces of Hai Duong, Hung Yen, Ninh Binh, Vinh Phuc and Thanh Hoa the number of women cadre in the establishments has increased fourfold and in some places seven fold. There has also never before been any period in industry when the ratio of recruitment of women workers into the skilled branches was as high as last year (the light industry branch reached a ratio of 73% and some enterprises in Hanoi reached a ratio higher than 60%). The number of female workers and functionaries being trained and utilized in the technical production branches and in specialized occupational branches such as accounting and statistics, and the number of women promoted to responsible positions in enterprise such as production team chief, shift chief, manager and deputy manager of workshop detachments, director and deputy director of enterprises have all risen. The number of female Party members admitted during the first six months of 1965 throughout North Vietnam was 19% of the total number of new Party members admitted, the highest ratio ever. In some places like Ninh Binh 24% of the total number of Party members admitted during the first two quarters were women and 41% during the third quarter were women. The number of women being trained and promoted shows that they have the ability to struggle and overcome every difficulty and obstacle in completing well their duties. Through the "three responsibilities" movement the political, ideological, cultural, technical, scientific, qualitative and moral level of women has been continually raised. The growth of the women's movement during the past year has increased everyone's confidence in their ability and in the effectiveness of the women's movement

in the revolutionary task in general.

The aforementioned fast development of the women's movement has been accomplished through the efforts of the women themselves but it is also a result of close leadership by all Party committee echelons in the local areas and in the branches.

However, there are also a number of Party segments which treat the work of mobilizing women lightly or which are confused about the way to lead the women's movement. This situation has had an adverse effect on developing the great untapped revolutionary resource of women in the overall anti-U.S.-national salvation movement and in the socialist revolution. One of the causes of this deficiency is that a number of cadre and Party members have not thoroughly understood the Party line, task, and work precept on mobilizing women during the present stage of the revolution.

Women workers in our country, especially the peasant and laboring women, have traditionally been hard workers and played a very important role in agricultural and industrial production. At present women farmers comprise 60% and in some places 80% of the farm labor force in cooperatives. They are skilled in nearly every type of farm work such as harrowing, transplanting and harvesting, fertilizing... They also play the principal role in rearing, especially in the rearing of families. Female workers and functionaries at present constitute 22.09% of the total number of workers and functionaries in the government sector and they are concentrated essentially in the light industry, commercial, public health, and education branches etc.. In time of war the rear area is a continual factor in guaranteeing victory. In order that anti-U.S.-national salvation war will achieve victory our Party absolutely must mobilize every latent and great resource of the rear area in the service of the Front line. Consequently, developing the strong spirit of the anti-U.S.-national salvation "three responsibilities" movement is a very important political task which is aimed at mobilizing the great labor force of women, primarily the laboring and peasant women, to "step up production, protect production, serve life and serve combat the first of which duties are stepping up production and protecting production." [See Note] And to contribute to enlisting the economic and political base of the rear area in the service of the national defense and in the service of the front lines. Naturally, when necessary, women also participate in combat and, indeed, they have established many records in combat; but essentially they have shown their greatest ability in stepping up production, protecting production, serving life and serving combat. The reason this is so is that in time of war as well as in time of peace our Party emanates from the common interest of the revolution and, based on the ability of each circle, makes the most rational and advantageous assignment of the forces of the masses.

[Note]: Directive 99/OT-TU of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee on the mobilization of women in the new stage.]

During the anti-U.S.-national salvation campaign we must continue the task of building socialism in North Vietnam and prepare every condition so that, following the defeat of the American imperialists and the return of peaceful construction, we can step up the work of socialist construction. Consequently, in the process of developing the important working force of women in the skilled branches to replace the men who have gone to battle, the Party has advocated that above all we "strengthen the rational use of every working resource of the women classes on the production front, primarily utilizing women in agricultural production and in the skilled branches suited to health and ability of women. [See Note] Principally because of this our Party has placed great emphasis on the training of women with the aim of "quickly raising the women's production management and technical management level. [See Note]

[Note]: Directive 99/CT-TU of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee on mobilizing women in the new stage.

Moreover, the process of socialist revolution is a process of building, consolidating and strengthening the proletarian dictatorship. A system of proletarian dictatorship can only be strong on the basis of a genuine socialist democracy in which the worker and poor peasant masses including both men and women possess a high level of political and ideological awareness, a stable cultural, scientific and technical level and the determination and ability to take over the power of economic management and government administration. The work of mobilizing women proposed by the Party is an indispensable element in the overall work of mobilizing the masses which is done in order to build up the forces of the working class and make a strong political base for the proletarian dictatorship. It must aim at training and promoting the vast numbers of women, especially poor worker and peasant women, because they are the people who were most exploited in the old society and who were penalized most in regard to cultural, scientific and technical training, the results of which penalizing are still with us today. The present "three responsibilities" movement is an extremely good opportunity for raising the level and developing the potential of women across the board because there is no training and assistance as swift and effective as revolutionary reality.

The second requirement of the task of mobilizing women proposed in the directive of the Party Central Committee has a profoundly class content and if that content is not thoroughly understood it will not be possible to have complete dedication to the work of implementing the Party directive. At the present time there still are a number of cadre and Party members in various leadership organs of the Party and government, especially in the Party segments of the bases, who still do not want to recruit women workers into the skilled branches that are suited to the ability and strength of women, who do not regard as important the work of increasing the cultural, technical and

specialized occupational training of women, who have a narrow minded and strict attitude toward the training and promotion of women cadre, etc... Some comrades believe that the use of women workers to replace the male workers who have gone to combat is only a temporary matter brought on by wartime necessity; they reveal their indifference to the work potential of women. This is an extremely mistaken view. Working women in our country are a large force in production and revolution. The long revolutionary experience of our country has proven that without mobilizing women to join the revolution cannot succeed. The training and utilization of the ever-increasing force of women is required by the growth of the revolution. It is not only now in a wartime situation that we stress increasing the use of women workers; but after the war when we move into a period of peaceful construction we must place emphasis on attracting great numbers of women to join in the work of building the country.

In the present "three responsibilities" movement there are very many outstanding women, especially female peasant and worker youths, strong and full of revolutionary ardor, who have appeared and are now appearing in production and combat. Because of the special attention the Party paid to strengthening and promoting them the ranks of women cadre during the past year more than doubled over what they were before. In order to properly carry out the work of fostering and promoting women cadre we must, when examining their standard of quality and ability, avoid being severe; we must have a sympathetic understanding of the special difficulties of women cadre in regard to personal strength, work level and familial situation, etc...; and we must try to create favorable conditions for women cadre to struggle ahead. But to say that absolutely does not mean that we should ignore the general cadre line and policy of the Party. In promoting women cadre we must examine their standard of quality and talent, their opinions and class viewpoint. To fail to do this would be dangerous because women cadre who are promoted without meeting the standards will not be able to discharge their responsibilities; they will not be worthy of the trust of the Party and masses. It is not in the best interests of the revolution to make promotions in such a fashion.

The second requirement, especially emphasized by the directive of the Party Central Committee on mobilizing women at the present time concerns the matter of the life and welfare of women and children. Women constitute a vast production force among the people. Children are the budding sprouts of the fatherland and are the future builders of society. Children must be carefully cared for. The care of children is essentially done by women. The health of the women is directly related to the health of the children. If the mother is strong the child will be strong. Only by arranging for the proper care of children can we guarantee that women will produce and fight well. Women, together with all the people, are dedicated to the fight

against the United States and for national salvation for the sake of national liberation, of class liberation, of socialist revolution. In order to mobilize women both to step up production and to fight victoriously then, hand in hand with the essential work of ideological and political instruction, we must strengthen their health to the proper level. The position of our Party is that even in a wartime situation we must pay attention to the life of the masses. That point of view of the Party reflects the revolutionary character of a proletarian party, reflects the class line of the Party. If we fail to thoroughly understand the profoundly revolutionary meaning of this point in the Party directive we will be susceptible to a tendency to negativism and apathy, of not being able to put up with the effort of trying to solve the problem of providing for the life of the masses, especially of the women and children, in this wartime atmosphere. This tendency has cropped up in a number of cadre and Party members, especially when the fighting first breaks out. In some areas the organization of children's groups and children's houses were dissolved. The problem of social welfare has been regarded as "hard to solve" in time of war. But actual experience has been completely to the contrary; in fighting and in urgent work the masses have solved this problem very aggressively and creatively. On a small, narrow piece of land in Quang Binh where day-by-day and hour-by-hour they must fight fiercely against American aircraft the mothers not only continued to build and consolidate the daily children's group but also organized it into a children's camp in order to guarantee that the work of caring for the children would be carried out and to create conditions favorable to the mothers' being able to work night and day in producing well and fighting victoriously. In many provinces that have had extremely fierce combat with American aircraft the number of children's groups and children's houses at first declined but just a few months later increased threefold and is increasing more and more every day. For example, in Trung Son Cooperative in Thieu Nguyen Township, Thieu Hoa District (Thanh Hoa) American aircraft bombed and cruelly murdered a children's group with four children, but just several months later three other children's groups were established in the same place. The care and protection of children has also been done more carefully as in Quang Binh and Vinh Linh. The initial children's groups and children's houses have become children's camps assuring that the children will be cared for night and day and the day schools have become residential schools. These organizations all require the provision of better management. In urgent fighting and working conditions the women not only must have children's groups and children's houses but they also must better organize collective cookings in the organs and enterprises; they must develop the common cooking organization in the agricultural cooperatives at harvest time; rationalize the supply of grains and foodstuffs on the spot; and better develop the trade activities of the cooperatives so they serve



rural life. The campaign for hygiene and disease prevention has also become more urgent not only to preserve the precious working strength of our people during this time but also to cope with the cunning tricks of the American imperialists.

The continual development of public welfare work during the past year has proven that it is untrue to say that in time of war the masses no longer have needs or that the conditions for developing programs of collective welfare no longer exist; on the contrary, the needs of the masses in this respect grow even larger both quantitatively and qualitatively and regardless of the situation these needs can be fulfilled.

Our Party has placed great emphasis on and regularly attended to the problem of the life of the masses during time of war. But, at present, many cadre and Party members still treat this matter lightly and fail to see the inseparable relationship between this matter and production and combat. In leading combat as well as in leading socialist production, if we fail to give the proper attention to this problem the revolutionary ardor of the masses can suffer limitations.

The directive of the Party Central Committee also emphasizes a third requirement of the work of mobilizing women in the present situation and that is that we must regard as extremely important the task of giving political and ideological instruction to the women in order to assure the proper completion of the policies of the Party and government, especially the foodstuffs policy, the policy on economizing and the policy on management of the marketplace. This requirement also has developed from real situations. The women of our country are not only people who are directly involved in production labor in the ricefields, workcamps and enterprises but they also are "the people who hold the key chest of the family." Once they have become imbued with the positions and policy of the Party and government women become an extremely important force in carrying out those policies.

We are in a wartime situation in North Vietnam but from city to countryside the life of the masses remains steady and the market prices are basically unchanged. This is a phenomenon seldom seen in countries at war. This is only possible because of the existence of strong mass bases. Women have made a worthy contribution in this regard. They have worked and produced well and in so doing have supplied foodstuffs, grains, and consumer goods to the army and people and, at the same time, actively helped in maintaining the proper level of distribution and consumption and remained prepared to overcome every difficulty and shortage to secure victory for the fatherland. In the past year women throughout North Vietnam have enthusiastically developed anti-U.S.-national salvation economization jars of rice, increased the saving and depositing of money in banks and credit cooperatives, etc... However, a number of cadre and Party members have still failed to see that this problem is an important

requirement in the present effort of mobilizing women.

The fourth requirement of the present task of mobilizing women is to enlist every resource of the women in the service of combat and in participation in combat. This requirement has been carried out very well. In places where fighting has occurred "mother fighter" associations have been organized and rapidly developed. The female component of the militia and guerrillas in many places comprises up to 40% of the unit. Many female militia units have won the appellation of "determined to win units." In the tasks of military training, preserving order and serving combat and participating in combat many female units and individuals have established rather good records and contributed worthily to building and consolidating the regional armed forces. However, there are some comrades who, at the present time, only pay attention to the work of organizing women to serve the fighting and to participate in combat and who treat lightly the other basic requirements of the work of mobilizing women. The reason for this is that they lack a thorough and deep understanding of the basic duty and requirement of the task of mobilizing women during the present stage of the revolution. When fighting actually occurs naturally the most pressing requirement is service to the fighting and participation in the fighting. But after the enemy leaves we must again concentrate on production and construction. Therefore, the duty of women essentially is to step up and protect production and build up the rear area in order to serve the front lines. And in order to accomplish this we cannot fail to devote attention to the series of problems such as organizing a rational deployment of the women's working forces, organize the life and welfare of women and children, etc...

In order to strengthen the leadership of the Party in the present mobilization of women the basic problem is to make the cadre and Party members thoroughly understand the basic position and viewpoint of the Party on the subject of the liberation of women and on class liberation, on national liberation, and on having the correct class viewpoint and mass viewpoint in leading and guiding every aspect of socialist construction. And, in addition, we must more clearly determine responsibilities and principles and methods of organizing and leading the task of mobilizing the women that are suited to the new situation. In conditions where socialist production relationships have taken form and been consolidated and where the female masses have become tightly organized socialist labor forces in every skilled branch, the work of mobilizing women workers cannot simply rely on the teaching and political mobilization of the various groups such as labor, youth and women groups, but must also carry out the task through the many financial and economic methods, through carrying out the laws and systems and policies of the socialist government, through the activities of the various branches and economic, cultural and occupational organs, etc... Because of this our Party continually emphasizes "The whole Party must

thoroughly understand how to lead the work of mobilizing the women."

Under the leadership of the various Party committee echelons the close coordination of the activities of the Women's Association (such as a broad united front organization of the various women's classes) with the leadership of the various branches toward the work of mobilizing the women is an important factor in steadfastly stepping up the development of women's movement. The women's mobilization committee, the various economic and occupational branches and the specialized agencies of the Party and government are all responsible for studying and directing the implementation under the overall leadership of the Party committee of the basic concerns of the women's movement such as political and ideological instruction directed at building a new generation of women; rational assignment and utilization of the women's working forces in the various economic and occupational branches; concern for the interests and social welfare of women and children; developing the ranks of women cadre, developing the capabilities of women and mobilizing great numbers of women to participate in economic management and government administration, etc..

The responsibility of the Party committees at the various echelons (including the Party committees in the bases) is to set up discussion meetings and listen to the reports and make specific resolutions concerning the mobilization of women. The women's mobilization committee and the Party cadre and members responsible for mobilizing women must help the Party committee study, review and propose various problems. But we absolutely cannot give a blanket authorization for that work to a number of women cadre acting solely in accordance with the vertical leadership system of the Women's Association. This method of leadership is incompatible with the socialist relationships in North Vietnam at present and consequently has very largely limited the development of the women's movement and made it impossible to guarantee the implementation of the Party line and policy on the question of women in the various branches and at the various echelons. Experience in leading the mobilization of women at a number of Party committee echelons during the past year has proven that any place which receives the attention and leadership of its Party committee and which carries out well the coordination of the activities among the various branches concerned with the mobilization of women will be very effective in stepping up the movement. For example, in regard to the position on training and promoting women cadre to participate in the management of farm cooperatives Thanh Thuy District (Phu Tho) paid a great amount of attention to making certain the Party committee of the base was thoroughly knowledgeable. The district committee suggested to the organization section and to the Party that the women's group study and supervise the establishment of a pilot model and for four years fostered its growth, regularly using the actual experiences from it to teach the cadre and Party



members. The result is that up to now Thanh Thuy District has reached the highest level in all of North Vietnam in regard to the training and promotion of women cadre (25% of cooperative directors and 20% of production unit chiefs are women and 73% of the townships in the district have female chairmen or deputy chairman of their administrative committees). Three times during the past year Hai Duong Province held meetings of the Party committees at the various echelons to discuss the work of women cadre and the welfare of women and children, and concerning Party leadership of the mobilization of women. Principally because of this Hai Duong was the first province to set up specific regulations on the indexes of the plan for training and promoting women cadre and for carrying out a system of aiding women cadre. Because of this the number of women cadre participating in leadership positions in the bases rose six or seven times during the past year. Hai Duong was also the province which reached the highest percentage in all of North Vietnam in regard to the setting up of children's groups, children's houses and nurseries: 75% of the cooperatives in the province have children's groups and nurseries. At the present time the province has opened more than 200 "three responsibilities" women's schools for supplemental cultural and technical training of women cadre. The Office of Education and the Women's Association in Hai Duong worked closely together in supervising this movement and have future plans for the development of thousands of schools like these in the hamlets and townships and cooperatives. Other provinces such as Hanoi, Haiphong, Thanh Hoa and Phu Tho... have had resolutions from their Party committees on the mobilization of women. The Provinces of Ninh Binh and Nam Ha and the light industrial branches and farm sites have set up special training schools for women cadre in culture, political and occupational matters and economic management... Many Party schools at the various echelons and the occupational schools of the branches have raised the female ratio in their student recruitment plans and regard the problem of mobilizing women as part of their curriculum.

Experience has proven that in order to properly lead the women's movement the various echelons of Party committees must try to develop the initiative of the women's mobilization committee and women's groups of the Party at the various echelons in studying, and making proposals regarding the mobilization of women. At the present time nearly every branch and every sector has women cadre. These cadre are responsible for studying and carrying out the policies and positions on mobilizing women in the branches. In addition, these branches also have the responsibility of proposing policies to serve the women's movement in general. In order to fully develop the abilities of women cadre and help the branches mentioned above carry out well their women's mobilization, the women's mobilization committee must supervise the contents of the movement for the cadre in the various branches and initiate close contact with the branches in

studying and proposing policies on the mobilization of women and organize, supervise and review the implementation of the policies and positions which the Party and government have decided. If the women's mobilization committee and the women's groups of the Party fail to develop their own effectiveness in this regard it will limit the leadership of the Party committee at the various echelons and make it impossible for carrying out the proper coordination with the various branches on the mobilization of women.

In order to contribute to the strengthening of Party leadership vis-a-vis the mobilization of women we must develop a spirit of aggressiveness in the women themselves. The women of our country are very rich in patriotism. The strong points of women in our country are perseverance in work and courage in combat. Side by side these strong points the women also have some weak points left over from the old society. Because of this we must increase the political and ideological training of women in order to develop the revolutionary traditions of the women and create the conditions for them to carry out their political duties during the new stage of the revolution. We must continue to raise our understanding of women in relation to the new situation and duty, buttress their love of country and love of socialism, and uplift their thinking, morality and working abilities. We must help them struggle to become new women with a high revolutionary ardor, with a spirit of collective management, with a sense of self-sufficiency and of mutual help; we must help them study literature and occupational and technical subjects; we must help them raise their managerial and leadership level; we must help them to raise their productivity, organize the lives of their families well, teach their children well and carry out the policies of the government and Party and overcome negativism, fear of difficulties, fear of sacrifice, etc... If the revolutionary awareness of the women rises the "three responsibilities" movement will also grow stronger. The stronger the "three responsibilities" movement grows the more women will be able to contribute to the anti-U.S.-national salvation effort of all the people.

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WOMEN IN THE SOUTH ARE BRAVELY  
FIGHTING THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS  
AND THEIR LACKEYS

[Following is a translation of an article by Professor  
Nguyen Thi-Binh, Vice-President of the United Women's  
Association for the Liberation of South Vietnam,  
in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies),  
Hanoi, March 1966, pp. 22-27]

In the long Resistance against the French colonialists and American interventionists, the women in the South, along with their counterparts in other parts of the country, had made their worthy contributions. After the victorious Resistance against the French, they have again, with their compatriots in the South, stood up to fight against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to liberate the South and to achieve national reunification. Continuing and developing the indomitable fighting spirit of the Vietnamese people in general and of the Vietnamese women in particular, the women in the South have further developed and are still developing their revolutionary energy, scoring new victories on the Fatherland's front line and bringing glory to all Vietnamese women.

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Over the past 11 years, the U.S. imperialists have actively attempted to impose their new colonialism in the South in the hope of transforming the southern part of our country into a new American colony and military base, taking over the North and attacking the socialist camp. To achieve their dark aims, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have resorted to all barbarous means to kill and massacre our compatriots in the South. Especially since 1961, they have been carrying out a criminal war of aggression, trampling upon our people's desire for peace, independence and democracy. The people in the South, particularly the working women, have been suffering from a series of the imperialist policies such as "denunciation of Communism", concentration of people in "aggrovilles" and "resettlement centers," impoverishment of people, debauchment of youth, etc. The women in the South have been

increasingly exploited and oppressed by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. They have to work like slaves day and night in plantations and factories while being paid with very low wages, or if they are peddlers and merchants they have to pay very high taxes and fines and make continuous contributions to the puppet government. The enemy's terror and war policy has brought untold sufferings to thousands of families, both morally and physically: fathers are separated from children, husbands from wives, hunger and cold, diseases, etc. Over the past 11 years in the South, the enemy has killed 250,000 women and children, arrested, tortured and permanently disabled 40,000 women and is still imprisoning 40,000 others. This does not include the annual number of 70,000 women living in the enemy-occupied zone, who, because being deprived of all living means, have to prostitute themselves. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have committed atrocious crimes against the people and women in the South. By doing so they think they can force the latter to bow to their rule. But they are greatly wrong, for the Vietnamese people are a heroic people, and the women in the South -- daughters of a heroic people -- will never bow to their rule. The people and women in the South have resolutely stood up to fight against the tyrannical rule of the enemy for national liberation and for their won liberation.

" When the enemy comes, women have to fight." This is a noble tradition of our people. The revolutionary movement of the people in the South continued without interruption from 1954 to 1959, at times in the secret at times in the open. Along with other people strata, the women in the South actively participated in numerous struggles to protect their land, to oppose land-rent increase, land confiscation, military draft and terror, to protect cadres, to demand general elections and to protest against concentration of people in " aggrovilles," oppression, exploitation, " denunciation of Communism," etc. These struggles gave many troubles to the enemy in his attempt to establish his reactionary political institutions in rural areas and limited his effort to destroy revolutionary bases, thus actively contributing to the protection of the rights our people had secured in the first Resistance, including the right to own land.

The enemy had used barbarous policies and means in his attempt to destroy the revolution in the South, hoping to extinguish the patriotic struggle movement of the people. In that bitter test, the women in the South had stood firmly, showing a great loyalty to the revolution. When the revolutionary installation and mass organizations were terrorized, encircled and seriously threatened by the enemy, the women



in the South successfully carried out every difficult and dangerous missions that could affect the survival of the revolution, such as hiding, feeding and protecting cadres; doing intelligence and liaison works; repairing or rebuilding destroyed revolutionary establishments, etc. When captured and tortured by the enemy, they courageously refused to give out any information. Their noble sacrifice and contributions in that dark period of the revolution have played an important part in maintaining the revolutionary movement in the South.

Since 1959, especially since the establishment of the National Front for Liberation, followed by the establishment of the United Women Association for the Liberation of South Vietnam, the women movement has become further developed and more active and militant. In addition to heavy tasks in the liberated zones, such as production, fighting to defend villages, etc., the women in the South have also come to the front lines, using political struggle, arm struggle and propaganda to attack the enemy continuously.

Bloody face-to-face political struggles against the enemy and the formation of a political army consisting mainly of women who were always in the offensivewere the main characteristics of the women movement in this period.

Confused by the failure of their demagogic, deceitful and violent policies, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have further stepped up their terrorism and war policy. To protect their survival, the people in the South have resolutely taken arms to fight against the enemy. Since then, local guerrilla activities and partial uprisings began to take place. Women played a leading role in the simultaneous uprisings of the people in the South in 1960, disintegrating the enemy's base-level administration. As a result of the 1960 partial uprisings, a part of the population was liberated from the enemy rule. But the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys refused to accept defeat. They brought troops over to restore "security." So, to protect their achievements and to firmly maintain and push forward the revolutionary movement, the women in the South, especially women-peasants, joined in with other people to fight against the enemy. The political struggle movement, of which women are the hard-core, has become an effective weapon to fight the enemy. Thousands of such political struggles have taken place, participated by tens of thousands of people, with young women, old women and small girls leading, to prevent the enemy from conducting military operations, arresting people, destroying houses, confiscating land to build military bases, luring people into "strategic

hamlets," etc. Tens of thousands of struggles were carried out by hundreds of thousands of people who came to the cities and towns to hold meetings and demonstrations against the puppet administration from district, provincial to central level, etc. In other struggles, people from rural areas marched into cities to join force with and to support the struggle movement in cities, demanding civil rights and democracy, protesting against oppression and exploitation, and demanding an end to the war, the resignation of the puppet government, and the withdrawal of the U.S. imperialists, etc. In these struggles, many women have used their body to block the enemy's tanks and planes, or closed their rank and marched forward under the enemy fire.

In the past five years, from 1960 to the end of September 1965, there were 228,850 political struggles against the enemy participated by women in 26 million times. These included province-wide struggles with hundreds of thousands of women participating in, such as the ones in Quang Ngai, Quang Nam, etc. With a greater united strength, a higher political awareness, a richer struggling experience and a stricter organizational leadership, the political struggle movement has received an increasing support from people of all strata (including a number of puppet troops and officials) and has become a tremendous force. This force has constantly overwhelmed the enemy, helped destroy most of the enemy rule in rural areas, thwarted all his "pacification" plans, consolidated and expanded the liberated zone, and put the enemy into a critical position.

In this struggle movement, the women in the South -- particularly women-peasants -- have played a vital role. The political struggle movement has proved to be very effective in many respects. It has thwarted and destroyed many of the enemy's cunning schemes and plans; it has enhanced the prestige of the revolution, shattered the enemy's political prestige and put him into a weakened and isolated position. It has constantly harassed the enemy's rear, disintegrated his army and government and forced him into the defensive. It has contained the enemy and created favorable conditions for the armed force of the revolution to weaken and destroy the enemy's strength. It has protected the people's lives and property against the enemy's terrorism and military operations. It has enhanced the people's revolutionary consciousness and strengthened the revolutionary force.

The enemy himself has to admit his fear of the "long hair army" of the South. At the Second Congress of the National Front for Liberation, lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the

Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front for Liberation, praised the people's political struggle movement and especially the women in the South. He said "we warmly applaud the struggle spirit of our compatriots, especially of the women led by women-peasants, the task force of the political movement."

Women in the South have also participated in the propaganda directed at the enemy troops. This propaganda work also has an important effect in many fields, especially in thwarting the enemy's attempt to "use Vietnamese to kill Vietnamese" and "to use children of the working people to kill the working people." Fully realizing their responsibility, the women in the South have made a great effort to mobilize all people -- especially the families of enemy troops -- to form themselves into a wide propaganda network aimed at persuading the puppet troops to turn their arms against the enemy. Women have played a not less important part in shattering the puppet army in many places. In 1964 alone, there were 388,445 women working directly in the propaganda field. As a result more than 40,000 puppet soldiers deserted their units, more than 30,000 approved of and gave support to our struggle, and more than 20,000 families of puppet troops demanded the puppet government to return their husbands and sons, etc.

In addition to political struggle and propaganda work, the women in the South have actively and effectively joined in armed struggle. Many of them have joined village militia and guerrilla units, assuming such tasks as guarding the village, carrying out liaison missions, maintaining security and order, etc. Every year there are thousands of women participating directly in building combat villages, destroying the enemy's "strategic hamlets," supplying, destroying the enemy's communication system, killing the enemy with rudimentary weapons, etc. In the armed struggle movement, there are many outstanding fighters and units, representing women's fighting spirit and expediency. Most outstanding are the two heroines Nguyen Thi Ut and Ta Thi Kieu and the guerrilla units of Luong Hoa (Tra Vinh), Ben Cau, Trang Bang (Tay Ninh), Phu Le (Ben Tre), etc.

Women have also played a great part in revolutionary work in the rear. Thousands of them have left their families to do rear supply work, feed the troops, build bases in the mountains, establish working sites and farming sites, work in hospitals, schools, rural management boards, etc. In rural areas, particularly in the liberated zone, women are the main production force. They have overcome difficulties, improved farming methods and increased production to meet the ever

increasing needs for food and to ensure enough food for the troops to defeat the enemy. In addition to this, they have also worked in social, public health and educational fields, bringing constant changes to the liberated zone. Especially in the mountainous region, women of minority peoples, with their strong revolutionary spirit, have actively participated in such works as supplying the troops on the front lines and maintaining communication lines. Most noteworthy is the fact that women of the minority peoples have set good examples in overcoming difficulties, stepping up production for self-sufficiency and saving their food in order to improve their families' living conditions and make contributions to the revolution. The "soldier's mother" Association has made outstanding achievements in such constructive campaigns as "Rice Pot to Feed the Troops," "Vegetable Garden of the Resistance," "Banana Tree of the Resistance," etc., and has contributed greatly to such works as visiting the troops, giving care to the wounded, helping the families of the dead, etc. This movement has greatly encouraged the people in the South, especially the liberation armed forces, in the resistance against the U.S. imperialists.

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In our history, never had the women's movement been so deep and wide and had such a strength that could overwhelm the enemy and achieve so many encouraging results as the struggle movement of the women in the South over the past 11 years. The reasons for this are:

First, like the entire people, the women in the South have a profound sense of patriotism and have inherited the great fighting spirit of our people. In the past, the women in the South, especially those of workers and peasants families, were exploited and oppressed the most by the feudalists and colonialists and thus they deeply hated the enemy. After the victorious August Revolution and the Resistance against the French, they were liberated from the slavish and miserable life, and became masters of the society. But the U.S. imperialists and their traitorous lackeys have attempted to impose their rule on the people and women in the South and to deprive them of the fruits of the revolution. In this situation, the women in the South have refused to cross their arms and let the enemy oppress the people and themselves once again. They have decided not to let the enemy take away their basic rights, and refused to return to the hard and miserable life they had endured for thousands of years. Therefore, they have resolutely fought against the enemy. This is the basic reason for the large participation of women in the South in the struggle

against the enemy.

Second, they have the correct leadership of the National Front for Liberation, of which the Vietnamese People's Revolutionary Party is the soul. The National Front for Liberation has accurately assessed the ability, part and role of the women in the revolution. It has pointed out the enemy of the revolution in the South and clearly determined the revolutionary task, direction and method of struggle for the people and women in the South. It has set forth the right course of action aimed at achieving national independence, securing democracy for the people and land for the peasants, and achieving sex equality, in which women enjoy the same rights as men in all political, economic, cultural and social fields. This line of revolutionary struggle is consistent with the basic rights of the people and women in the South, therefore it has mobilized large numbers of women to fight under the Front's banner.

Third, the women movement in the South has been greatly encouraged by the general revolutionary movement of the people in the South, especially by the workers and peasants movement. The women movement in the South is a part of the revolutionary movement of the people in the South. As such, it has a close relation with the movement of other people strata, with the general revolutionary movement. Naturally, the women movement has in recent years greatly contributed to the development of the revolutionary movement of the people. But it is the strong development of the revolutionary movement of other people strata, especially of the workers and peasants, that has a great effect on the women movement. It can be safely said that without the strong movement of other people strata, the women movement would have encountered more difficulties and unable to score such great victories.

Fourth, the U.S. imperialists' new colonialism in the South has a great weakness that cannot be overcome. Because they have to use their new type of colonialism to rule the people in the South, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys cannot avoid using deceitful political tricks labelled "democracy," "freedom," "sex equality," "social reform," etc. Consequently, the people and women in the South can and must use political struggle to fight them. This is a great advantage to the revolutionary movement of the people and women in the South. From the beginning and throughout the process of fighting against the U.S. and their lackeys, the women in the South have learned to use their supreme political advantage to fight the enemy, strengthening the revolutionary movement and enhancing its prestige. On the other hand, the people and women in the South, with a high political consciousness,



have accumulated valuable experiences in their past struggle against the French. Today, they know how to use these experiences to give the revolutionary movement in the South a richer, more dynamic and more effective form of struggle.

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Over the past 11 years, the movement of the women and people in the South has progressed steadily in its long and hard but certainly victorious struggle. Looking back at these progresses, the entire people in the nation are very proud for having such a strong, patriotic and revolutionary women force in the South.

Under the brilliant leadership of the National Front for Liberation, the women in the South are determined to join in with the whole nation to overcome all difficulties, and courageously move forward and fulfill their sacred task of liberating the South, protecting the North and achieving national reunification.

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THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATING PARTY MEMBERS  
UNDERGOING DISCIPLINARY ACTION WITHIN THE PARTY

[Following is a translation of an article by Ha Que in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No 3, March 1966, pp 28-32.]

Our Party has carried the Vietnamese revolution to victory after victory, because our Party follows the correct revolutionary path, knows how to organize, how to make the people struggle, and has a strict discipline, which is voluntarily and spontaneously followed by the whole Party. If the discipline of the Party is to be increased it is essential to raise the level of thinking and enhance the concept of organization of the party members, making them, of themselves, rigorously follow the line, the policy and regulations of the Party, developing their good points, and reducing their errors and weak points. But, on the other hand, if party members or party organizations commit errors to the point of being disciplined, it will be necessary to punish them fittingly, in order to insure party discipline. The Party's precept for disciplinary action is "to correct through education, to pun-

ish strictly, carefully, and with discrimination." This precept is based on brotherly love, respect for the political life of the party members, and at the same time, is strict with those who have violated party discipline. The idea of disciplinary action is to educate the comrades, to educate the masses, and to increase the fighting strength of the Party, hence our Party opposes any tendency to relax discipline, or to use discipline instead of education, or to use discipline to punish party members.

In years gone by, especially from the time of the third Party Congress until now, the Party's use of the precept of disciplinary action has made great progress. This progress manifests itself in many forms, principally in attaching importance to educating party members who are being disciplined. As we already know, thought controls man's actions. Only if he has the correct thoughts can man act correctly. The report of changes in Party regulations at the third National Congress states clearly: "... the success in the building up of our Party is primarily the success in educating, and in reforming the thinking in the Party. [See Note]. In any task, we must give education top priority. With respect to party members being disciplined, we must consider education all the more important, for only in this way can the precept of "correction through education" be truly realized.

[Note]: Van kien Dai hoi (Conference Document), issued



by the Central Executive Committee of the Vietnam Workers Party, 1960, Collection II, page 15.

The purpose of education is to make the culprit realize clearly the nature of his error and the damage caused by it, so that he will of himself submit to disciplinary action by the Party, and will see clearly the cause of his error, the direction to take in order to find peace of mind, and to make great efforts to improve, and at the same time to give assistance to the culprit and to create conditions that will be favorable to his making progress. Therefore the instruction of the culprit must be profound and very steady.

This is a problem that must be thoroughly understood from the time the error appears until after announcing the disciplinary action, and in the whole process of seeing that the party members carry out the disciplinary action according to regulations. It is concerned with many branches of the Party apparatus, but primarily with the Party cell.

First of all we must make the culprit confess his error and evaluate exactly the harm done. This is the first thing and very important and is connected with many other things. Thus after the error has been fully documented, we must change the thinking of the erring comrade. Many culprits, because of their individualism, are afraid that their being disciplined will make the Party lose confidence in them and will affect their future personal status, hence, at first,

generally refuse to confess their error. Therefore, when preparing to bring them up for investigation, the investigating cadre or the comrade responsible for discipline in the organization meets a person caught in an error and has to approve a number of influential comrades who are sympathetic toward them, and urge them to make a sincere report to the Party. It is necessary to combine persuasion and the bringing out of all the evidence. Those who still want to protect themselves or to minimize their fault, one must continue to educate and bring out the concrete evidence in order to lead them to the point of admitting their guilt sincerely. It can be said that the process of motivating the person caught in error has a decisive influence on the outcome of the investigation.

But recently there have been many instances where this was not done well; where the culprits were brought out immediately, to be hurriedly investigated, without being properly prepared, hence did not confess his guilt, did not searchingly criticize himself; if the evidence was clearly against him he confessed, if not, he did not confess, then relied on the laxness of the other comrades who discussed "procedure" during the trial, hence the results of the education were less and the atmosphere of the investigation was tense. Such cases generally cause great difficulty during the whole process of judging a breach of discipline.

Sometimes, when one is faced with a culprit to be in-

structed, but without having any evidence, the culprit does not confess, hence the case cannot be concluded; until there is concrete evidence one cannot skilfully lead the culprit to confess his guilt, and to try to induce them by argument to confess generally makes them think that it is only "a trick" like the times before, so they still do not confess. Some people out of personal pride assume a defiant attitude toward the Party organization. In a case like this, if the body having jurisdiction does not calmly and carefully weigh the pros and cons of the matter, it is very easy to reach the point of acting severely, of punishing unjustly, or conversely, by over-stressing sponteneity, to produce wrong tendencies and a relaxation of discipline.

Persuading the culprit to accept and carry the decisions concerning discipline is also very important. Many comrades, although they have already admitted their error, nevertheless because they have not seen precisely how grave their was, or have not analyzed clearly the cause of their error, and particularly, have not understood the significance of being disciplined, have not accepted the punishment as appropriate. Therefore, we must help the culprit with these problems and at the same time, underline for them the direction to follow in order to progress, and to avoid being negligent and pessimistic. While doing this, one must pay close attention to one's attitude toward the culprit. One must exhibit fully

the spirit of "correction through education" contained in the precept of Party discipline, and must make the culprit firmly believe that "the Party is his dear mother" then he will accept and faithfully carry out decisions regarding discipline, and make great efforts to correct his errors. Indeed, we have encountered many comrades who, after having been duly instructed, have repented and accepted disciplinary action voluntarily.

Many times in the past this problem was not considered sufficiently important, instruction was not steady, and there was no carefully worked-out plan, and many omissions were found in the education of the culprit, hence a situation was brought about in which not a few culprits did not of themselves accept disciplinary action. Sometimes we find difficult cases where they have refused to persuade the culprit patiently, or have dared him to appeal to higher authority. Among trials recently appealed, the ratio has gradually increased; this on the one hand, shows progress in the use of precepts for enforcing Party discipline, on the other hand, it proves that the solution in regard to the culprit was not good, therefore, although the action was considered appropriate, they still continue to complain.

Education of the culprit after the decision to take disciplinary action is announced must be even more carefully attended to. A party member undergoing disciplinary action, when he recognizes that he has impaired the usefulness and

reputation of the Party, generally suffers greatly in spirit. And this is quite natural. Along with fundamentally sound people who are severe with themselves and struggle desperately to raise themselves, there are many others who have complex reactions after being disciplined. Some at first show a willingness to accept disciplinary action, but afterwards become discouraged because they worry about their future and their personal status. Some reluctantly submit to discipline, and very often are displeased, complain of their lot and pessimistically refuse to see the way to progress. Some refuse to submit to disciplinary action, are dissatisfied, often say harsh things, and even criticize the comrades who are directly responsible for guiding them, or criticize the comrades who are mainly responsible for the disciplinary action taken against them.

Thus the education of the culprit after the decision to take action has been announced generally is more difficult than when the decision was not announced. The report of changes in Party regulations at the Third National Congress clearly states: "Only when there is an earnest spirit of brotherly love, a holding fast to the idea of "treating the disease and curing the patient" in the carrying out of disciplinary action, can we wholeheartedly and to any great extent help our comrades correct their errors. Not to do this is to show an impure Party spirit, and a low concept of building up the

Party. Not only toward guilty comrades still in the Party, must we have such an attitude, but even with respect to those who have been expelled from the Party, must we be close at hand to help them go forward." [See Note]. To despise the task of rehabilitating those who have erred shows a cold and negligent attitude, to be scornful of the comrades being disciplined or to be prejudiced against their mistakes is contrary to the Party's precept of enforcing discipline.

[Note]: Van kien Dai hoi (Conference Document), issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Vietnamese Workers Party, 1960, collection II, p. 106.

During the past few years there have been many instances where this problem was clearly recognized. In every case of disciplinary action, after the decision was announced, many of the directing committees and investigating committees considered that they had done their duty. They left to the Party organizations the task of following up the with instruction and of helping the culprit carry the decision, and to correct his faults. Many Party organizations do not consider this problem important. Even many of the committee members in the organization, who were selected to follow up the carrying out of the disciplinary action have not recognized their responsibilities. Therefore, in regard to the comrades being disciplined, they warn them or dismiss them, without being interested in following up and giving assistance or only in-

terested for a short time, and forget to direct and look after those comrades who are fundamentally good, have committed small offenses, whose punishment is light, but, who, for a rather long time have been unable to raise themselves up, with the result that some of them have retrogressed.

In regard to comrades who have been suspended from the Party for a definite period to be instructed and observed, in many cases one does not pay attention to educating them closely and continuously, one does not have enough "ardent love of one's comrade" to help them advance. Some comrades whose periods have long past, some two or three times longer than specified, have not been considered for reinstatement in the Party. For this reason, it is sometimes necessary to make the period longer than first specified or their party membership is restored reluctantly. Sometimes the cell does not help the suspended member to reach the end of his period and have his Party membership restored, and then consider them below the norm and expel them.

In some places the concept of "the reality of correcting one's errors" is too strict. Therefore, many party members make great efforts during the suspension period, but commit a few violations and only need to be checked, but they are considered not to have "advanced" and are purged. As for those people during the period of suspension, who only from selfish motives work "positively," and who are always democratically

on "good terms" with everyone, who appear "obedient" and "docile" are considered to have "advanced" and easily regain their party membership.

Those who have been purged from the Party, are in many cases practically dropped, not only are they seldom helped and instructed, but are even discriminated against. For lack of attention to regular instruction during this period, a number of persons, although not fundamentally bad (in spite of having committed greivous errors), after they have been disciplined continue to be debauched and deteriorate to the point of no longer hoping to return to the Party.

The reason that the above situations exist, is essentially that the culprit's friends fail to make the effort, and partly also because of inadiquacies of party organizations in the rehabilitation of the culprit.

In the situation above, we can be sure that the education and struggle for the mind of the culprit is extremely important realizing the Party's precept but it is a great problem in the Party's method of work

We must affirm that the education of the culprit -- including the the period after he is purged -- is an important part in the building up of the Party; the diricting committees, the organizations and especially the basic organizations of the Party, as well as each party member is responsible for doing this work. On the other hand, we must



draw deeply on our experience in order to improve even more the method of working.

We affirm that it is right for the culprit himself to struggle to improve, but we emphasize that the group is responsible for helping every comrade avoid making errors and helping him to correct them. Lenin said: "...every Party member is responsible to the Party and the Party is responsible to every Party member" [See Note]. The Party -- but primarily the cell -- has the responsibility of taking care of educating the Party members, of assigning and overseeing their work, every day trying to understand their thoughts, their strengths and weaknesses, in order to have a suitable orientation and procedure for helping them. When a Party member commits an error, the cell must help him analyze the nature and cause of it, must indicate clearly to him the direction in which to struggle, must create suitable conditions and a suitable atmosphere so that he correct his errors and advance.

The education of comrades who have committed errors is a difficult and complicated affair, but it can be done and absolutely must be done well. In this task the whole cell should shoulder a very heavy responsibility. But if we are to discharge fully this responsibility, we must, first of all have faith and an ardent love for our comrades.

[Note]: Lenin "Second Conference of the Russian Socialist-Democratic Workers Party," Toan Tap (The Whole Work), Vietnamese-language edition, Su-that publishing house, Hanoi, 1963, vol. 6, page 537.

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LET US STRONGLY DEVELOP GOODS PRODUCTION  
AND PRACTICE A HIGH DEGREE OF SELF-SUPPORT  
IN THE NEW SITUATION

Following is a translation of  
an article by Le Cong Thuong  
in the Vietnamese-language  
periodical Hoc Tap (Studies),  
Hanoi, March 1966, p.p. 33-447

The 10th meeting of the Party Central Committee affirmed that "the existence and development of the commodity economy in the North are an objective essentiality. In our move towards socialism, we must strongly develop socialist production of goods, particularly in agriculture, light industry and handicraft. We must increase domestic circulation of goods, especially between industry and agriculture, and between the state-controlled economy and the cooperative economy."

Over the past few years, on the basis of the widely established socialist production relations and strengthened socialist material-technical bases, especially in industry and transportation, we have made great efforts to develop the commodity economy in both production and circulation of goods. Production of goods has now been developed in many areas where goods were not produced. By further developing branches and occupations in cities and rural areas, we have increased the volume and types of goods in our country. In the process of developing production of goods, we have "increased the volume of goods, cut down their production costs and improved their quality." Today, thanks to the development of domestic goods production we are able to supply ourselves with most essential commodities and part of capital goods of small size and medium size, and at the same time have more finished products for export. Obviously, from a dependent and backward economy we are now building an independent and self-sustained economy moving towards socialism.

Our socialist production of goods, however, is still slow. Under normal conditions, it is still unable to meet the rapidly increasing needs of production, life and export. This weakness is clearer in the new situation, for instead of decreasing the war is increasing these needs and creating new great ones such as the needs in combat, in strengthening our stocks, in supporting the revolution in the South, etc. To meet such needs, one of the most important and urgent requirement is to continue to develop socialist production of goods in a manner that is consistent with wartime.

But there are some people who said that the new situation does not permit a strong development of socialist production of goods, that there seems to be an insoluble contradiction between the idea of a strong development of socialist goods production and the practice of a high degree of self-support as advocated by the Party, for these two would reject each other, etc.

This viewpoint is both theoretically and practically wrong. In war-time, we have a suitable direction for economic building and development and at the same time we practice a high degree of self-supply in each region, each province as well as in all over the North. This is an absolute necessity. We must firmly grasp the revolutionary positive spirit in building and developing our economy regardless of the situation. We must make efforts to overcome difficulties to maintain and develop socialist economic establishments. Only by so doing will we be able to strengthen our economic and national defense potentialities to defeat the U.S. aggressors in all the country. Its role as the great rear of the whole nation does not permit the North to stand still or step back. On the contrary, it demands that the North be more active in building and developing the economy. Lenin said that "to carry out the war seriously, it is necessary to have a well organized rear. Even the most powerful army and the most dedicated revolutionaries will be immediately destroyed by the enemy if they are not adequately armed, supplied and educated." (1)

Therefore, building and developing the economy to suit war time conditions does not mean changing the policy of economic building and development set forth by the Third Party Congress. It only means that in the new situation, it is necessary to find out the most concrete and suitable ideas, directions, forms and measures to carry out successfully that policy, with the purpose of creating an economic potentiality strong enough to meet the needs of the war. "The basic content of economic building and development in the new situation is to continue to build socialist material-technical bases, carry out socialist industrialization and at the same time consolidate the socialist production relation and make it consistent with wartime conditions, secure a strong development in combat, combat readiness and production, and closely associate this immediate requirement with the future requirement of economic building and development." (2)

According to this basic content, the need to develop strongly socialist production of goods in the new situation, particularly in agriculture, industry and handicraft, and the need to expand circulation of goods in the country, particularly between industry and agriculture, and between the state-controlled economy and the cooperative economy, does not have any

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(1) Lenin : " In the Field of Realities," Selected Works, Vietnamese edition, Su That Publisher, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, part 1, page 359.

(2) Pham Hung : " Building and Developing the Economy in the New Situation," Hoc Tap, No. 11, 1965, page 3.

basic change. On the contrary, it is raised with more urgency and to a greater extent. Naturally, this is difficult but it is not impossible. We must fully use every existing ability and seek every appropriate measure to meet these requirements under wartime conditions.

In practicing a high degree of self-support, we do not exclude the need to strongly develop socialist production of goods. On the contrary, we must use socialist production of goods as a base.

The principle of self-support in our Party's economic policy has a completely new and revolutionary content, requirement and meaning. It is entirely different from the principle of self-support in a natural economy. In the natural and semi-natural economy, the principle of self-support is very simple because of underdeveloped division of labor, dispersed production, backward techniques and low labor productivity. It directly serves the personal and selfish needs of small producers for consumer goods. It runs against the development of goods production. Therefore the development of goods production has the effect of destroying the self-support nature and other production forms of the backward natural economy.

Due to its nature, that old kind of self-support is completely different from the new socialist type of self-support in our Party's policy of achieving an independent and self-sustained economy.

The principle of self-support in our Party's economic policy is by no means a non-economic principle, nor is it a narrow-minded and selfish economic principle aimed at building a "closed," national and regional economy. The basic requirement of our economic principle of self-support is first of all and primarily based on the development of the national economic force (labor, resources, markets). At the same time, it requires us to fully use the aid provided by our fraternal socialist countries and through international trade import modern machinery and equipment to build and develop the socialist economy. This is a highly economic and revolutionary principle. On one hand, it requires and permits us to exploit most fully and use most effectively every productive potentiality in the country to develop our economy in accordance with common economic rules and at the same time consistent with our country's concrete conditions. On the other hand, it helps us become independent from outside aid in our efforts to solve our needs in production and in improving the people's living conditions, thus securing our economic independence. It reflects most clearly our self-reliance in building and developing our economy and in fighting the U.S. for national salvation. In this sense, the principle of self-support is now new to us. In fact, it has been set forth and practiced by the Party in implementing the policy of building and developing an independent and self-sustained economy moving towards socialism. As early as in 1961, comrade Le Duan had pointed out that "at the present time we are looking to our fraternal countries for certain machinery and equipment. But for the basic and long-range benefit of our economy and the socialist economy, we must move forward to manufacture ourselves most of the machinery and equipment needed for various sectors of the national

economy, otherwise we cannot be in a position to develop our national economy and expand international cooperation in division of labor." (3)

Thus, to practice self-support here does not mean to maintain or return to a natural economy. On the contrary, the basis for us to achieve self-support can only be a large socialist economy in which agriculture is fully developed, industry is relatively developed, and commerce and communication-transportation are greatly expanded. The degree of success in practicing self-support depends first of all on the development extent of socialist goods production. The needs that we must solve ourselves are the increasing needs of the society for materials and goods, not the simple and personal needs of individual producers in a small production.

This is already an objective essentiality in peacetime. In wartime, it becomes more important and urgent. War creates many new great needs and sometimes sudden needs that require to be met in time. But in wartime, the import of foreign goods as well as local communication-transportation cannot help from encountering exceptional difficulties and delays. Therefore, solving effectively the problem of "rear supply" on the spot is mostly important to ensure victory in the war. To do so, the problem of self-support must be raised with a greater urgency and to a higher degree than ever in all the North as well as in each area, each province.

A high degree of self-support requires the following conditions:

First, the North cannot rely completely on outside aid for materials and goods, even though such aid is essential and important. Only by developing to a high degree our self-reliance and rely on our own strength to step up production in general and production of goods in particular, will we be able to solve ourselves our basic needs in time and in an active manner.

Second, each area, each province cannot rely entirely on the central or other areas and provinces for materials and goods. On the contrary, each locality should promote self-reliance, energetically use to the fullest extent every productive potentiality of its agriculture and industry, and strongly develop socialist production of goods in order to solve itself its own needs and to best fulfill its duty toward the central level and other localities. This is a fact that must be given special attention. If we only give emphasis to the need of practicing self-support in each area, each province, while ignoring the need for a centrally unified and planned economic management or the need for socialist cooperation among localities, we will easily come to the wrong thinking. For example, there are some of our comrades who said that if each locality is to practice a high degree of self-support, there must be a positive or complete economic management division for each locality, or it is necessary

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(3) Le Duan : "All for Production and Socialist Industrialization," Su That Publisher, Hanoi, 1962, page 56.



to only base the direction and plan for local production development on the local needs without paying attention to the needs of the central or other economically related localities. These viewpoints are in contrast with the socialist concept of centrally planned economic organization and management. It must be affirmed that the economy of the North is a socialist economy, a centrally planned economy, of which the local economy is just a part.

To adjust the economy to wartime conditions, the central will make another step in carrying out economic management division for various areas, provinces and cities. But this will not exclude or lower the need to strengthen in principle the unified and concentrated leadership of the central. Comrade Le Duan pointed out that "in the present and in the future, each province must have a locally developed economy." (4) But to achieve this, "it is necessary to re-evaluate and revise systems and regulations that are not suitable to war time, with the purpose of concentrating the powers in the hands of the Party Central Committee and government...in order to assure that all the policies and plans of the Party Central Committee and government be understood thoroughly and carried most urgently and rapidly." (5). (underlined by the author -- L.C.T.).

Thus, the practice of the self-support principle in each locality cannot be against the principle of concentrating the power of decision in the hands of the central regarding the mobilization, distribution and utilization of materials, goods and finance in all the North.

According to the principle of self-support, each locality must strive to step up production in order to achieve the highest degree of self-sufficiency in the types of goods that have been totally or partly supplied by the central as well as in the types of goods that are in demand due to combat needs. Regarding the types of good which have been produced by the locality itself, but are now in increased demand, the locality must make further efforts to increase their production as much as possible in order to solve its own needs without having to ask from the central. Regarding the types of goods which have been supplied by the locality to the central, but are now also increasingly demanded due to the increasing needs, the locality must strive to step up their production in order to solve its own needs and at the same time to increase, or at least to maintain, the supply to the central or to other localities.

Only by working in that spirit, can the entire North become highly self-support in solving its needs, and at the same time fulfill its role and responsibility as the "great rear" of the entire nation.

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(4) Le Duan: "To Strongly Change the Leadership of Various Levels and Branches in the Effort to Build A Strong Economy and National Defense for the North," Hoc Tap, No. 10, page 6.

(5) Le Duan: same article, page 7.

Third, each unit, family and individual must strive for self-sufficiency, step up production, live simply and organize rationally its living in order to be able to carry out production and combat for a long time, and at the same time lessen the state supply burden; as the state has to give supply priority to production and combat. On the other hand, the state needs to make another step to achieve a good supply system for cadres, troops, workers and the people so that the distribution of goods can secure the basic needs of everyone and contribute to the tabilization of markets, prices and money.

But all this does not make the principle of self-support contradictory to the need of developing production of goods. On the contrary, it is necessary because our production of materials and goods is still limited and unable to catch up with the consumer needs of the people.

Obviously, to achieve a high degree of self-support in the new situation and at the same time to increase our export, we have no other way than to continue to step up socialist production of goods in each area and each province. To demand a reduction in socialist production of goods is, in fact, to lower the requirement of the principle of self-support and limit foreign trade activities of the Party in the new situation.

#### How To Develop Strongly Production Of Goods In The New Situation.

Because of the difficulties created by the war, there is some doubt about the ability to develop socialist production of goods. Naturally, we must see all the present difficulties and anticipate the possibility of having greater difficulties, but not to become discouraged. Instead, we must seek all measures to limit them and overcome them, continue to step up the development of socialist goods production and create a basis to achieve a high degree of self-support. We have the ability to do it because we have many favorable conditions. We have many socialist bases that are being consolidated and strengthened, first of which is the socialist production relation. We have rich resources and labor in all areas. Our economy has not been highly concentrated nor operated on a large scale, therefore the enemy war of destruction cannot paralyze it. Moreover, we have the positive assistance of the socialist camp and of progressive people in the world. But the final decisive factor is the brilliant leadership of the Party and the fact that we have people -- people who dearly love their country and socialism, who have revolutionary enthusiasm, who know well about production and combat, and who are determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors. Once having the correct leadership of the Party and the determination of the people, there is no difficulty that we cannot overcome. This is a sparkling truth of the revolution.

But ability, however great it is, is not a reality and cannot itself become a reality. To translate ability into reality, it is necessary that various branches and localities work energetically and voluntarily.



They must see all the difficult and favorable conditions and firmly grasp the requirement and content of economic building and development in the new situation in order to bring about great changes in their thinking and in their guidance.

In the new situation, the direction for socialist production of goods set forth by the 10th meeting of the Party Central Committee is still basically effective, but it must serve to fulfill the requirement of wartime economic building and development. The outstanding feature of that direction is the reapportionment and strengthening of the production force in the direction of stepping up the technological revolution, reorganizing communication-transportation and distribution, which is beneficial to production, combat and combat readiness, and at the same time consistent with the long-range progress of the socialist economy. This requires the best combination of the building and development of the economy in all the North under the unified and concentrated management of the central and in accordance with a perfect plan with the building and development of the economy of each area, each province. Because of difficulties in the transportation of goods from the central to local areas and because of the need to solve in time the problem of on-the-spot rear supply for the people's anti-U.S. war for national salvation, more special attention must be given to the strong and planned development of the economy of each area, each province. Under this circumstance, socialist production of goods must be strongly developed in every area and province in the delta, midlands and highlands, and must be also developed in agriculture and industry (including light industry, handicraft and heavy industry).

This direction for production of goods is a very positive and practical direction, for it aims at exploiting most fully every productive potentiality of all branches and localities to ensure supply and to achieve a high degree of self-support in meeting every need of the war. It is also consistent with the requirement, ability and concrete situation of the North and also with the direction for economic development when the war ends.

To strongly develop socialist production of goods in that direction, each area and province must carry out the new and rational division of labor and step up the technological revolution so as to create the needed balance among various production branches, particularly between agriculture and industry; at the same time, they must reorganize and develop the socialist communication-transportation and commercial networks to suit the requirement of production, combat and combat readiness.

The province is a very important planning unit. It must become a relatively comprehensive planning unit. Naturally, "the provincial plan must cover all the central policies and at the same time reflect the requirement of and ability for local economic development. The provincial plan must be in agreement with the state plan and with those of various establishments, factories and cooperative." (6) As a relatively comprehensive

(1) Le Duan: "To Strongly Change the Leadership of Various Levels and Branches in the Effort to Build A Strong Economy and National Defense for the North," Hoc Tap, No. 10, 1965, page 7.

sive planning unit, the province must take the over-all leadership in the development of its local economy, including all branches, fields of activity and fields of production.

However, in doing this, the province must firmly grasp the main fields and concentrate its efforts on solving every problem in these fields in order to have conditions to solve effectively the problems in other fields. Naturally, the province should not wait until every problem in the main fields is solved before tackling on other fields, but it should tackle on all fields at the same time. But only by concentrating its efforts on the main fields can it achieve progress in others.

In our economy, the principal field today is production. It is because lacking a balanced and strong production development that we are not yet able to meet all the needs for materials and goods of the revolution in the whole country. On the production front, agriculture is still very important. It is because our agriculture has not yet been developed comprehensively, strongly and steadily that it cannot yet produce large quantities of agricultural commodities, thereby has not fulfill its role as the base for good industrial development. Thus, in building its local economy, the province certainly cannot relax its agricultural leadership, even though it has to give attention to developing strongly local industry for this branch is still generally weak and unable to fulfill the requirement of local production and living conditions. The province must firmly grasp both agriculture and industry. If it fails to grasp agriculture firmly and achieve a comprehensive agricultural development, it will be unable to create conditions for industrial development.

The basic requirement of comprehensive agricultural development is to strongly develop production of agricultural commodities. But to develop strongly the production of agricultural commodities, first it is necessary to develop strongly the production of food commodities. Production of food, particularly production of food commodities, is the central task in agricultural production. If agriculture is to serve as the base for industrial development, then food is the base of that base. If we do not increase the output of food commodities we cannot feed the non-productive population which increases greatly in wartime; neither can we increase the state food reserves nor supply food to peasants in industrial crop growing areas nor develop animal husbandry; as a result, we will not have a solid base to develop strongly our industry and other branches. And in the final analysis, this will naturally affect the task of strengthening the combat force and combat readiness of the people in the North.

But how do we solve the problem of food commodities? Generally speaking, we cannot, of course, solve it by increasing food crop acreage since food crop has already occupied more than 90 per cent of the total cultivated acreage. If we expand food crop acreage we will have to narrow the already small industrial crop acreage. Only by stepping up intensive cultivation to increase food crop yield, particularly rice yield, and at

the same time rationally augmenting secondary crops, can we increase rapidly the output of other food commodities, helping agriculture develop comprehensively, strongly and steadily.

The determination to attain higher yields in rice, secondary crops and other plants, is a concrete manifestation of our strong revolutionary determination on the production front. In the spirit of regarding production as important as combat, all localities, especially key rice-growing areas, must regard the annual yield of 5 tons or more per hectare as the target, and consider it a "combat order," "a high point to reach," "an enemy position to attack," to contribute to the victory over the U.S. aggressors. In addition to increasing rice yield, it is necessary to step up intensive cultivation and rational crop augmentation in all areas to complement rice crop and to develop animal husbandry. This is the best way to solve the food problem. Both theory and reality have shown that "crop yield depends directly on soil fertility, but soil fertility is ultimately decided by farming methods. Crop acreage is limited but the ability to improve soil fertility is unlimited."

Either in peacetime or in wartime, we can always carry out intensive cultivation to increase crop yields. This has been proved by reality. For example, in the situation where both production and combat are taking place urgently and bitterly, Vinh Linh. this year has not only scored glorious victories in combat but also achieved an average yield in both summer and fall crops, which is higher than that of previous years and surpasses the target. This was not due to favorable weather but rather thanks to its efforts in intensive cultivation. This is the victory of the determination to fight the U.S. for national salvation of the cadres and people of Vinh Linh.

To increase the volume of agricultural commodities in the new situation, we still have to solve the following problems:

1- Reapportioning key agricultural areas in all the North as well as in each region, with the purpose of creating a new and rational division of labor within agriculture, for division of labor is the base of the commodity economy. In this connection, it is necessary to pay proper attention to the building of building new economic zones in the highlands, "transform the highlands agriculture from a self-sufficient economy into an agricultural economy producing larger quantities of goods and products, and make the highlands an economically prosperous, politically stable and strong in national defense."

2- Striving to consolidate and strengthen socialist production relation in rural areas, continue to expand rationally cooperatives' size, help low-level cooperatives become high-level ones, and properly solve the relationship between the cooperative collective economy and the secondary family economy. It is also necessary to associate the need to consolidate the new production relation with the need to constantly increase the production level of the cooperative.

3- Energetically encouraging, guiding and helping cooperatives in stepping up the technological revolution in both respects: building material-technical bases and applying science and technology in agricultural production. This is the key problem. Without stepping up the technological revolution, it is impossible to consolidate and strengthen the new production relations, increase the productivity of labor, crops and animals, and create a base for the ideological and cultural revolution to move forward.

Without the determination to achieve all this, agriculture cannot create large quantities of commodities and goods.

But the needs of production, combat and life require large quantities of not only agricultural but also industrial commodities. In the past, most of our industrial goods (including capital and consumer goods) used in various areas were preduced by various central industries and partly imported from foreign countries. The new situation requires each area to become self-sufficient to the utmost degree in industrial products. So, in addition to strongly developing the production of agricultural commodities, and on the basis of this development, the provinces must energetically build and develop their semi-mechanized industrial network on small and medium scales (primarily small and dispersed scale). Some provinces might be asked to take over certain central industries which will be changed to local industries. But these provinces too cannot just look forward this. Instead, they must continue to strive to build and develop industrial factories needed by them.

Local industrial production must be developed by relying on exsisting local raw materials and must be directed toward serving the needs of production, national defense and local life, particularly the needs in the development of agricultural production and communication-transportation. But depending on the concrete situation of each province, local industry must also complement central industry.

In developing local industry, it is necessary to develop both light and heavy industry in two forms: state-managed local industrial plants and handicraft cooperatives, in which state-managed plants are the main force while handicraft cooperatives are a large force that must be developed appropriately.

In light industry, special attention must be given to the utilization of local raw materials in order to produce goods essential to life, which have long been imported from foreign countries or supplied by far away places. For example, to substitute for petroleum, we can gather various kinds of oil seeds such as grapefruit seeds, tea-seeds, cotton seeds, etc. to press them for oil. At the same time, we must develop strongly agricultural product processing industries, especially industries that process secondary crops into tasty food to complement and substitute for rice. In heavy industry, the main direction is to manufacture equipment and goods that serve agriculture, such as improved agricultural tools, small motors, lime used as fertilizer, phosphorous fertilizers, improved



vehicles, etc. By following that direction, local industry will go hand in hand with agriculture, develop its effect upon agriculture and stimulate the development of agricultural production. Another thing that must be given attention to is that industrial products, especially capital goods for agriculture, must be guaranteed in quality.

To strongly develop local industry, the assistance from the central -- especially in technical equipment -- is necessary, but the key problem is still to develop to a high degree the spirit of self-reliance of local cadres and people.

To stimulate a parallel development of agriculture and industry, each locality must reorganize its communication-transportation network and the distribution and circulation of goods so as to suit the new development conditions of production. First of all, it is necessary to repair and expand inter-provincial, inter-district and inter-village communication lines both on land and on water, and at the same time consolidate the organization of village purchasing cooperatives, reorganize the system of state-run trading stores in districts and strengthen rural market management so that transportation of goods will not be interrupted in any circumstance. If production of goods is given attention while goods distribution and circulation are not, the needs will not be solved and goods production will not be able to move ahead. In case goods production is still unable to catch up with consumer demand, the organization of goods circulation-transportation and market management must be stricter in order to stabilize prices, currency, production and life.

As we have said above, in wartime we still have to develop strongly the socialist production of goods both horizontally and vertically. Thus, we must overcome and prevent any deviation and any negative manifestation which limit the socialist nature and the rate of development of goods production.

Regardless of the situation, we should not ignore leadership in production just because of combat requirements; we should not particularly ignore the association of production with scientific-technological development. And we should not reduce our investment in building material-technical bases just because of the enemy destruction. On the contrary, we must energetically apply science and technology in production and strive to build and develop material-technical bases for agriculture, industry, transportation-communication and commerce in various localities. Without this, we cannot limit the enemy destruction nor achieve high productivity in order to produce large quantities of goods, thus failing to strengthen our material force to fight and defeat the enemy.

Socialist production of goods must be based on the consolidation and strengthening of the new socialist production relation. Therefore we cannot relax ourselves in carrying out socialist reforms, especially in agriculture, handicraft and private commerce. This must be emphasized,

for in this situation where both production and combat are urgent, there are some localities that have not realized the importance of rationally expanding cooperatives and moving qualified cooperatives to a higher level. It is important to strengthen the collective economy as well as to build and revamp socialist markets in rural areas. There are even people who said that to adjust to the new situation, we should reduce the size of cooperatives, return to dispersed production, develop strongly the family secondary economy and expand free market activities. There are also some people who wanted to reduce the activities of state-run trading stores, give trading cooperatives the full power to manage local markets, and broadly use small business in supplying goods to the people, cadres and workers, so as to suit the evacuation of agencies, factories and schools.

These trends, though not commonplace, reflect a rightist thinking. If they are allowed to develop, socialist bases will be weakened, and the production of goods will develop very slowly and will not meet the requirement of the state plan; as a result, the state cannot concentrate in its hands an increasing volume of goods to serve the needs of production, combat and life through a strictly planned program of utilization and distribution.

To strengthen material-technical bases for local agriculture and industry in order to develop production strongly in accordance with the new requirements, localities cannot rely completely on the central for capital and materials as they did in the past; on the contrary, they must heighten their self-reliance, actively mobilize every sources of capital and materials and exploit every potentiality existing within their local economic activities. To do so, it is necessary to strengthen economic-financial management, faithfully apply the principle of economic auditing, strive to increase labor productivity, practice economization and avoid waste to reduce production costs, and fulfill the goal of "larger quantity, faster production, better quality and lower price" set forth by the Party Central Committee.

Only by persistently stepping up socialist production of goods in that line and direction, will we have conditions to practice the principle of self-support in the new situation so as to develop the ability of each province and each area to develop comprehensively its local economy, thus securing success in solving the needs of production, combat and life, and in fulfilling the task of mobilizing local human and material resources to serve the needs of the entire nation.

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CSO: 3520-D

LET US FULLY UNDERSTAND THE SELF-SUFFICIENCY VIEW  
IN REGARD TO SOLVING THE PRESENT FOOD PROBLEM

[Following is a translation  
of an article by Vu Quang Tiet  
in the Vietnamese-language  
periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies),  
Hanoi, No. 3, March 1966, pp.  
45-50.]

Our people in the north are exerting all our efforts, on the one hand, to fight the U.S. for national salvation along with the people in the south and, on the other hand, to continue building socialism under the conditions of war. At this time, in all our work, we must do our best to move forward. In our work dealing with food, we must also have the same spirit.

In a situation in which both production and combat get more and more urgent, the needs for foods, especially the needs for national defense, are increasing fast, both in their amount and in the quality with which they must be satisfied. Foods must be varied to satisfy the needs of different kinds of arms and military services and the newly-formed labor forces, and the special needs that arise from the combat task. On the other hand, the work dealing with food must satisfy the regular needs for improving the working power of our cadres, workers, and civil servants, who are enthusiastically working with a "each person works as hard as two" spirit in our factories, plants, work sites, organs, etc. for the fight against the U.S. for national salvation. This does not take into consideration the needs for foods of tens of millions of farmers in the countryside.

In the present situation, the area to get food supplies is getting larger and larger. At present, in addition to the cities and the old industrial centers, are taking shape many new concentrated consumption areas, not so large in size but scattered all over, from the delta to the middle region and the highland. Moreover, in the time of war when priority is given to the national defense needs in regard to the use of the communication-transportation means, and because the enemy do their best to destroy our roads, food circulation and distribution are to face many difficulties. If we do not pay proper attention to solving the food problem, a lack of balance between supply and demand will arise, with goods being left unused in some localities and scarce in some others; a "free" food market will appear; market management will become difficult, which will greatly harm production and combat, and our efforts to continue the socialist reforms, to consolidate the socialist production relation in the countryside, and to stabilize the people's living.

Because of the important role of the work dealing with food in the new situation, the food commercial branch must develop to a high level the spirit

self-sufficiency, overcome all difficulties, and do its best to speed production and to lead food consumption toward thrift. On that basis, efforts are to be made to mobilize and to concentrate the big food-producing force into the hands of the state, to build a large food reserve, and to make contributions to consolidating a strong rear.

To solve properly the food problem according to the party self-sufficiency view, we must first of all further speed food production. This is the basis for us to set up a steady source of food supplies, aimed at improving, little by little and with importance attached to certain fields, the people's living. On the other hand, only by speeding the production of foods of all kinds can we increase the proportion of foods and reduce the proportion of foodstuffs in our meals. This will not only decrease the amount of foods supplied by the state to the non-agricultural productive sector, thus helping to solve properly the foodstuff problem, but also improve the health of cadres, workers, civil servants, and soldiers, thus improving the people's living right in the time of war.

To develop fast food production in accordance with the party self-sufficiency view does not mean to develop production in a disorderly, unorganized, unplanned manner, nor to develop it in accordance with the self-supplied, self-sufficient production of the individualistic economy as in the past. On the contrary, it must be done according to the food production line and plan, as prescribed by the party and state, on the basis of the socialist development of production of goods, which must be carried out on a larger and larger, rather than smaller and smaller, scale.

The main line on food production is to grow vegetables of all kinds, for vegetables are our number-one staple. They can be the substitutes for a part of the foods we eat in the time of poor crops. Therefore, to speed the production of vegetables, never to allow a shortage of fresh vegetables to occur, and to struggle to reduce the prices of fresh vegetables is the immediate task of the food branch.

After vegetables, soy bean is the kind of food that has a large nitrogenous content, can substitute for meat, and can be turned into many delicious and nutritious dishes. Soy bean is also one of the principal inexpensive dishes of our people. In the north, the ability to grow soy bean is great, particularly in the highland, such as Lang Son, Cao Bang. At present, because our soy bean output is too low, its consumption is still limited. If we recognize the important role of soy bean in our people's food-intake structure and its ability to grow, we shall have a determination to develop further its cultivation, aimed at improving the daily meals of our cadres and people.

Fish and meats are the vital foods to provide health to our people and army in their productive and combat work. At present, because of the enemy blockading the coasts, open-sea fishing faces a lot of difficulties; the raising of fresh-water fish has been too poor to replace the supply of sea fish.



On the other hand, the raising of domestic animals and fowls cannot as yet assure full regular supplies of meats. In the meantime, our needs for fish and meats become greater and greater. Therefore, the food branch must resolve to speed the raising of fresh-water fish in the collective-production sector, in state-operated establishments, in the delta and the highland; and to develop fast the raising of pigs, water buffaloes, cows, chickens, ducks, wild geese, geese, goats, etc. so as to build sources of supplies and reserves of fish and meats for use in the fight against the U.S. for national salvation.

To develop food production according to our plans, we need to carry out the work of planning for food production in an urgent manner, with both its pattern and its scope being suitable for each area and each type of product. The view that it is impossible to plan for food production in wartime is entirely wrong. In wartime, if we neglect this work, the state will not be able to lead food production in accordance with our plan, nor fully control the sources of foods to satisfy the needs of our army and people.

The enemy's war of destruction creates quite a great deal of difficulties for food circulation, transportation, distribution among different areas. This situation requires that every local area move ahead in speeding food production and toward food self-sufficiency. The self-sufficiency stand here is extremely important; it both urges the local areas suffered from food shortages to produce more in order to be self-sufficient and speeds the production of foods in those areas where conditions are favorable. On the other hand, it reduces the circulation cost, saves the use of the "long distance" transportation means, lightens the load of food supplies to be sent to local areas, and at the same time assures the supply of fresh good foods to the consumers without many intermediary levels. To carry out the food production plan in accordance with the spirit of self-sufficiency in every local area is to build a rich source of food supplies to be used to satisfy all the needs of the state and the army on the one hand, and to improve the living of the local people on the other, thus creating a source of food reserve for the state and limiting the difficulties caused by the enemy's war of destruction.

In the present situation, the problem of food self-sufficiency of cities and industrial complexes is being raised urgently. The needs for foods of the highland provinces are increasing fast. Here, in order to solve the contradiction between supply and demand in regard to foods, we must carry out the stand calling for production aimed at achieving food self-sufficiency. The view that it is impossible to carry out such stand in the highland is totally groundless. In the highland, the potentialities in regard to animal-raising and cultivation are great. For instance, Tuyen Quang, a highland province that used not to raise fish, now raises a lot of fish with very good results. In Quang Ninh and Nghia Lo, there is a lot of land available for growing of pineapple, which can be a good complement to the present source of fresh vegetables. Lai Chau, which used not to grow vegetables and relied entirely on the vegetables supplied from Hanoi, now grows a lot of vegetables after it has included vegetable-growing in its production plans. Moreover, in the highland provinces, the ability to grow soy beans is great; this is a kind

of nutrient-rich food which the state is encouraging people to grow.

To carry out the stand calling for food self-sufficiency of each local area is not to limit ourselves in calculating the needs of the latter. On the contrary, we must ceaselessly speed the development of food production to the highest level so as to make sure that we fulfill and overfulfill the state food-mobilizing goal. On the basis of a development of production of food of all kinds, the volume of foods supplied will be larger and larger, the costs of foods will be lower and lower. Those are the favorable conditions for us to improve the people's living under the conditions of war. At present, our food industry is not yet developed mainly because it lacks raw materials--foods. If the local areas speed the production of foods of all kinds, the volume of foods will be much increased. This will not only increase the volume of fresh, raw foods to be consumed by the people everyday, but also supply, on a regular basis, raw materials to the food-processing industry so as to build little by little an advanced food industry in the north.

At present, most of the fresh, raw foods come from a scattered, unplanned production. But food circulation and distribution are now done in accordance with the socialist circulation-distribution formula, which requires a well-planned development right at the beginning--food production. Here appears a contradiction between scattered unplanned production and concentrated well-planned state-supervised circulation-distribution. That is the reason why, every year, we have to face with difficulties in planning for food circulation-distribution to satisfy the needs in the north.

Therefore, as we carry out the food production plan, we must pay special attention to the food production of agricultural cooperatives and state-operated farms. The state-operated trade offices and the buying-selling cooperatives must invest in this collective-production link a definite amount of capital to help the agricultural cooperatives and state-operated farms to develop fast their food production as a basis for the state food reserves. Only on the basis of socialist development of food production can the source of food supplies to the state be concentrated, steady, regular, and suitable for the socialist planned distribution formula.

The well-planned and balanced socialist circulation-distribution requires a regular, balanced, and steady production plan. On the basis of a very good planning of food production, it is necessary to guide the latter along the line of the state plan. In this guidance of production, the most necessary thing is to have practical production goals for each kind of food that is suitable for each productive area; to move toward having production goals for each quarter, particularly for such items as vegetables, pork, etc., aimed at speeding food production between seasons and moving toward doing away with seasonal limits; to take initiative in food circulation-distribution so as to guarantee regularity and balance for our food circulation-distribution plan.

In order to do so, the food cadres must have an active behavior by

keeping in close contact with people and things, for the production goals cannot be built on the subjective ideas of cadres or on any administrative orders. This active behavior can be found only in the revolutionary cadres who have fully absorbed the views regarding serving production, serving the people, clinging to production, relying on party chapters and local people, being determined to adopt the people's way as prescribed by the party. Just because the Hai Duong food company cadres had such active behavior that they have succeeded in collecting and buying pigs regularly each month and each quarter of the year, building a large stock of pigs, thus avoiding the situation in which sometimes there were too many pigs bought that there were not enough pigsties to hold them, and sometimes there was a shortage of pigs.

To rely on production, to cling to production, to do our best to serve and to encourage production development is the correct method to build a large source of food supplies. With this method being soundly applied, to be determined to build a big food reserve to satisfy in time the needs of war--that is the basic theory behind the work dealing with foods in the present fight against the U.S. for national salvation. In our fighting the U.S., we do not need only guns and ammunitions, but we also need a lot of foods and foodstuffs. To prepare for a big food and foodstuff force and to build a strong economic potential for the war is to create a position of continuous revolutionary economic offensive. To fulfill this task is to fulfill the task of fighting the U.S. for national salvation on the part of our food cadres. In the task of serving combat, the principal job of the latter is not to fire a cannon, but to prepare the food force for the battlefield and for satisfying other needs of our army and people.

In the new situation, the needs for foods are increasing everyday; in food production, circulation, and distribution, there are many difficulties. As a result, the effort to improve and to raise the people's living standard at the present time cannot help being restricted. However, under any circumstances, food distribution must be carried out properly. On the one hand, food distribution must be able to reflect the class unity and friendship spirit, to guarantee satisfying the basic needs of people of all social strata for the purpose of mobilizing them for unity in production and combat, and for unanimity in the fight against the U.S. for national salvation. On the other hand, food distribution must be done in accordance with the socialist principle of distribution according to labor, aimed at improving the working power of the opposing labor groups according to their working ability, encouraging production development, and guaranteeing the normal development of socialist economic activities.

The application of the above-mentioned principles requires that the food branch reform the organization of distribution and distribution systems and standards in such a way as to conform with the new situation, and at the same time properly lead economical food consumption.

In an atmosphere of emulative work performed in the spirit of fighting

the U.S. for national salvation, every food cadre must also move ahead and work with a truly revolutionary spirit. Any fear for difficulties and hardships, any tendency to step backward in the face of difficulties, a failure to reform the organization of distribution and working method to conform with the new situation, the lack of full exploitation of food sources to replenish the scarce-item stocks, a deliberate lowering of distribution standards, the lack of efforts to satisfy the unexpected needs, and so on--these are all harmful ideas that may adversely affect production and combat.

In order to serve properly the wartime needs, on the one hand we must strengthen and expand the organization-distribution machinery of the state-operated trade office to the more important districts; on the other hand we must rely on the buying-selling cooperatives to do the distribution job well, particularly in regard to scattered needs. However, to make sure that distribution is properly carried out, we must prepare a big volume of goods and investigate the needs of each and every local area, the target of distribution. Moreover, we should practically use other forms of serving more actively the wartime activities, for instance to make more dried foods to satisfy the needs during evacuations, to open more stores selling already-cooked foods or selling at night, etc.

In leadership over consumption, first we must pay attention to properly solving the relation between the state and farmers in regard to determining the proportions of the foods mobilized for the state and the foods left behind for farmers to consume. On this basis, on the one hand we must encourage farmers to speed food production so as to be self-sufficient in regard to foods and to give the state what quantities of foods it wants; on the other hand, we must teach farmers the spirit of saving in food consumption so as to have more foods to sell to the state. As to the kinds of foods that are necessary for both local needs and export needs like pigs, water buffaloes, chickens, ducks, eggs, we need to teach the farmers to understand very well the revolutionary meaning of economical consumption so that they would feel encouraged and would through self-understanding attain the goal of mobilizing such foods.

To carry on a campaign among farmers for economical food consumption does not mean that the state limits all the farmers' food consumption, nor does it mean that the state pays attention only to the living of workers, and not to that of farmers. On the contrary, to have a campaign to ask farmers to consume foods economically only means to urge them to consume foods rationally, particularly those major foods included in the state food-mobilizing plan, on the basis of guaranteeing the proper relation between what is mobilized for the state and what is left behind for farmers to consume and forbidding wastes like indiscriminate slaughtering of pigs for feasts, village celebrations, etc. Moreover, we should also limit the other wasteful consumptions, such as killing cows or pigs to celebrate victories in an unnecessary manner.

To practice thrift in consumption is the task of all of us. We not only urge farmers to be thrifty in food consumption in order to have more foods to sell to the state, but we also urge people of all social strata, the consumers,

to carry out exactly the food-consumption policies, systems, and standards prescribed by the state for each group.

To guarantee to satisfy the major needs for foods, we must, in addition to speeding food production, practice thrift in food consumption. These are the two inseparable aspects in economic management in general, and in the management of the work dealing with foods in particular. The measure connected with production is basic, but the measure connected with thrift-practicing is also very important. In the present situation, to combine closely speeding of production with thrift-practicing in consumption is a problem of important significance for the fight against the U.S. for national salvation and for economic building and development in the north. To combine properly these two aspects is also to understand fully the party self-sufficiency view in regard to solving the food problem in the present situation.

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CSO 3520-D





LET US INTENSIFY THE MOVEMENT TO MAINTAIN PUBLIC ORDER  
AND BE READY TO DESTROY THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS' NEW PLOT

[Following is a translation  
of an article by Tran Chi in  
the Vietnamese-language peri-  
odical, Hoc Tap (Studies),  
Hanoi, No. 3, March 1966,  
pages 51-59.]

In the last few years the movement to maintain public order has become a widespread mass movement and has made an important contribution to stabilizing the political situation and order and security in the north.

The movement to maintain public order is actually a mass movement aimed at struggling against the counterrevolutionaries and eliminating social ills to maintain security and order in the north. It follows and further develops the fine traditions of the movements in the past, such as the movement aimed at achieving the "three not" slogan (not to know, not to see, not to hear), which was designed to keep secrets to protect the revolutionary establishments in the Viet Bac base prior to the uprising; the "keep secrets, guard against traitors" movement during the war of resistance aimed at defending the rear, serving the front, and defending the resistance establishments in areas behind the enemy's back; the "three guard-against" (guard against spies, guard against traitors, guard against accidents) movement; and the "mark off areas to repress counterrevolutionaries" movement (aimed at repressing the counterrevolutionaries in the areas where their influence seriously hampered the implementation of party and state policies).

The movement to maintain public order is a creative application of the Marxist-Leninist principle of repressing counterrevolutionaries to the actual historical conditions of our country. In our country, because of the correct party leadership, the forces of the revolution are always increasing, with the establishments of the party, the people's power, the people's armed and semi-armed establishments, and revolutionary mass organizations existing everywhere. And the prestige of the counterrevolutionaries and the lackeys of the imperialists, though still existing, is negligible; their establishments are not the same at all places, sometimes nonexistent in a certain places. On the other hand, after many years of foreign rule and occupation, in many places the imperialists left behind a lot of social ills which the revolution had to solve early, such as robberies and stealings, prostitution, vagrancies, "cow boys," speculation, smuggling, corruption, hoarding, etc.

On the basis of that actual situation, our party has set forth the movement to maintain public order, the contents of which are: to control fully

the political situation and public order; to prevent and to fight spies and special forces; to struggle against counterrevolutionaries and for breaking all counterpropaganda arguments; to reform the former enemy's lackeys; to protect the productive establishments of the state and collectivity; to eliminate social ills; to consolidate the establishments, and so on.

With such rich contents, depending on the situation in different places, we should single out the more principal contents; for instance, where the counterrevolutionary influence is relatively strong, the major concern would be to arouse the masses to struggle against the counterrevolutionaries. Where the spies and special forces operate as their main base, we should arouse the masses to consider struggling for prevention and against spies and special forces as the major activity. Where there still are many former enemy's lackeys who refuse to be reformed, the major concern would be to educate and to reform them. Where there still are many social ills, the fight against the latter would be the major activity. But everywhere there is a common need--to educate, to organize, and to arouse the masses for the struggle, through which we would heighten the masses' spirit of revolutionary vigilance, further educate the more enthusiastic elements, select the elite elements to bring into our establishments for the purpose of consolidating the base of the revolution. Thus the movement to maintain public order is suitable for our country's conditions and for all localities, and has consequently become a widespread mass movement. In this movement, the interests of the masses are similar to those of the revolution and the fatherland, for on the one hand it creates conditions for production to develop and makes the masses' life in society happier and healthier, and on the other hand it helps to maintain security for our fatherland. It is just because it combines both kinds of interests that it has become a movement joined by the masses everywhere.

Because the economic and cultural situation does not develop evenly, because of different geographical and population conditions, life in our society shows a lot of differences between the delta and the highland, between cities and the countryside, between the old-base area and the liberated-later region, between the area having a lot of Catholics and the area having none. Our movement to maintain public order must show that we are familiar with the characteristics of each area, with the method of achieving the movement contents and the line for our struggle. And in each area we must be familiar with the party policies and work formulas applied there.

In the highland, the movement to maintain public order must fulfill the task of uniting the ethnical groups, relying on the major group to win the support of the upper strata, stressing the patriotism and courage of all groups in the struggle against imperialism in the past, aiming at the basic goals--to protect the welfare of the villages and production, to raise the living standard, to struggle against the imperialists who want to rely on the reactionary elements among the feudal strata in the highland to build counterrevolutionary bases, to create banditry to rob the people, and to go against the people's power. As we urge the masses to struggle, we must go slowly, step by step, patiently, carefully, soundly; and must have a group of cadres



from the ethnical groups who have been taught a great deal about policies and work methods to lead the movement. As we repress the counterrevolutionaries, we must have serious investigation and judgment, go by the laws, and win the agreement of the large masses of the ethnical population.

In the areas where there are many Catholics, the movement to maintain public order must be in full conformity with the party policy dealing with religion, and must respect freedom of religion and freedom of non-religion. We need to use propaganda among and to educate the Catholics so that they would love the country, fully understand the socialist revolution, recognize the false propaganda of the reactionary elements, make a distinction between themselves and the enemy; and on this basis to uncover the imperialists' plot, to struggle resolutely against the counterrevolutionaries, and to make them want to "follow the party in life, follow God after death." On the other hand, we must eliminate social ills in order to raise gradually the masses' economic and cultural living; to make the masses understand science, and on that basis slowly get rid of their superstitious beliefs. The point of the spear of the masses' struggle in these areas must be aimed at the spies and counterrevolutionaries--the imperialists' lackeys.

In cities, the movement to maintain public order must originate from eliminating social ills, building a new happy healthy life, stabilizing social order, protecting production and the people's living, arousing the masses for struggling against the spies and counterrevolutionaries, and reforming those who had made the error of following the enemy. The movement to maintain public order here must rely on the working people, first the workers and poor people of our cities, but must also unite other strata and develop their enthusiasm to speed the movement.

In the last six years, because we understood the above characteristics, we were able to speed the movement everywhere. In the movement there appeared model villages and the leading banners of the delta, highland, and cities. Yen Phong Village, holding the leading banner of the movement to maintain public order in the whole of the north, is a place where, in the past, there were so many complicated phenomena left behind by the previous society. The counterrevolutionaries here suppressed the people and undermined the implementation of the party policies. Bad elements created more social ills; the masses, though liberated from the imperialist and feudal yokes, found that their living had not been improved. Since the day the movement to maintain public order was speeded, Yen Phong underwent basic changes. The counterrevolutionaries were repressed; the gang leaders were isolated; the bad elements were reformed; the party policies were well implemented in all aspects, with production being fast developed and the people's economic and cultural living being raised higher and higher. In addition to being the village that held the leading banner of the movement to maintain public order, Yen Phong has become outstanding in eight other fields of work. The effects of Yen Phong have been widely growing throughout the north since 1962. By now there have been hundreds of villages like Yen Phong in the north.

In cities and villages, there are city quarters and groups of streets that have caught up with Yen Phong like the group of thirty streets in the Dong Da (Hanoi) area, the Thang Loi (Haiphong) sub-quarter, the Sixth quarter (Nam Dinh), etc.

In the highland, there are villages that have caught up with Yen Phong like Hung Khanh (Yenbay), Thanh Binh (Laokay), Quang Chieu (Thanh Hoa), etc.

In the Catholic area, there are villages that have caught up with Yen Phong like Nghia Phu (Nam Dinh), Quang Tuong (Thanh Hoa), Nghi Thach (Nghe An), Quang Phuc (Quang Binh), etc.

In the coastal areas, there appeared "new Yen Phong" like Hai Trieu (Nam Dinh), Tra Co (Quang Ninh), Canh Duong (Quang Binh), Hai Binh (Thanh Hoa), Vinh Quang (Haiphong), etc.

These "new Yen Phong" again develop their effects upon the local movement. Ninh Binh Province alone now has eighty villages that are emulating to catch up with and to pass Yen Phong; Hanoi has 150 groups of streets that are emulating to catch up with and to pass the group of thirty streets, and sixty villages to catch up with Yen Phong; other places have 50-60 percent of villages or groups of streets being good in all aspects in connection with the movement to maintain public order. That is a big change and at the same time a revolution in the social life of the north.

Since 5 August 1964, the U.S. imperialists have been daringly attacking to destroy the north. The movement to maintain public order has gone from the period of serving and protecting production in peace to the period of serving both production and combat in wartime. This is a basic change in the movement.

While the U.S. imperialists intensify more and more the war of destruction in the north, a question being posed is how to maintain order, to guarantee absolute security for the northern rear; to destroy in time the plot to create disorder of the counterrevolutionaries working as lackeys of the U.S. imperialists, and the spy activities and psychological warfare activities of the enemy; at the same time how to keep at the minimum the damages caused by the enemy's war of destruction, to protect the people's lives and properties, and the state organs, treasury, and factories. Consequently, the movement to maintain order has become an important aspect of our people's war. This is an especially important link in the problem of keeping the rear absolutely safe--and a safe rear is an inevitable factor in any war. In this situation, the party has put forth six practical tasks for the movement to maintain public order, which are: to fight the hiding spies and special-force spies, to destroy in time the destructive activities of the counterrevolutionaries; to strengthen the work of keeping secrets and guarding against traitors; to fight the enemy's counterpropaganda arguments, rumor-spreading efforts, and psychological war activities; to encourage the masses to do well the people's

antiaircraft work; to protect well the army units, national defense bases, and state organs, factories, and treasury which have been scattered in local areas and our compatriots who have evacuated there; to protect well communication-transportation and information-liaison.

After a year's fighting the war of destruction, the movement to maintain public order has developed its strength in the struggle of all our people against the U.S. for national salvation and has well fulfilled its new tasks. In many places, the masses did their best to discover the special forces and caught them all, without letting them carry out destructive work. In many other places, the masses uncovered phenomena of suspicious hiding spots for spies, and later found the locations of the latter's hidden radio stations and weapons. In some places the masses uncovered the former enemy's lackeys who were actively trying to set up reactionary organizations. At the same time, the masses were doing their best to study the ways to keep secrets and to guard against traitors, to keep state secrets. They were carrying out the "three not" slogan. That is why so far, although the U.S. imperialists have been spending a lot of money to intensify the espionage war, to do everything possible to collect intelligence data, and to uncover the targets for their air force to strafe and bomb, they have failed in this plot.

The U.S. imperialists hoped that, in the face of the war of destruction becoming fiercer and fiercer and their psychological war activities, the counterrevolutionary elements in the north would seize this opportunity to rise up to create disturbances here and there. They already prepared propaganda means to claim loudly that in the north a force was waiting for their attack. But they were disappointed. For in the movement to maintain public order, in over a year, the masses have done their best to educate and to reform the former enemy's lackeys, and to repress the counterrevolutionary elements who stubbornly refused to be reformed, thus depriving the U.S. imperialists of their support. As a result, even in the most complicated areas, in the areas most frequently strafed and bombed by the enemy, order and security are still maintained; every word, every act, every movement of the opposition elements that is suspicious is being watched and uncovered by the masses. If they dare to create disorder, the masses will immediately punish them.

Also in over a year, the U.S. imperialists have tried to intensify the psychological war activities, hoping to lessen the will to fight of our people in the north and to divide our party and people. However, their plot has miserably failed. In the movement to maintain public order, our people have constantly taught one another (with these sayings): "As banh duc (a kind of rice cake) never contains a bone, the U.S. aggressors never have pity for our people," "To those who are fond of interests and fame, would you forget the love of the country by selling away your native land?", "A tombstone can wear out in one hundred years, (but) the public's judgment will still be there after a thousand years," etc. The deceiving arguments, counterpropaganda, and false rumors spread by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have all been unmasked by our people. Hundreds of tons of leaflets, tens of tons of "gifts" dropped by the U.S. imperialists in the north were gathered by the people and

burned; large crowds held meetings to condemn the crimes of the U.S. imperialists and to denounce their deceitful arguments.

With their bombings and strafings in the north, the U.S. imperialists also hope to provide the vagrants and hoodlums with a good opportunity to "avail oneself of the wind to tear off the bamboo sprout," to create a chaotic situation, to violate the lives and properties of our people and the properties of the state, thus forcing us to be busy dealing with such a problem. However, that is only a vain hope. In many places, although the people have been evacuated, their properties are still well protected. Most of the professional hoodlums have already been reformed into working people. That is the reason why the major crimes, such as murders, robberies, stealings, and other ills, have been on the decline, particularly in those areas frequently attacked in the enemy's air strikes. The reason lies in the fact that once the masses' spirit of ownership has been initiated, the masses will seek to defend themselves and to take part in defending social order.

Under the conditions of the war of destruction, a pretty large number of state organs, factories, and treasury are moved to the relatively safe areas. The activities of the armed forces develop very fast while communication-transportation that serves the front must clearly increase. The protection of these establishments, at this time, is no longer the job of the specialized organs, the forces in charge of protective work, and the workers and cadres and soldiers of such organs, but the common task of all our people. Thanks to constant studies and the speeding of the "keep secrets, guard against traitors" movement, the masses have taught one another the concept of keeping secrets and to achieve the "three not" goal. The bad habit of talking too much and revealing secrets is sharply criticized by the masses. The state properties are actively protected by the masses.

In the present struggle against the U.S. for national salvation, there appeared many outstanding units of the movement to maintain public order. Many villages and city quarters like Bao Ninh, Dai Phong, Dong Hai, Canh Duong, Quang Phuc, Ngu Thuy (Quang Binh Province) villages; the town of Ho Xa, village of Huong Lap of the Vinh Linh area; the town of Ha Tinh; the city of Vinh; Nam Ngan Hamlet and Ha Ngoc Village of Thanh Hoa; the 4th quarter of the city of Nam Dinh; the chief town of Son La; the chief town of Yenbay and village of Minh Nong of Yenbay Province; Lai Vu Village in Hai Duong; Linh Son Village of Ha Bac Province showed a big leap forward in combat work. In these places, although the enemy air force struck many times, the masses' fighting spirit was more and more hardened; order and security were fully maintained; the properties of the people and the state were protected; the wounded were treated in time; the counterrevolutionaries did not dare to operate; those who were reformed by the people now showed their understanding right in combat. What is unusual is that there appeared in these places outstanding people in both the movement to maintain public order and combat. Some people, while enemy aircraft were fiercely strafing, went from door to door to hurry children to the shelters, to put people's properties inside, to lock the doors of vacant houses. Many old ladies rowed their ferry-boats dozens of times under enemy

fire to bring people across the river for emergency medical care. Some children crawled under enemy fire to connect the broken telephone lines of the antiaircraft guns that were hit by enemy bombs. Many young men and women risked their lives when marking the time-bombs, or bringing the latter to a relatively safer place to avoid death among the people. Some workers ran straight into a fire to save gasoline cans, or took off their shirts to plug the broken gasoline-can spouts. Some people dived into the river to save the state goods that had been transported by the sinking boats. Some others ran after a train to tell the train engineer the sections where time-bombs had been dropped. Others did not sleep for eight consecutive nights so that they could continue carrying passengers across the rivers where the bridges had been broken. Such courageous feats are too numerous to be all recounted. Such brilliant achievements are the results of a big process of education, organization, and improvement undertaken by our party. The movement to maintain public order has been closely linked with production and combat. Where this movement is progressing well and combat work is good, production is also good. Vinh Linh, Quang Binh, where combat and production are good, are the only places in the north where the movement to maintain public order has been speeded the most.

We can say that, basically speaking, our movement to maintain public order has been satisfying the needs of the present struggle against the U.S. for national salvation. After a year of war of destruction fought by the enemy, order and security in the north are still maintained; the losses in men and properties caused by the enemy are negligible. Those are our glorious achievements. However, we still have to make a lot of efforts in order to lower to a minimum the damages caused by the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction.

The fact that the movement to maintain public order has obtained such big results is due to the correct party line, the sound leadership of the party echelons, particularly the base-level party committeemen. This movement gets the participation of the masses, particularly the young people, and the wholehearted response of all branches, social strata, state organs, and armed units. The movement to maintain public order is on the road to full development and will surely score even bigger achievements.

Suffering painful defeats in the south and big losses of men and properties in the war of destruction in the north, the U.S. imperialists are finding a way to associate with the counterrevolutionaries in the north to create "uprisings" and then to claim loudly that the north does not have security and that the north has dissident forces.

To carry out this plot, on the one hand the U.S. imperialists intensify the war of destruction to a fiercer degree, and on the other hand further speed the espionage war and psychological war aimed at arousing the counterrevolutionaries, thus making the latter wrongly think that the opportunity has come for them to rise up. The U.S. imperialists can send bands of armed



men attacking a number of places on the coast, or drop many groups of special-force spies in some places in the highland, with the hope that these men would escape our people's net and associate with the counterrevolutionaries, who are seeking a way to rise up, to harass our rear.

To take the initiative and to destroy in time the U.S. imperialists' new plot, we must speed the movement to maintain public order, generate a strong fighting power on the part of the masses, destroy the plot and activities of the spies and counterrevolutionaries, and destroy in time the enemy's special forces and attacking armed forces, thus making the enemy lose their support inside our territory and the special forces isolated and destroyed fast.

To speed the movement to maintain public order along the line of serving production and combat is the task of all our party and people. We need to encourage this movement to develop at a uniform pace everywhere and in all areas, and at the same time we must pay attention to consolidating the more vital areas, for they are the bases of operation which the U.S. imperialists are aiming at to realize their plot.

We need to pay attention to consolidating and speeding the movement to maintain public order in coastal areas and on the islands where the enemy can attack and land their men, in the areas where the enemy still have many social establishments, in the frontier areas and the highland where the enemy usually drop their special-force spies or let the latter infiltrate by road, in the areas where there are many important state organs and factories and treasury which the enemy usually try to bomb and to destroy, in the communication-axis areas where the enemy are carrying out the plot to use special-force spies to destroy after the destruction by air force has failed to bring about the results they expected.

In order to consolidate and to speed the movement to maintain public order in those areas, we first need to speed our propaganda-education, to develop the people's power to fight the U.S. for national salvation, and on that basis to educate the people so that they would carry out the contents of the movement to serve production and combat. In regard to such contents, we need to concentrate on fighting against the spies and special forces and the local counterrevolutionaries, to reform the bad elements, to keep the state secrets, to protect the organs and treasury, and to defend communication-transportation.

At the same time, we need to supervise closely the implementation of the party and state policies, to uncover and to solve in time any shortcomings in regard to this so as to develop the masses' quality of active action. We must cleverly solve the contradictions among the people, which the enemy can take advantage of to destroy the unity and unanimity of all our people and to persuade the slow-moving people to fight against local administrations. We must uncover and punish in time the counterrevolutionary elements who are secretly doing espionage work, who are secretly gathering their force, seeking every means to do counterpropaganda, to arouse and to persuade the slow-moving people, with an aim at creating their own support among our people.

To consolidate the party establishments, administration, police force, and semi-armed force in these vital areas is a key link that should draw our attention. Generally speaking, in these areas, our base-level organizations have been made steady, but are still uneven; in some places they are able to assume their responsibilities and to implement fully the policies and work methods, but in other places they cannot do so; consequently, in consolidating and speeding the movement to maintain public order, we need urgently to strengthen and to consolidate the body of cadres, party members, and key members and, through implementation of the party and state policies and through the movement to maintain public order, to discover the elite elements who have been tested to bring into our local organizations.

In the struggle against the counterrevolutionaries in these areas, a very important problem is to understand fully the party policy calling for repression combined with leniency and punishment combined with reform.

We must undoubtedly apply dictatorship to the counterrevolutionaries, but dictatorship does not mean only punishment, but also education and reform, and the use of power to deprive them of the conditions under which they can have antirevolution activities. Therefore, in the matter of punishing the counterrevolutionaries, we need to determine the right people, the right offense, the right level. Those who commit more crimes and are doing a dangerous opposition job must definitely be punished. But as to those whom we can educate and reform with the help of the masses, control and follow with the prestige of the administration, and unmask and isolate with the masses whom we totally control, we do not always need to punish.

In our system today, the counterrevolutionary elements are the people's enemy; it is only natural that they should not be allowed to enjoy political and economic privileges, or that the latter must be curbed. However, if their wives, children, brothers, and family members themselves do not perpetrate any crimes against the revolution and the people, if they do not object and work really hard, if they fulfill the duty of a citizen and comply with the laws of the state, they are citizens having all the privileges the others have. As we implement the policy of repressing the counterrevolutionaries, we absolutely cannot have an incorrect treatment given to those people just because they "have relations" with the counterrevolutionaries.

In reality, in some local areas, we find that the stubborn counterrevolutionary elements have been repressed in the masses' struggle movement. The remaining elements are in the process of being reformed. We believe that we have enough power to reform them, to lead them to the light. Naturally, there are among them a small number who are "waiting for the opportunity," can be easily aroused by the U.S. imperialists and their psychological war arguments, and can become a tool in the spies' hands; however, we can tell them that in the face of the people's powerful force, they can hardly stand against us. While we do not underestimate their daring acts to the point that we lose our vigilance, we do not evaluate too highly their force, either.

At present a group of counterrevolutionaries are waiting for the opportunity when the U.S. (troops) would land (and) the attackers would parachute to rise up. Although their number is small, their daring acts might do us harm if we were careless. Therefore, in the movement to maintain public order in the vital areas, the immediate and most fundamental need is to know the situation of their presence; to uncover in time, to prevent, and to repress their activities; to cut off their relations with the outside spies and the special forces after the latter's jump, in order to destroy fast the spies and special forces.

In any places, because of some carelessness, the enemy can infiltrate, parachute, or attack from the sea. The movement to maintain public order at the present time must also take that possibility into account. We must prepare our spirit and combat force so that when the enemy appear, we could on the one hand protect the lives and properties of the people, and on the other hand stop, weaken, and destroy the enemy. To satisfy that need, the movement to maintain public order in the vital areas must be closely linked with the building of combat villages, the consolidation of our militia-self defense force, and the proper application of the combat plans that have already been put forth.

The U.S. imperialists' plot to create "uprisings" in the north is very shrewd and dangerous, but the movement to maintain public order is being in a position to attack the imperialists' lackeys; the masses have been organized into units and ranks and are ready to thwart the destructive and trouble-making activities of the spies and counterrevolutionaries. At present, of the social strata that can provide the U.S. with some support, a number of people have been reformed into working people; others have been repressed by the masses; the vagrants and hoodlums have all gone, or there remain just a few of them, who are in the process of being reformed. With this comparison of force between us and the enemy, the U.S. imperialists can hardly make their plot a reality. However, with their reactionary and stubborn character, the U.S. imperialists could have daring and mad acts; therefore, we must keep our vigilance and be ready to cope with the situation. To speed the movement to maintain public order, in the vital areas first, is to prepare the conditions under which we take the initiative to destroy the U.S. imperialists' new plot.

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CSO 3520-D



PROMOTE THE CULTURAL WORK  
IN THE MOUNTAIN REGION

[Following is a translation of an article  
by Nong Quoc Chan in the Vietnamese-language  
periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 3,  
March 1966, pages 60-72.]

The mountain region of the North of our nation has for a long time occupied an economically, politically, and defensively important position. Our Party and State have long followed the policy of developing the mountain region economically and culturally, of enabling the mountain region to keep up with the lowlands, of strengthening the mountain region defensively and building up the armed forces of the people there, and of constantly strengthening the unity and unanimity between the ethnic groups in the mountain region and the people of the lowlands. During the past several years, millions of lowlanders have gone to participate in the economic and cultural building of the mountain region. That has profoundly altered the ethnic composition and population there. The mountain region has become an area where the minority groups and the majority group live together, work together, build together, and fight together. The visage of the mountain region has changed, and is changing more and more every day.

Before the August Revolution, the levels of development of the various ethnic groups varied greatly. The lowland area, of course, differed greatly from the mountain region. And even in the mountain region there was a great deal of difference between the various areas. Like the lowland people, who were caught in two nooses at once, the ethnic groups in the mountain region were heavily oppressed and exploited by both the imperialists and the feudalists. Held back by the old, backward production relationships, the productive forces in the mountain

region not only failed to develop, but even grew weaker. For example, such handicrafts of small ethnic groups as knife-forging, gun-forging, plowshare-molding, cloth-weaving, basket-weaving, paper-making, etc., trades in which they had been engaged for a very long time, were restricted and gradually disappeared. Some minority-group families after several generations still maintained their existence with a knife that had been sharpened so often that it was but a dull iron bar. Many ethnic groups were oppressed and despised to the point that they no longer dared to be known by their ethnic group name. In brief, under the yoke of rule by the French imperialists and the reactionary feudal regime, many minority groups were constantly on the verge of extinction.

Like the lowlanders, the mountain peoples arose to break their bonds of slavery and to become the masters of their lives; and, advancing to socialism alongside the lowlanders, many minority groups have taken a large step, a great leap forward, on their path of development. While, on the path toward socialism, the lowlanders and some relatively large ethnic groups had to pass only through the stage of capitalist development, the minor ethnic groups had to pass through two stages: feudalism and capitalism. Therefore, the accomplishments attained by the mountain region ethnic groups on the path of socialist construction have been very great.

That is first of all a political and spiritual victory. Although differing from one another in language, customs, habits, character, etc., our ethnic groups have one common ideal and revolutionary goal: to resist America, save the nation, and advance to socialism. That political and spiritual unity, and that unity, equality, and mutual assistance among the various ethnic groups, are being manifested more and more beautifully.

Economically, the peasants of the ethnic groups have advanced upon, and are advancing upon, the path of collective livelihood. The economy of the mountain region has gradually advanced from a situation of selective production for self-sufficiency to production with many aspects: agricultural products, forestry products, local products, etc. Because of co-operativization and the expansion of the production direction, many ethnic group areas have not only ended their year-to-year famines, but have advanced to self-sufficiency in foodstuffs, and even to the production of part of its agricultural goods. In addition to a number of large central-level industrial installations, the localities have built, and are building, their own industrial installations, in order to satisfy the ethnic groups' needs for production goods and consumer goods.

Culturally, the large ethnic groups in low-lying areas have eradicated illiteracy and are now promoting a cultural supplementation movement. The popular school system is expanding extensively. A number of ethnic-group students have gone on to college. The Thai, Meo, and Tay-Nung languages have been used in cultural activities. Medical-aid bases have been established in many places. The experimental cultivation and animal husbandry stations in the mountain-region provinces have had a good effect. Cultural activities and the cultural professions develop constantly in many areas. More and more people are participating in the mass culture and art movement in the mountain region. The cultural work has contributed positively to developing the ethnic groups' tradition of heroism and unity; to the teaching of the Party's sentiments, thoughts, and policies among the ethnic groups; to the promotion of the technological revolution, to the reforming of backward customs; to the building of a new way of life, and to the improvement of the lives of the people. It has also begun to advance the work of searching out and developing the artistic traditions of the ethnic groups, of training ethnic-group members to be cultural cadres and artists, and of building such cultural bases as museums, libraries, and radio stations. There have appeared a number of literary works, poems, musical compositions, paintings, and plays by minority group members.

We must realize, however, that the results that have been attained do not meet the needs of the revolution. In the present situation, when the entire nation is at war with America, the mountain region must become the strong rear area of the North and the stable revolutionary base of the entire nation. We must further accelerate the building up of the mountain region. There are, furthermore, many deficiencies and delays which must be overcome.

Politically and economically, there are still many matters regarding the mountain-region ethnic groups which must be further clarified. Such basic aspects of the revolution as socialist industrialization, the line of revolutionary struggle to liberate the South, unify the homeland, build up the spirit of collective mastery, etc., are not clearly understood by everyone.

Economically, the level of agricultural technology and the level of labor productivity are still very low. Due to differing circumstances and conditions, the cooperativization movement develops very unevenly in the various ethnic-group areas, and the agricultural production directions are also not identical. The level of cooperative management is still low, the material and technical bases of the cooperatives are still weak, and the collective economy accounts for only about 50% of all production. In the high-altitude areas, only about 30% of the peasant households participate in cooperatives. A rather large number of

cooperatives have not yet determined their production directions or do not yet have long-range plans for production and construction. The matter of communications and transportation has also not been well resolved. The production and lives of the ethnic groups in high-altitude areas are still beset with many difficulties, and the dissemination and application of science and technology to production and the lives of the people are weakest there.

There are also many cultural problems. Generally speaking, cultural and literary activities in the mountain region are of a low level and vary in quality. There are few ethnic-group cadres and intellectuals. The popularization of science and technology and their application in production and in the lives of the people are still encountering many difficulties. Superstition is still very strong. Bad customs which have not yet been eliminated have exerted adverse influences on the health and production of the mountain peoples. Some ethnic groups living in remote high-altitude areas are still living uncivilized lives. Illiteracy has not been eradicated in the mountain region, and many ethnic groups do not have a written language. The children of small ethnic groups in remote places are all but unable to study at level-I and level-II popular schools, and no, or few, students attend level-III popular schools or colleges.

The actualities of the national revolution in general and of the mountain-region ethnic groups specifically, the immediate struggle to resist America and save the nation, and the present and future enterprise of building socialism, all demand that the mountain region make great progress, and specifically that it become politically stable, economically prosperous, defensively strong, and able materially and spiritually to cope with all situations.

The mountain region must, therefore, undergo a strong and profound transformation in all ways. The cultural and literary work in the mountain region must contribute positively to the creation of that strong and profound transformation. As is the case with the cultural work in general, that in the mountain region must "play an important role in the teaching of hatred for the American aggressors and their lackeys, in strengthening patriotism and love for socialism, in the teaching of revolutionary heroism, in the strengthening of the people's production capabilities and fighting capabilities, in the improvement of their spiritual lives, and in the building of a culture which is worthy of our people and which serves their great enterprise of resisting America and saving the nation." (1) In order to assure the three urgent needs of the mountain peoples -- "to assure economic development, assure strong fighting, and assure the gradual improvement of the material and spiritual lives of the ethnic peoples" (2) -- the cultural work in the mountain region must be promoted more strongly.



## Some Tasks of the Present Cultural Work in the Mountain Region

In order to serve the enterprise of resisting America, saving the nation, building socialism, increasing the rate of economic development, and strengthening national defense, all cultural tasks in the mountain region must first of all contribute strongly to the great political campaign among the ethnic groups to build and strengthen the political and spiritual unity among the mountain peoples by creating hatred for the American bandits and their lackeys, stimulating and developing patriotism and love of socialism, and teaching revolutionary heroism.

All cultural activity must condemn the crimes of the American bandits and their lackeys in the South and in the North, especially in the localities now engaged in fighting, smash the false appeals for "peace" by the American imperialists, and cause everyone to hate the American imperialists, to not be deceived by them, and to resolutely annihilate them. We must, furthermore, stimulate and develop patriotism and love for socialism among the ethnic groups. We must cause everyone to understand that Vietnam is the common Fatherland of all ethnic groups. The masters of Vietnam are the people of the majority group and the minority groups. Only if the Fatherland is at peace, unified, independent, democratic, and strong can the ethnic groups work in peace and enjoy equality. The more one loves the Fatherland, the more one loves socialism, for at present the Fatherland and socialism are one. We must simultaneously fight and produce in order to resist American imperialism, liberate the South, unify the Fatherland, and continue to build and defend socialism. We must, therefore, pay special attention to teaching the new situation and missions to the ethnic groups. We can thereby cause them to undergo a strong transformation in their awareness, their way of life, and their customs; to heighten their revolutionary vigilance; to heighten their sense of responsibility to the Fatherland; to be ready to fight; to enthusiastically contribute to the common revolution of our nation; to go all out in supporting the struggle to liberate the South; and to achieve all stands and policies of the Party and State.

Holding high the flag of resisting America and saving the nation, the cultural work must pay attention to teaching a spirit of unity, equality, and mutual assistance among the various ethnic groups. Ethnic unity in the mountain region is today unity between the minority groups and unity between the minority groups and the lowland people, cadres, and troops who are participating in the economic and cultural development of the mountain region. The basis of ethnic-group unity is the alliance between the working class and the collective peasant class. The goal of

ethnic-group unity is that the ethnic groups produce together and fight together for the benefit of our nation and of socialism. The building of a spirit of patriotism and love for socialism, the fighting of disrespect and prejudice, and the overcoming of narrow, self-denigrating, and conservative thoughts, are also missions which the cultural work must fulfil in order to strengthen ethnic-group unity. The mountain region is no longer a sparsely-populated area, but is a well-populated, animated region where members of minority groups and lowlanders produce, fight, and build together. Therefore, while the ethnic groups in the mountain region go all out to welcome and assist the people from the lowlands, the lowlanders who go to participate in the economic and cultural development of the mountain region must also carry out the ethnic-group policy and respect the habits, customs, and cultural traditions of the local people.

The cultural work in the mountain region is also a means of teaching the ethnic peoples to have a spirit of international proletarianism, to heighten their ethnic pride and their spirit of self-reliance, to endeavor to study, and to make good use of the assistance given by fraternal nations.

We are now living in the most seething days of the revolution. Revolutionary heroism is now developing brilliantly among all ethnic peoples, in production as well as in combat. That also must be a principal concern of all cultural activity, so that we can cause the ethnic peoples to have firm belief in the Party line and in their revolutionary capabilities, to always be optimistic in production and combat, and to heighten their determination to fight and defeat the aggressive American bandits.

We must, by the use of specific forms, cause the ethnic peoples to realize the great latent capabilities of the mountain region, and on that basis we must come forth with correct production directions, closely unite the immediate needs with the long-range needs, make the fullest use of all capabilities for developing production, cause the ethnic peoples to realize their tradition of united struggle, and cause them to realize their capabilities to assimilate culture, science, and technology, so that everyone can be more confident and progress enthusiastically.

Secondly, after political and ideological preparation, the minority groups must have additional scientific and technical knowledge, so that they can keep up with the majority group. The technological revolution is the most essential of the three revolutions now taking place in the North, and plays an especially important role in the rapid strengthening of the economic and defensive capabilities of the mountain region. "The technological revolution we are now carrying out is a great revolutionary step

forward, from handicraft labor to mechanized labor, so from the point of view of the history of the development of production forces, that great leap forward corresponds to the industrial revolution of capitalism." (3)

Who are the people who engage directly in the technological revolution? Under the leadership of the Party, the State scientific and technical organs have made studies and have guided the workers and collective peasants in experimenting and applying science and technology. But the cultural work has the mission of stimulating the development of that movement among the various agricultural, industrial, forestry, communications and transportation, and national defense sectors, in order to meet the needs of the enterprise of building socialism, resisting America, and saving the nation. If new inventions and innovations; new production experiences regarding the rationalization of production, the increasing of labor productivity, and technical methods regarding fertilization, irrigation, seed-selection, and agricultural implement improvement; and new knowledge regarding the shooting down of American planes, the digging of trenches, anti-poison gas measures, etc., are given timely dissemination by cultural and artistic forms, the masses will assimilate them rapidly.

All cultural activities also have the missions of urging the ethnic peoples to study, of eradicating illiteracy in the mountain region (especially among people living in high-altitude areas), of assisting the movement to supplement the cultural knowledge of cadres and the people, and of positively popularizing the Thai, Tay-Nung, and Meo written languages by using those languages in books, newspapers, and other literary works.

Third, in addition to popularizing science and technology, the cultural work must also pay attention to campaigning for the ethnic peoples to build for themselves a new way of life and to eradicate superstitions and bad customs. Each ethnic group has its own customs and conventions. These customs are usually of many kinds: there are such good customs as mutual assistance, hospitality, joint harvesting, good-natured "songfests" during festivals, etc.; and there are such bad customs as apartness, wasteful sacrifices, accusing one another of being possessed of spirits, using divination to determine marriages, etc. When carrying out the campaigns to build a new way of life and reform bad customs, we must firmly grasp the slogan of being positive, resolute, discrete, and certain, for customs and conventions are not only related to religion, but are also closely related to the thoughts and sentiments of each ethnic group. The principal working methods are propaganda, campaigns, mass education, positively introducing science and technology into the lives of the people, building new forms for them and, on that basis, campaigning

for them to get rid of, lessen, or reform, their old customs, and build a new way of life that is sanitary, healthy, happy, and progressive.

Gradually Build a New Culture with  
a Socialist Content and an Ethnic Nature

While achieving the immediate missions to serve production and the fighting, we must also, in order to meet the just needs of the mountain-region ethnic peoples' cultural lives, "positively prepare the necessary conditions for furthering the development of the cultural work in the mountain region." (4) in order to gradually build a new culture for the mountain-region ethnic peoples, with a socialist content and an ethnic nature.

The letter sent by the Party's Central Committee to the Third National Arts and Letters Congress stated clearly that "There are many ethnic groups. We must endeavor to assist in the cultural development of all of them, to make closer the unity among them, and to enrich socialist culture."

This is work of great importance, but it is also difficult and complicated work. We have had to start from scratch in science and technology, and we must do the same in many areas in the mountain region. The advantage to taking a short-cut to socialism is that the ethnic-group peoples have not been infected by capitalist culture; they are fertile ground for the sowing of the seeds of socialism. But by the same token, we must work urgently at things which have existed since the capitalist stage: written languages, prose, printing presses, printing companies, publishing companies, cinemas, broadcasting stations, receiving sets, television, spoken drama, opera houses, libraries, museums, etc. From the point of view of the present culture of Vietnam, we can be proud that we have all the sectors that the advanced nations have. This, of course, is the brilliant result of more than 20 years of our system, and to it the heritage of colonialism and feudalism has contributed nothing of note. Actually, however, all places do not yet have such things.

If we are to build the culture and art of the minority ethnic groups, we must promote the cultural and artistic professions, expand the mass culture movement, and make the mass culture movement the base and professional cultural activities the main concern.

We must strengthen such professional cultural activities as drama, singing, dancing, music, literature, motion pictures, libraries, museums, etc., at the local level, in order, on the one hand, to propagandize, educate, and serve the people in the mountain region and, on the other hand, to activate, guide, and



strengthen the mass culture movement. The cultural sector must introduce more and more literary works and good works of art to the masses in the mountain region. To strengthen professional cultural activities is not only to increase them quantitatively, but also to improve them qualitatively, to be appropriate to the local situation, and to meet the needs of educating the local people ideologically and increasing their knowledge. During the coming years, every culture and art sector must have concrete directions, plans and goals to develop its work in the mountain region and among the minority ethnic groups.

If we are to strengthen professional cultural activities in the mountain region, we must pay attention first of all to strengthening the cultural offices and companies in the mountain region; carry out an appropriate cultural policy which pays attention to the mountain region, to the high-altitude areas, and to the small ethnic groups; and build material bases for cultural, artistic, and information activities in the mountain region.

"In addition to strengthening professional cultural activities, we must endeavor to expand and heighten the mass culture movement, and to train and strengthen cadres for that movement. In places where there are cooperatives, the base-level cultural forces must be closely bound to the cooperatives, for only then can their activities meet the needs of educating politically, and increasing the scientific and technical knowledge of, the cooperative peasants; and only then can there be appropriate organization and good, uniform activity. We must develop and strengthen the cooperatives' cultural teams and units, cooperate with the base-level information forces, organize well the reading and heeding of books and newspapers, develop movie-projection teams, organize official visits and small expositions, organize broadcasting stations, organize local museums, maintain the historical relics of the revolution and the resistance, etc.

"We must affirm that we can not only create a mass culture movement in the lowlands, but also in high-altitude areas, by employing appropriate forms and following appropriate steps.

"In the present situation, professional cultural activities, like popular cultural activities, must take many forms that will enable them to be mobile, and we must pay special attention to the remote areas, the border areas, and islands.

"We must, furthermore, pay adequate attention to developing the mass culture movement in state farms, factories, forestry camps, enterprises, army units, schools, etc. The various Party echelons and the leadership committees of the various units must directly grasp the mass culture work, utilize cultural facilities

to educate cadres and workers politically and ideologically, etc., so that they can live happy, enthusiastic lives and participate enthusiastically in productive labor and in preparing to fight." (5)

In the building of a new culture for the minority ethnic groups, we must not only stress material bases and the various organizations, but must pay even more attention to seeing what can be done to have the minority groups create many literary and artistic works.

The experiences of the past few years of campaigning for the minority ethnic groups to create works of literature and art have proved that we must gradually progress from low-level, simple forms to high-level, complicated forms; closely unite with the traditions of each ethnic group, and accept the new and good things of the other ethnic groups. If this is done, new works of art can be extensively introduced to the masses. At present, with regard to literature, we must encourage members of the ethnic groups to write prose in their native languages and to advance from stories of real people and events to the writing of short stories and novels; and we must develop the writing of narrative poems featuring concrete people and events. As regards the performing arts, we must promote the writing of spoken drama, poetic drama, and folk songs, in the ethnic-group languages. There must be many short songs of a folk nature, in order to facilitate the masses' participation in the singing movement; songs which draw their themes from real life; simple, healthy dances which can easily be popularized among the masses; beautiful, healthy, bright paintings and photographs which are appropriate to the artistic talents and aesthetics of the masses; and many more films about minority ethnic-group subjects, if not films with stories, then documentary and current events films which deal with the lives of the ethnic peoples.

If we are to improve the quality of the ethnic peoples' artistic creations, we must realize that there are many problems which must be resolved. At present, the lack of unanimity about what constitutes the ethnic nature is exerting a direct influence on both the professional and the popular artists. Some people believe that because there are now not only the ethnic-group peoples, but also lowlanders, in the mountain region, it is not necessary to develop the culture of the local people because it is "too primitive," and that comedy is appropriate for everyone. The first way of thinking is conservative and narrow, and the second way of thinking slights the culture of the minority ethnic groups. Both ways of thinking are incorrect.

Our nation is a nation of many peoples. But all ethnic groups in our nation have for a long time formed a stable whole --

the Vietnamese people -- and have worked together in the struggle to defend and build the Fatherland. Today, although the levels of development of the various ethnic groups are not uniform, all ethnic groups, under the leadership of our Party, are becoming socialist ethnic groups. The spiritual, political, and social features of the socialist ethnic groups in Vietnam are that the working class has formed an alliance with the collective peasants to form the backbone of the united ethnic-group bloc led by the working class; that the relationships among the ethnic groups are equal, united, and mutually supporting; and that the relationships among the ethnic groups are socialistic, and no longer chauvinistic. All minority groups, and the majority group, have formed a united bloc so that they can advance together under the Party's flag, which is the flag of patriotism and socialism.

The formation of a "united bloc" does not mean that the good cultural characteristics of the ethnic groups have been eliminated. Not at all. The socialist culture of Vietnam is not built on virgin ground, but is the inheritor of all good elements of the traditional ethnic-group cultures. The culture of each ethnic group will be a culture with an ethnic nature and a socialist content. The ethnic peoples of Vietnam have been closely bound to one another for a long time and are now advancing together toward a common goal, and all ethnic-group cultures are parts of a common culture with a brilliant socialist content and an exquisite Vietnamese nature.

"In the different ethnic groups now participating in the building of socialism, the proletarian culture -- a culture which is socialist in content -- assumes different forms and uses different methods, because of the differences in language, customs, etc. A proletarian content and an ethnic-group form -- that is the world-wide culture toward which socialism is moving. But the proletarian culture does not do away with the ethnic-group cultures, but includes them. And, on the contrary, the ethnic-group cultures do not do away with the proletarian culture, but gives it a form." (6)

According to the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism, the production means of material wealth determine all social, political, and cultural activity. But after it has appeared and developed, a culture bears certain characteristics and its own laws. From the cultural point of view, there are numerous peoples which, although economically at a low level, have produced good works of art; and there are peoples with highly-developed economies who have very weak cultures. For example, while under the feudal system, the Ede people produced the long epic "Dam San," and the Thai people produced the famous poem "Goodby to a Loved One." In America, on the other hand, the economy is very highly developed, but the people are disgusted with America's culture of

cowboys, sex, and reaction.

We are, therefore, confident in, and proud of, the beautiful traditions of the ethnic-group cultures. "We must pay much attention to searching out, preserving, and developing the good elements of the minority ethnic-group cultures. We must have methods for continuing the development of that precious cultural capital, and use it as the capital for building a new ethnic-group culture with a socialist content and an ethnic nature. We must go all out to maintain the special cultural characteristics of each ethnic group, but we must stimulate cultural exchanges among the ethnic groups, in order to enrich the nation's common culture. We must respect the spoken languages, written languages, and arts of the various ethnic groups, while encouraging the ethnic groups to study the spoken and vernacular written language of the lowlanders, and to accept the good parts of their culture." (7)

In the cultural tradition of each people there are good things and there are bad things. The good things must be developed and maintained, and the bad things must be eliminated. On that basis of selection, each ethnic group must create and accept new things, in order to build a new culture. We must not keep only to ourselves, but must constantly climb high peaks in order to feel the cultural winds blowing from all directions. This is one aspect. But there is another aspect: when an ethnic group receives cultural capital from another ethnic group, especially from the majority group, it should not accept it lock-stock-and barrel, or replace what is there with what belongs to others, but must adapt extraneous elements to suit its own conditions. We must make great efforts to facilitate the development of the cultural capital of the minority groups, avoid the attitude of slighting the cultural capital of the minority groups, and avoid forcing them to accept the culture of the majority group, without paying attention to developing and increasing their own cultural capital. The minority groups must, on the one hand, endeavor to develop their traditional cultural capital, while on the other hand endeavoring to study the culture of the majority group. The various ethnic groups must endeavor to study one another and join in developing the common culture of the Vietnamese people.

#### Train and Strengthen Minority Group Cultural Cadres and Artists

In the minority group work, one of the most important tasks of our Party is to pay attention to training and strengthening an army of ethnic-group cadres. This is necessary in the political, economic, and scientific and technical spheres, and it is even more necessary in the cultural sphere, which has its



own urgent needs. Ethnic-group cadres are distinguished representatives of their group and, more important, they are bridges connecting the ethnic group peoples with the Party, and hold high the Party's flag in each ethnic group. The experiences of the past 20 years prove that the ethnic-group cadres play a very important role in promoting all tasks in the localities. No one, of course, can deny the role of lowlanders who are active in the ethnic-group regions. With strong revolutionary sentiments, a very large number of our comrades have left their home areas in the lowlands to work in their second home areas in the mountain region. Those comrades have overcome all difficulties, and have made sacrifices, to help the ethnic groups rebuild their lives. These are warriors about whom very little is heard, but it is they who have planted the Party's seeds of revolution in the ethnic-group areas in the high mountains and dense jungles. Because of the activities of such warriors, our Party and State have been able to build stable revolutionary bases. And because of the guidance and assistance of those warriors, the minority ethnic groups have arisen to struggle to build new lives. But if we are to achieve the slogan "Enable the mountain region to keep up with the lowlands and the minority ethnic groups to keep up with the majority group," all ethnic groups must advance on their own two feet. Each ethnic group must have its own cadres to be concerned with all of its tasks. It is extremely important that the majority-group cadres assist them, but this assistance should not be one ethnic group doing the work of another ethnic group, but should enable each ethnic group to advance to becoming masters of our society. Only thereby can equality among the ethnic groups be achieved.

It is especially important that there be ethnic-group cadres in the cultural sphere. For the culture of an ethnic group manifests the psychology, language, customs, characteristics, and customs of that ethnic group. The people of an ethnic group are capable of understanding and performing the cultural work of another ethnic group. A number of lowland cadres and demonstrators are making studies of and demonstrating the dances, songs, and works of art of the minority groups. But does that mean that there is no need for ethnic-group cadres and artists? No! The revolution is an undertaking of the masses. The cultural work is also an undertaking of the masses. No one can understand an ethnic group better than it can understand itself. It is essential that all ethnic groups have cadres and people who write prose, compose poems, write dramas, compose music, paint pictures, take photographs, and make films, and people who sing well, dance well, etc. Only when each ethnic group has such people, in small or large numbers, can its culture develop. Because an ethnic group's cadres and artists understand the way of thinking and the sentiments of their ethnic group, are fluent in its language, and understand

their people's customs, they can better understand, study, create, and demonstrate things related to their ethnic group. Therefore, the people of each ethnic group will have a culture which reflects their lives more closely, the cultural heritage of each ethnic group will be developed, and the socialist culture of Vietnam will be enriched.

In contrast to the period before the August Revolution, we now can be proud of the cultural workers in the mountain region. In some ethnic groups there have appeared artists, demonstrators, and performers; there are poets, prose writers, painters, dancers, singers, and people who do research and teach in art schools. This is very valuable capital for the ethnic groups. But the ethnic-group masses, faced with the new situation and missions, require more advanced cultural lives, so the present army of cadres and artists is insufficient, and cannot yet meet the needs of the revolution. During the coming period, therefore, it is very necessary and urgent that we further promote the training and strengthening of minority ethnic-group cadres and artists. But what viewpoint should this training and strengthening take? Who should be selected? How should this strengthening be done? These are questions which cannot be answered subjectively.

Under the feudal system, some thinkers, writers, and artists wholeheartedly praised the throne and feudalist philosophy and virtues. Under the capitalist system, the capitalist state endeavored to train its own philosophers, historians, and literati to defend the "monetary ideals," "freedom," "altruism," aggression, belligerency, etc., of the capitalists. Is it true that under our grand socialist system we are less well off than we were under the feudalists and the capitalists? Is it true that we lack talented men who can use their hearts and minds to praise and encourage our heroic people? No! The training and strengthening of minority ethnic-group cadres and artists (as well as lowlanders) is first of all their strengthening with regard to the socialist stands, viewpoints, and sentiments of the working class. Although all of our ethnic groups differ in language, customs, etc., they have common ideals, a common system, and common goals. No matter what language they use or what their customs are, therefore, the new artists of the ethnic-group peoples must ardently love and praise their people, their Party, and their Fatherland.

Who should be selected for training and strengthening? We should select people who are directly engaged in production and combat, who are loyal to the revolutionary undertaking of the people and, especially, who are of reliable stock. We must pay much attention to finding and selecting people in each ethnic group, and the smaller the ethnic group, the more effort we must

make. Those people who are now working or creating must be further strengthened. The artists at the base level must be constantly assisted. For those people who are very talented, we must create conditions for them to enter deeply into their crafts. We must pay attention to ethnic-group youths in co-operatives, enterprises, army units, and schools, for although they lack experience in life, they are cultured and spirited. As regards the members of minority groups from the South who have creative ability, we must positively train them. As regards the lowlanders who live in the mountain region, or who have worked for years in the mountain region, we must pay attention to appropriately promoting and strengthening them. No matter whether the person is a managerial cadre or an artist, or whether the person is experienced in his craft or has just entered it, all must study. They must study theory, politics, culture, professional matters, and ethics. We do not make a fetish of the cultural work, but nor do we regard it as being commonplace; we do not create illusions for anyone or be subjective toward any certain craft.

How should people be trained? First of all, we must train cadres of various echelons to manage the mass culture movement. This type of cadre must have considerable understanding of the customs, traditions, psychology, and languages of the ethnic groups. We must also train increasingly larger numbers of cadres for artistic guidance, in accordance with the present needs, in order to guide the cultural-work teams, the mobile cultural teams, and the popular art teams. And we must have plans for training teaching cadres.

In addition to training an army of cadres, we must also train an army of artists. As regards literature, we must further strengthen the minority ethnic groups' poets, prose writers, and dramatists, and we must gradually train researchers and critics. If this is to be done, the responsible central-level sectors and the sectors in the mountain region must constantly discover and assist new talent, and raise the levels of people who are already engaged in crafts. As regards the arts, we must train people for the music, dance, stage, art, and cinema sectors, so that during the next few years there can be more minority group people who are artists, demonstrators, performers, and researchers.

As regards the training and strengthening methods, we must pay attention to combining formal study in schools with the holding of short-term courses, discussions, and actual supervision.

The cultural work is work of the entire Party and the entire population; it includes a very wide scope of activity and is composed of many aspects. In the present situation of

resisting America and saving the nation, the cultural work is even more important. Therefore, the various Party echelons, when strengthening their leadership of production and combat, must pay attention to leading the cultural work. Under the close leadership and guidance of the Party, the cultural work in the mountain region is certain to contribute more strongly to promoting production and combat, strengthening ethnic group unity, and promoting the other aspects of the work, in order to transform the mountain region into the North's strong rear area, and into a stable revolutionary base for the entire nation.

#### Notes

1. From Instruction No. 104/CT-TU of 28 July 1965 of the Party's Central Secretariat, concerning "The Cultural Work in the New Situation."
2. From Instruction No. 114/CT-TU of 6 December 1965 of the Party's Central Secretariat, concerning "Strengthening the Leadership of the Cultural Work in the Mountain Region During the Present Stage of Resisting America and Saving the Nation."
3. Le Duan, "The Enterprise of Socialist Industrialization is the Common Enterprise of the Entire Population," from On the Socialist Revolution in Vietnam, The Truth Publishing Company, Hanoi, 1963, page 321.
4. From Instruction No. 114/CT-TU.
5. Ibid.
6. Stalin, "The Political Missions of the University of the Peoples of the East," from The Problem of Nationalities and Colonies, Vietnamese-language edition, The Truth Publishing Company, Hanoi, 1962, page 319.
7. From Instruction No. 114/CT-TU.

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PROMOTE THE LOCAL SCIENTIFIC  
AND TECHNICAL WORK

[Following is a translation of an article by Luu Quang Hoa in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 3, March 1966, pages 73-82.]

I

In the enterprise of building socialism in the North, our Party always stresses the important position of the technological revolution and the scientific work. The Third National Congress of the Party and the Fifth, Seventh, and Eighth Conferences of the Party's Central Committee all dealt with the scientific and technical work's mission of serving agriculture, industry, and the building of the material and technical bases of socialism. And the Tenth Conference of the Central Committee stressed the "elevation of the technological revolution to the key position," accompanied by the continuation of the revolution in production relationships and the promotion of the ideological and cultural revolution.

At present, the revolution in our nation has the urgent mission of concentrating its entire strength in defeating the aggressive American bandits, in order to defend the North, liberate the South, and unify the Fatherland. In the war to resist America and save the nation, the South is the great front line and the North is the great rear area. The North must advance more strongly and more rapidly in economic construction and development, in order to assure the victory of the struggle to resist America and save the nation. The socialist revolution in the North must constantly advance. The building of the material and technical bases of socialism must continue, along with the perfection of socialist production relationships. All work in the North, therefore, must be promoted at a fast pace. This also applies to the scientific and technical work. And this is even more true as regards the scientific and technical work in the localities in the new situation.

It would truly be a mistake to believe that under wartime conditions it is difficult to speak of the development of initiatives, the improvement of technology, the rationalization of production, and creations and inventions, or of the advancement of scientific research and basic studies, etc. We must affirm that even in the present urgent situation of resisting America and saving the nation, we are entirely capable of promoting the technological revolution, and the scientific and technical work in the localities, at a fast rate. And this is also a good opportunity to enable the scientific and technical work in the localities to develop rapidly, and to cause the localities to advance rapidly, strongly, and stably on the path of technological revolution, under the leadership of the Party.

Science and technology arise and develop from actuality, and can in turn serve actuality. Unity with actuality, especially with the production and fighting bases, has always been a very basic characteristic of our Party's scientific and technical line. This line manifests the mass viewpoint and the mass line in the scientific and technical work. For more than ten years, during the building of socialism in the North, the actualities of the various localities, with their differing natural and labor conditions, and production practices and experiences, have provided science and technology with great amounts of valuable material, and have also created for science and technology a large number of important questions which must be studied and resolved. Today, in the struggle to resist America and save the nation, each locality, following the line of people's war and people's defense, is endeavoring to become a stable base strong enough to defeat all actions of the American bandits' war of destruction and aggression. All localities are making great efforts to make the most rational use of their labor and resources, in order not only to achieve the highest degree of self-sufficiency and to be capable of resolving their needs on the spot, but also to be able to provide the greatest possible amount of supplies for the front. The people of all localities are transforming anger into strength, are developing to a high degree their revolutionary spirit and their spirit of absolute heroism in production and in combat, and have won many great victories. More than 800 modern airplanes of the American bandits have been shot down by our soldiers and people in the North. As regards agricultural production, there have been many instances of high productivity on a large scale. Xuan Thanh Village (Thanh Hoa) achieved a productivity of 6.4 tons per hectare. Nam Tien Cooperative (Phu Tho) achieved 11 successive successful harvests, and in 1965, because it developed its revolutionary spirit and stressed the application of science and technology, increased its yearly productivity to 6.7 tons per hectare; and in the fall season of 1965, while both producing and fighting, it achieved the highest productivity ever: 3.65 tons per hectare. Ha Hoi Cooperative (Ha Tay) planted 100% of its land, spread 11.5 tons of animal fertilizer on each hectare, and planted rice that was highly productive and appropriate to the local conditions. It therefore achieved a yearly productivity of 5.83 tons per hectare, and in the fall season of 1965 achieved a productivity of 3.58 tons per hectare. We could also mention many other cooperatives, such as the Tan Phong, Tan Hung Hoa (Thai Binh),

Dong Phuong Hong (Thanh Hoa), Xuan Duong (Phu Tho), and Bas Long (Ha Tay) cooperatives, etc. Nearly all provinces and districts had instances of high productivity, of "five-ton districts" and "more-than-five-tons cooperatives." In such places the creative power of our people, even in science and technology, is very great. The revolutionary masses are applying, and experimenting with, scientific and technical methods, while posing many scientific and technical questions. They are common people, people engaged in actual work, but it is they who have cleared new paths for science and technology. We must recapitulate the experiences of those advanced forms. We must explain scientifically how those cooperatives can achieve a productivity of three or four tons of paddy per season. We must examine how they prepare the soil, select seeds, grow rice shoots, and transplant; and we must examine their weather conditions, fertilization, irrigation, and crop tending. In other words, we must reach accurate scientific and technical conclusions, in order not only to assure that rice productivity in those cooperatives increases stably, but also to disseminate those experiences widely among the other cooperatives, in order to raise the level of agricultural production of the entire North. "In agriculture, in industry, in communications and transportations--in all spheres of activity--we must increase labor productivity by competing to rationalize production and improve technology; and we must firmly grasp the important tasks of improving production implements, applying increasingly advanced technical methods, and teaching producers to use new equipment and apply new technology."<sup>1</sup> Technology has become an urgent need of society. And "When society has need of technology, society is more capable of furthering science than are ten universities."<sup>2</sup>

Our policy is to promote the scientific and technical work during wartime, especially in the localities; but we do not aim merely to satisfy our immediate war needs. We are fighting with the spirit of victors. We are the masters of the present and of the future. We are determined to defeat the American aggressors and continue our building of socialism. Even under the present wartime conditions, we must prepare material and technical bases so that after the war we can take great leaps forward in all fields. Promoting the technological revolution and strengthening the scientific and technical work, especially in the localities, in order to serve the present production and combat missions, is appropriate to our future direction of advance. In other words, the promotion of the technological revolution and the strengthening of the scientific and technical work, especially in the localities, is a manifestation of the close unity between the immediate mission and the long-range mission.

In the history of the world, the science and technology of many nations have developed strongly, and have even taken great leaps forward, during wartime. In our country during the past 20 years, especially during the more than 10 years of building socialism, science and technology have, in serving production and combat, also made great progress and have made brilliant accomplishments. Today, the entire North of our nation is engaged in a war begun by the American imperialists. But all wars require

production. Production during wartime usually makes great demands on science and technology, while promoting their rapid development. Production to defeat the American bandits, to build socialism, and to prepare great leaps forward in all fields after the war is over, demands much more of science and technology, and promotes their more rapid development. The present scientific and technical work in the North, especially the scientific and technical work in the localities, must be further promoted, so that they can be of strong service to our people's struggle to resist America and save the nation.

## II

The present mission of the scientific and technical sectors is to meet the great and urgent needs of combat, production, and the lives of the people during the war of resistance against the aggressive American imperialists, while preparing stable scientific and technical bases for the building of our homeland after the war has been concluded. What must the local scientific and technical work do during the next few years in order to achieve that mission? On the one hand, it must concentrate its strength in further promoting the mass movement to study and apply science and technology, develop initiatives, improve technology, rationalize production, further strengthen the technical management work, and strengthen and make rational use of cadres, in order to be of good service to the immediate needs. On the other hand, it must unite the immediate needs with the long-range needs and strengthen the basic investigation work, train scientific and technical cadres and researchers, endeavor to meet the new needs of strengthening our latent economic and defense capabilities, and build up the economies of each region, especially the localities of special importance. Generally speaking, the local scientific and technical work must concentrate principally on serving the immediate needs. The work which serves the long-range needs should be closely united with, and be accomplished through, service to the immediate needs.

During the next few years, the scientific and technical work must concentrate on three principal aspects: agriculture, local industry, and communications and transportation.

The strong development of agriculture in the new situation in the lowlands, the mountain region, and the midlands, is of special importance with regard to the strengthening of the latent economic and defense capabilities. The scientific and technical work must contribute positively to achieving the intensive cultivation and increased productivity of the various kinds of plants, and must especially contribute to the struggle to achieve a yearly rice production of five tons or more of paddy per hectare, strongly develop non-rice food crops and industrial crops, promote animal husbandry, and continue to strengthen the material and technical bases, in order to strengthen agricultural cooperatives in both the lowlands and the mountain region. The scientific and technical work must



help the cooperatives and state farms to organize the achievement of technical methods, build production schedules and technical standards, gradually build material and technical bases, promote the irrigation work and combine it with the building of fields and paddies, and advance to controlled irrigation and drainage in accordance with the growth needs of plants and by means of a system of area and field dikes and a rational canal and ditch system. It must also help them to collect, store, and process animal fertilizer, strongly develop the growing of water lentil and various kinds of green fertilizer in order to resolve the fertilizer problem on the spot, and pay attention to developing and making full use of the various sources of mineral fertilizer. The expansion of small machines and small electric generators, and the extensive use of improved implements, are also necessary in order to resolve the labor shortage and contribute to the achievement of intensive cultivation and increased productivity and the promotion of animal husbandry in cooperatives. We must also pay special attention to the erosion-prevention work, recapitulate the cultivation experiences, and strengthen agricultural science research in the mountain region.

Local industry in the new situation plays an increasingly important role in the providing of production means and consumer goods to meet the local needs and those of national defense. The scientific and technical work must contribute positively to studies and research, in order to develop, and make rational use of, the local natural resources and raw materials; investigate the production plans and plans for providing equipment to local industry; and investigate the production of new products, equipment, and replacement parts for machinery in the locality, in order to meet the needs of national defense, of agriculture, and of communications and transportation, and in order to satisfy the consumer needs of the local people.

The strong development of communications and transportation in general, and especially their development in the countryside and in the mountain region, is at present an urgent mission. The scientific and technical work must not only contribute to countering the enemy's use of airplanes to destroy our lines of communication, but must also be prepared to assure communications and transportation should the enemy recklessly expand the war even further. The scientific and technical work must contribute to increasing the mobility of each locality, to the drawing up of local water-route communication lines and to the organization of rapid river crossings, and must pay attention to bridge and road technology and to mechanized, semi-mechanized, improved, or primitive transportation facilities which are appropriate to the locality.

The scientific and technical work must also contribute positively to the protection of production, to the protection of the lives and property of the people, and to guarding against and opposing the American imperialists' war of destruction, while going all out to serve the work of protecting and improving the health of the people in the urgent

production and combat situation at present. So that science and technology can be of increasingly stronger service to production and combat in the localities, we must advance the following principal aspects of the work:

First, we must organize extensive study of science and technology and promote the work of popularizing them among cadres and the masses. We must disseminate extensively and rapidly advanced scientific and technical knowledge and scientific and technical findings in our country and abroad; quickly make known the production innovations and experiences of the local masses and of the people of other localities, and enable the laboring masses to grasp science and technology and apply them to production, and to develop their creativity in production and in combat.

Second, we must enter deeply into the actualities of production and combat at the local level; do a good job of assembling the people, making recapitulations, and conferring awards; and disseminate and apply the innovations and experiences of the masses. The innovations and experiences of the masses in productive labor and combat manifest their creativity and the mass nature of our technological revolution. We must give close leadership to the movement to develop innovations, improve technology, rationalize production, and value all innovations and experiences of the masses. We must do a good job of recapitulation, the making of awards, popularization, and the close observation of the application of innovations and experiences to production, combat, and the lives of the people.

Third, we must strengthen the technical management work. Production carried out on the basis of the new, socialist production relationships, and on the basis of increasingly advanced technology, makes it increasingly imperative that we strengthen the technical management work.

Technical management, put simply, is the transformation of scientific and technical findings, and the innovations and experiences of the masses applied in appropriate conditions of production, into systems, rules, and regulations which every person and organization must obey in an organized, disciplined way when engaged in production (including the relevant circulation and consumption sectors). This is a method which we must grasp in order to develop more rapidly and stably the use of science and technology as regards production. Technical management has therefore become one of the principal contents of the production management work. It is also a good method to strengthen the awareness of organization and discipline, and the sense of responsibility, of cadres, workers, and cooperative members.

Under wartime conditions, the dispersion of production and a sense of urgency in combat and production activities increasingly demand that we strengthen our technical management work, in order to promote production and the fighting; assure the good use of equipment, machinery, boats, vehicles, and other technical facilities; and increase labor productivity and improve the quality of products.

Fourth, we must strengthen the basic investigation work. Nature is a unified body. Each mistake in the utilization of one element of nature can result in adverse effects with regard to the other elements and even to the over-all natural conditions of a given area, not only for the present, but also for the future.

The ever-increasing development of production demands that we introduce into the economy new sources of production capability, and that we utilize correctly, and with a high degree of economic efficiency, the natural and economic conditions of our nation and of each locality. That is why the basic investigation work must keep a step ahead.

If the basic investigation work is to achieve good results, there must be close cooperation among the various sectors and echelons, and it must be participated in by the masses.

Fifth, we must develop the work of scientific and technical research and application. The revolutionary spirit of the masses is becoming more seething everywhere. The spirit of self-strengthening is causing our cadres and people to enter more and more deeply into science and technology, in order to promote production and the fighting.

More and more scientific and technical cadres (high-level and middle-level) are supplementing the localities. The cultural level and level of scientific and technical knowledge of the masses have also risen greatly. Material and technical bases for production and for the scientific research work have also begun to be built. In the present situation, there are more and more favorable conditions for strengthening the cooperation and mutual assistance between the central-level scientific research forces and the cadres and masses in the localities, etc. All of these things enable us to boldly develop the work of scientific and technical research and application in the localities, even down to the production bases themselves. Actualities have proven that only by organizing the cadres and masses of each locality so that they themselves can do research into their problems, can the actual problems encountered in production and combat be resolved rapidly and well.

Sixth, we must strengthen the work of managing and training scientific and technical cadres. One of the important factors in the achievement of the technological revolution in our country is that we must have an army of skilled workers and expert scientific and technical cadres, with ardent patriotism and a high degree of socialist awareness.

At present, in addition to the high-level and middle-level scientific and technical cadres working in the various central-level sectors, organs, and schools, each province must have hundreds of cadres who are engineers, doctors, level-III teachers, and specialized middle-level cadres. Many districts now have engineers and doctors. Many villages, agricultural cooperatives, and local industrial enterprises have middle-

level cadres. Many districts now have engineers and doctors. Many villages, agricultural cooperatives, and local industrial enterprises have middle-level technical cadres. Those cadres, generally speaking, enthusiastically going all out to serve the struggle to resist America, save the nation, and build socialism in the North. A rather large number of them have begun to come of age and gain experience in actual work.

In consideration of the new situation and mission, we must develop even further the revolutionary spirit and creativity of that army of cadres. We must make good use of the existing cadres and correct irrationally-organized work. We must strengthen the cadres politically and ideologically, and help them enter deeply into actualities, keep in touch with the masses, and study the masses. We must pay attention to concentrating the cadres in the most essential tasks, or in the most important areas of a locality, so that, under the close leadership of the Party, they can rapidly achieve good results, gain experience in their work, and increase their self-confidence and their enthusiasm for their work. We must pay attention to enabling all cadres to grasp scientific and technical knowledge concerning the immediate tasks, while encouraging everyone to enter deeply into a certain speciality, so that they can both serve the immediate needs and gradually increase their capability to be of long-range service.

We must, furthermore, investigate and enforce appropriate work, study, and daily-activity regulations; go all out to create the necessary conditions and facilities for the cadres, especially those working in villages, cooperatives, state farms and enterprises; and promote the scientific and technical activities.

As regards the training of new cadres, each locality must base its actions on its needs when drawing up a plan to train cadres and organizing the step-by-step achievement of that plan.

The important matter in the work of training cadres is that we must improve the training contents and methods, in order to assure that the cadres are both skilled in science and technology and stable politically, and to rapidly develop their positive use in the actualities of production and other work. In addition to training cadres in schools, we must stress the methods of on-the-spot training, study-while-working, supervision and mutual assistance, and promotion. The training of a large number of female cadres and technical workers for the agricultural cooperatives and local industrial enterprises is another urgent mission.

### III

As stated above, our Party regards the technological revolution as a key matter, so the scientific and technical work is an aspect of the Party's work. Our Party must truly grasp, and make its leadership of the



scientific and technical work as good as its military and political leadership.

If, therefore, we are to create a strong transformation in the scientific and technical work, the decisive matter is still the strengthening of the Party's leadership, especially that of the Party's local and production-base echelons. The Tan Hung Hoa Cooperative (Thai Binh) is a concrete example. The rice productivity of the village of Ne had been among the lowest in the district of Kien Zuong; but since 1964, because the various Party echelons brought forth technical methods and organized their application in production, the village's productivity has become one of the highest and most stable in the district. The cooperative members grasped the essential technical methods, and in the course of applying them reached conclusions about such important matters as the improvement of acidic soil, processing techniques, fertilization, the growing of water-lentil the year round and in acidic paddies, the local varieties of rice, the techniques of rice-shoot growing, the correct transplanting of rice shoots, transplanting density, soil preparation and wetting for the spring season, etc. The various echelons have used experimental paddies to train cadres and teach the mass cooperative members to consciously grasp new techniques. A spirit of attacking science has appeared in Tan Hung Hoa. Such examples as Tan Hung Hoa are not scarce.

According to the experiences of a number of localities, if we are to bring about a transformation in the leadership of the scientific and technical work, we must first of all cause the entire Party and the entire population, led by the Party echelons, to undergo a transformation in their consciousness of the technological revolution and the scientific and technical work; and we must build for the cadres, Party members, and masses a determination to study and apply science and technology, in order to victoriously complete the production and combat missions. The various echelons must truly grasp the situation; investigate the matter of collective discussions; have specific resolutions and stands regarding the major directions, missions, and methods regarding the scientific and technical work, according to the local situation; and organize the achievement of those resolutions and stands by the local sectors and echelons. The various local echelons must assign a member of their standing committee to have over-all responsibility for this work, in addition to the other committee members who are responsible for the various specialized sectors. The various echelons must pay special attention to the organization and leadership of the movement to study science and technology among the cadres and the masses. The various committee members must be positive models and participate in the study. As regards the results of scientific investigations, innovations, experiences, and advanced techniques, the various echelons must positively support them and organize their wide and rapid dissemination and application in production.

In agriculture, the various echelons must, in addition to organizing technical study, pay special attention to leading the movement to

establish experimental paddies for achieving intensive cultivation and high productivity, and to establish model paddies for increasing production, in order to use them to teach techniques to cadre members and cooperative members. They must also give close leadership to the work of building production schedules and technical standards. Those are two especially important methods for rapidly introducing science and technology into the production of agricultural cooperatives. By firmly grasping those two methods, we can cause the peasant masses to rapidly accept advanced agricultural science and technology, although their cultural and scientific levels are still low. The various echelons must pay attention to recapitulating the traditional production experiences of the people in their localities.

In industry, the various echelons must pay special attention to the leadership of the "high productivity, good quality, and good economy" movement, and must promote the mass movement to develop initiatives, improve technology, and rationalize production, while gradually strengthening their technical management work, the most immediate task of which is to achieve the internal regulations and systems, and to standardize the principal sectors and products.

The organizations engaged in local scientific and technical leadership and research are took upon which the local echelon can rely to lead this work. The local echelon, therefore, must pay attention to strengthening those organizations, so that they can be strong enough to fulfill the missions brought forth by the local echelon.

The present actualities prove that wherever the Party echelons closely unite the three revolutions--the technological revolution, the revolution in production relationships, and the ideological and cultural revolution--and, especially, firmly grasp the technological revolution as the key, there the revolutionary spirit of the masses will increase, and production and other work will undergo strong transformations. The cooperatives of Dai Phong (Quang Binh), Dong Phuong Hong (Thanh Hoa), Nam Tien (Phu Tho), Tan Hung Hoa, Tan Phong (Thai Binh), the cooperatives in Vinh Tuong District (Vinh Phuc), and many other advanced cooperatives in the North, are concrete examples of this. The initial transformations of the Thai Binh and Vinh Phuc provincial committees, and of the Haiphong, Hanoi, and other, municipal committees, with regard to the scientific and technical work, have brought about good results. Therefore, when speaking of agriculture in the new situation, Comrade Le Duan noted that "Those three cooperatives cannot be separated, but must be achieved simultaneously in the cooperatives. The Party's agricultural leadership cadres must firmly grasp the lines, principles, and contents of strengthening the cooperatives and perfecting the socialist production relationships in the countryside; and they must understand agricultural science and technology, positively bring the masses into the technological revolution, etc. The district committees must have knowledge of those three revolutions, and must especially have knowledge of agricultural science and technology."<sup>3</sup>

Actually, the scientific and technical work is still new and difficult work for us. Although we have made great progress and have gained considerable experience in leading this work, we are still beset with difficulties. In many places, the Party echelons and the government echelons have not grasped the specific contents of the scientific and technical work in the localities, are still confused, and have no experience in leading this work. The lower the cultural, scientific, and technical levels of the leadership cadres, the more difficult it is to lead this work. Most of our scientific and technical cadres are new cadres with a low level of knowledge and with little experience. The cultural level and the level of popular scientific and technical knowledge of the people are also low. Conditions and facilities for scientific and technical activities and research are, generally speaking, still lacking; and they are even more lacking in the localities. The present war situation has also created new difficulties with regard to the working conditions and facilities, to communications, etc.

Compared to situations in the past, however, we have many very basic advantageous conditions for promoting the technological revolution.

First of all, the decisive victory of the new, socialist production relationships in the North has brought about the economic and ideological liberation of our people, and the initial accomplishments of the building of the material and technical bases of socialism have resulted in the increasing development of the technological revolution.

We are now living and working in a period of high tide of our people's revolution. This affords a rare opportunity. With their tradition of revolutionary struggle, with their hatred for the American imperialists, and with their spirit of creativity and self-strengthening, our cadres and people will overcome all difficulties, enthusiastically study science and technology, and engage in scientific and technical work.

Our army of scientific and technical cadres is much stronger now than in the past, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Although we are still beset with difficulties with regard to the conditions and facilities for scientific and technical research and study, they are far superior to those of the past. Our people's cultural level and their level of science and technology have also been raised. Furthermore, our Party (including the local-level and base-level Party echelons) has, during the past several years, gained experience in leading the scientific and technical work, even in wartime.

The present transformation in all aspects of the work affords a good opportunity for our scientific and technical cadres to work closely with the masses, enter more deeply into the actualities of production, study the masses, and overcome deficiencies, so that they can rapidly come of age and be of greater service to the revolution.

If, in the new situation and with the new missions, we completely develop those basic advantages and have a high degree of determination, we can certainly promote the advance of the scientific and technical work in the localities, positively serve production and the fighting, and contribute worthily to our people's struggle to resist America and save the nation.

#### Notes

1. Pham Van Dong, "Advance Strongly on the Scientific and Technical Front" (an intimate talk to scientific and technical cadres), Nhan Dan, 7 August 1965.
2. Engles, "A Letter to H. Staffenberg," Selected Works of Marx and Engles, Vietnamese-language edition, The Truth Publishing Company, Hanoi, 1962, Vol. II, page 822.
3. Le Duan, "Transform the Leadership of the Various Echelons and Sectors and Endeavor to Build an Economically and Defensively Strong North," Hoc Tap, No. 10, 1965, page 6.

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CSO: 3520-D

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE PROTEST THE  
AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS' WAR OF  
AGRESSION IN VIETNAM

[Following is a translation of an article by Quang  
Loi in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap  
(Studies), Hanoi, No. 3, March 1966, pages 83-88.]

Recently the ruling Johnson corporation, faced with the ever-growing movement opposing the war of aggression in Vietnam, has endeavored to distort that movement. It spreads gossip that that movement "is supported by only a small number of people," or that "it reflects the attitudes of only a few people." In the meanwhile, it has mobilized its lackeys to create a few "counter-demonstrations," to come forth with a few "counter-proposals," to support the war policies of the Johnson-McNamara corporation, and to support the sending of an American expeditionary army to South Vietnam, in hopes of deceiving the people at home and abroad.

But the crafty tricks of Johnson and his lackeys cannot muffle the voice of justice of the American people. The American people's movement protesting the American government's war of aggression in Vietnam has passed through a stage of development from a low level to a high level, from spontaneousness to large-scale organization, and from a local scope to a national scope. It arose from the American people's profound awareness of the unjust nature of the war of aggression in Vietnam which the corporation which rules America is now pursuing, and from their awareness that the real benefit of the American people is bound to the common benefit of the people of the world. It not only reflects the present spirit of the American people, but continues worthily their long, beautiful tradition of democracy.

As everyone knows, from the time he began the war of aggression in South Vietnam at the end of 1961, Kennedy intentionally concealed the truth, and deceived the American people by saying that it was merely an "anti-guerrilla war," a "special war," in which American military personnel

served only as "advisers," fired weapons only in "self-defense," etc. During that period, the ruling clique in the White House employed the scheme of "robbing while beating a drum," and sought to conceal their acts of aggression by means of a "White Paper" and a campaign to slander the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Initially, that crafty, deceptive trick of the American ruling clique caused a rather large number of Americans to be deceived. But the more heavy defeats America's war of aggression in Vietnam suffered, the more the American Government increased its military expenditures, the more taxes were placed on the American people, and the more American youths were drafted to serve as cannon-fodder in Vietnam, the more clearly the American ruling clique's policy of aggression became exposed to the American people. The movement protesting the Johnson Administration's expansion of the war of aggression in Vietnam spread more and more widely among the American people after the Johnson-McNamara ruling corporation cynically expanded the war to North Vietnam; used its air force and navy to rain bombs and shells on villages, towns, hospitals, roads, bridges, enterprises, etc., in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent, sovereign nation; nosily sent more American and vassal troops into the South of our nation; and used chemical poisons, B-52 strategic bombers, etc., to kill large numbers of common citizens or destroy large areas.

In order to conceal their all-too-apparent acts of war, the Johnson-McNamara corporation came forth with what it called "unconditional negotiations," accused the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for "committing aggression against the South," and used that as an excuse to send American troops to Vietnam to "keep America's most solemn promise to its friends." But their distorted arguments deceived no one. Who, indeed, could believe the "peaceful intentions" of the American imperialists when they were desperately intensifying and expanding their war of aggression, and coming forth with unjust conditions which would force the Vietnamese people to lay down their arms, surrender to them, and acquiesce to America's occupation of half of their beloved Fatherland? No thinking person could believe the argument that "Vietnamese were committing aggression in Vietnam," or believe the wild story that Vietnam, which is thousands of miles from America and which has never committed aggression against America, is an aggressor nation, and that the American ruling corporation, which haughtily sends tens of thousands of American and vassal troops to South Vietnam to kill the people there, and which sends its air force to attack the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is the "Defender of freedom," the "defender of national self-determination," etc.

Because of its acts of aggression in Vietnam, its violations of the independence and sovereignty of Vietnam, its inflicting of grievous wounds on the Vietnamese people, its ending of the lives of many young Americans, and its treading on the democratic rights of the American people, the Johnson-McNamara corporation cannot use distorted arguments to deceive the American people. The American people are a people which has struggled to liberate itself from the yoke of the English colonialists; which has struggled to liberate its slaves and to oppose racial discrimination; which has

sacrificed and shed blood for Democracy, Freedom, and Justice; which has held high its spirit of international proletarianism in its support for the French Revolution, Russia's October Revolution and the Soviet Government, the Chinese Revolution, the Spanish Revolution, and the Cuban Revolution and other revolutions in Latin America; and which has contributed positively to the Second World War to annihilate Fascism and defend the peace and security of the people of the world, etc. How could a people with such glorious revolutionary traditions live for long under the deceptions and distortions of the American ruling corporation, and how could just a few warmongers and lackeys of the Wall Street capitalists make cannon fodder of the people in a country thousands of miles away? It is not surprising, therefore, that the American people are coming to see more and more clearly, and resolutely oppose, the American imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam.

Furthermore, the victorious development of the Vietnamese people's war to resist America and save the nation is also an important element affecting the anti-war spirit of the American people. The many strong blows delivered by the soldiers and people of South and North Vietnam against the American imperialists during the recent period have contributed importantly to smashing the deceptive tricks of the American ruling corporation, and to bringing to light the contradictions between their words and their acts. In addition to the victories won on the battlefield, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Front to Liberate South Vietnam have brought forth a four-point program and a five-point declaration, which are clear, concrete, and just, to resolve the Vietnamese problem. This has caused the American people to understand more clearly the just stands of our people.

At present, the American imperialists are desperately intensifying and expanding their war of aggression in Vietnam, to the point of even using the armies, military bases, and war facilities of nations controlled by America to assist them in their war of aggression in Vietnam. The American imperialists also carry out acts of aggression against many other nations in Southeast Asia and in the world. By their aggressive acts the American imperialists have shown clearly that they are the "main bastion of the reactionary forces of the world," and the "cruellest enemy of the people of the world."

The Vietnamese people, struggling resolutely against the American imperialists, are playing the role of shock troops on the front lines of the struggle against the number-one enemy of the people of the world. The people of the world, including the American people, see clearly that our people are fighting not only for their independence and freedom, but also for the independence and freedom of all peoples, and for the struggle to preserve world peace. The international significance of the Vietnamese people's war to resist America and save the nation serves to further encourage the American people to arise and struggle against the American imperialists, the common enemies of all progressive people. It is not surprising that Mrs. Catsiuro, when opposing the American ruling clique's drafting of her



son to serve in Vietnam, declared that she was acting for herself, for her son, for other people, for the sons and daughters of other people, for America, and for the people of the world.

An outstanding point noted by all observers of the situation in America is that the movement of the American people against the war of aggression in Vietnam has developed more and more extensively, and has gained the participation of all classes of people. If at first only 16 American intellectuals and public figures opposed Kennedy's inauguration of "special warfare" in South Vietnam, today millions of Americans oppose Johnson's continuation of the war and its expansion all over Vietnam. They are students, youths, teachers, writers, and reporters. They are priests of the religious groups in America -- Protestants, Catholics, Quakers, etc. They are workers, including those in factories producing war material, and they are laborers of many sectors and trades. They are mothers and wives with sons and husbands who must serve as cannon-fodder in Vietnam, or who are about to be called into the army to serve as cannon-fodder. They are Negro Americans and white Americans of all ages. They are also Latin American students, youths, and workers who are now living in America. The anti-war movement has even affected the inner ranks of the American ruling class, and an increasing number of capitalist Senators, and has caused the Johnson-McNamara ruling corporation to be opposed more and more even within their party and in the American Congress.

There are more and more meetings and demonstrations, in which more and more people are taking part -- from a few hundred to tens of thousands -- and which have been held in scores of large American cities from North to South, from the shores of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific, in Texas, Johnson's home country, and even in Honolulu, an American strategic base.

The anti-war movement in America is becoming more and more organized. At first it consisted only of individuals or small groups of a few people to a few score, and most of them were intellectuals and students who arose to question or oppose the ruling clique's belligerent policy. The scale of those struggles were gradually expanded; the anti-war movement not only gained the support of the existing mass organizations, but also mobilized new forces and established new provisional organizations to coordinate the struggle in each locality and each sector, or for the nation as a whole. Especially noteworthy was the recent establishment of the National Coordinating Committee for the Struggle to End the War in Vietnam, and of the Vietnam Day Committee, in order to coordinate the leadership of each stage of the struggle on a national scale. Because of such organization and leadership, the anti-war movement recently reached its highest peak in the Days of International Protest against American Military Intervention, of 15, 16 and 17 October 1965. With its strength of organization, that movement is certain to develop even further.

In the process of promoting the anti-war movement, the American people have utilized many struggle forms. In addition to such common forms



as meetings, demonstrations, picketing, peace marches, torch-light processions, "open-letters," petitions, etc., they have warned the warmongers, warned families that their husbands and sons are committing crimes against the Vietnamese people, blocked trains carrying soldiers and weapons bound for Vietnam, held hunger strikes, etc. There have been courageous acts of defiance against existing laws, and such acts of opposition to military authority as protesting conscription at draft boards, burning draft cards, or, when drafted, refusing to wear military uniforms or board ships to go to Vietnam, and when forced aboard a ship, staging hunger strikes in order to continue to protest. And when American soldiers arrive in Vietnam, some refuse to fight, and often write letters home describing the terrible crimes committed by the American expeditionary army in South Vietnam, etc. They have even used the form of publicly declaring their unity with the people of Vietnam, holding demonstrations in which they carry flags of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam or of the National Liberation Front, collecting money, medicines, and blood for the Vietnamese people in both North and South, etc. Outstanding events in the greatest political campaign in America at the present time, which has deeply moved the people of America and of the world, have been the self-immolation of Mrs. Henga Hicks, who was more than 70 years old, and of three American youths, Norman Morrison, Roger LaPorte, and Miss Silen Zankowski, who, after many days of contemplation, heroically decided to burn themselves up in order to express the American people's extreme opposition to the American ruling clique's war policy.

The American people's struggle against the American ruling corporation's obstinate pursual of its war of aggression in Vietnam is becoming more and more decisive. The American people's anti-war movement has, within a short period of time, developed strongly and extensively, and grown from the local level to the national level. The struggle's decisive nature, furthermore, has been clearly manifested in each stage of the struggle. In some places the authorities have forbidden demonstrations and meetings, and have sent policemen to cruelly suppress them and arrest hundreds of people, engaged in the struggle. But the masses have not backed down, but continue to participate in demonstrations and picketing, and continue to shout slogans attacking the American ruling corporation's war policy. American youths have even held demonstrations at the Fort Bragg military base, broken into the Oakland military base, and heroically blocked the passage of trains carrying soldiers and weapons bound for Vietnam. Although the American Government has promulgated a law that would punish anyone burning a draft card with five years imprisonment and a fine of 10,000 dollars, the heroic example of the young American Miller, who bravely burned his draft card during a demonstration, has exerted a wide influence among the American people, and has opened the way for the American youths' movement to burn draft cards. A new phenomenon which is causing the American ruling clique to become very worried is that the anti-war movement has begun to spread among the units of the American expeditionary army which are about to be sent to Vietnam, or which are already in Vietnam.

The decisive nature of this struggle has caused the American people to see more and more clearly that the gang which is committing aggression in Vietnam is also their enemy. This gang has not only caused injury and grief for the Vietnamese people, but also treads upon the right to live, and the democratic rights, of the American people themselves.

In the course of the anti-war movement of the American people, a united front between the Vietnamese people and the American people against American imperialism has gradually taken form.

During the past several years, at international meetings, or in other ways, many honest Americans have expressed their sympathy for our people's just struggle. Today, that sentiment has become real unity in a seething movement consisting of millions of people of all social classes, of all political hues, and of all religions.

It cannot be denied that the American people's anti-war movement is striking heavy blows against the most strategic area, the most secure rear area of the aggressive American imperialists -- and it is certain that from now on our enemy will encounter increasingly greater difficulties in its mobilization of men, material, and money to throw into their war of aggression in Vietnam, in hopes of extricating themselves from stagnation and defeat. For that reason, they are seeking all ways to destroy the American people's struggle movement.

They pull the strings of their writers to write articles to deceive the people about the scale of the American people's struggle. They have their lackeys issue declarations or show fake "public opinion polls" to prove that "only a minority" participated in the International Days of Protest against American Military Intervention. They send their servants, including gangs of policemen, to break up demonstrations and meetings, or to stage "counter-demonstrations" to "support" Johnson's war policy. They had the American Congress approve a resolution declaring 27 November as "a glorious day for the brave people of Vietnam," in order to prevent the organization of a new struggle cycle on that day. In hopes of countering the influence of the American people's struggle movement among the American expeditionary army, they organized the sending of gifts and blood to South Vietnam for their troops. Furthermore, they sent dozens of well-known Senators to the battlefields to encourage the troops, especially the troops of units which had just been smashed by the Liberation Army of South Vietnam.

They increased their terrorism, in hopes of intimidating the American people. They instructed the Justice Department to carry out investigations, in order to prosecute the people participating in the demonstrations. And they arrested Miller, Smith, and hundreds of students, teachers, and other people.

But the more they terrorized the progressive Americans, the more

they campaigned among the American troops in South Vietnam, and the more they sought to deceive the people at home and abroad, the more the American ruling clique revealed itself to be perplexed and powerless in the face of constant attacks from all directions. It is certain that they cannot escape from even heavier defeats, which will continue until they are completely defeated.

On this side of the Pacific, the Vietnamese people, while both fighting and producing to save the nation, always pay close attention to each word and each act of the sincere, progressive Americans who seek to preserve peace and defend the true honor of America.

The Vietnamese people in both North and South warmly applaud the steadfast struggle of the American people against the "dirty" war in Vietnam, and against the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The people of Vietnam are sincerely grateful for the sympathy and strong support of the American people for their patriotic war. With the sympathy and support of the American people, the people of Vietnam are even more enthusiastic, and are even more determined to defeat the aggressive American imperialists in order to defend the North, liberate the South, advance to the peaceful unification of the Fatherland, and contribute to preserving peace in Southeast Asia and in the world. Only thereby can the Vietnamese people be worthy of their unity with the American people, and of the great support and assistance of the socialist camp and of the peace-loving, justice-loving people of the world.

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