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No 5, 1966
- North Vietnam -

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FOREWORD

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TRANSLATIONS FROM HOC TAP (STUDIES)

No 5, 1966

- North Vietnam -

This publication contains translations of articles from the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No 5, 1966. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article. The translation of the article by Pham Hung, on pages 10-29, has been published in JPRS: 36,012.

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VIETNAM LAO DONG PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE LETTER OF
GREETINGS TO THE 23D CPSU CONGRESS

Following is a translation of a letter, signed
by President Ho Chi Minh, in the Vietnamese-
language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi,
No. 5, May 1966, pp 1-3.

Hanoi, 22 March 1966

To the 23d CPSU Congress

Dear Comrades:

On behalf of the Vietnam Workers Party, the Vietnamese working class, and the Vietnamese people we send our warmest greetings to the 23d Congress of the glorious CPSU and the great Soviet people, and wish the congress splendid successes.

Under the leadership of the CPSU and with their glorious revolutionary tradition and their selfless labor, the Soviet people over the past years have recorded brilliant successes in laying the material and technical basis for communism. The recent seven-year plan has been fulfilled. On this basis the material and intellectual living standard of the Soviet people is being improved and the defense potential of the Soviet Union constantly strengthened. This constitutes an important contribution to the defense of the socialist camp and the safeguarding of world peace. The matchless achievements of the Soviet Union in the conquest of the cosmos, particularly the successful soft landing of a Luna station on the moon and the placing of the Soviet coat of arms on Venus have testified to the tremendous development of Soviet science and technique. The Vietnamese people greatly rejoice over these brilliant successes of the fraternal Soviet people.

The present congress will discuss and adopt various directives for the five-year--1966-1970--plan which is aimed at bringing new successes to the Soviet economy, further raising the material and intellectual living standard of the people, and continuously strengthening the powerful national defense forces of the Soviet Union, thus making an active contribution to the strengthening of the world peace forces.

The coming five-year plan of the Soviet Union is a new stimulant to the people in the fraternal socialist countries, to the working class, working people, and the oppressed nations throughout the world in their struggle against U.S.-led bellicose imperialism, and for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. We firmly believe that the Soviet communists and people, with their talent, energy and creativeness, will carry out this five-year plan successfully.

Dear comrades, at present the U.S. imperialists on the one hand are frantically intensifying and expanding their aggression in the south of our country and on the other, using their air force to conduct savage bombing raids against the DRV [Democratic Republic of Vietnam]. They are at the same time deceitfully prattling about peace negotiations in an attempt to hoodwink world public opinion and to save themselves from their predicament in South Vietnam. The frenzied war acts of the U.S. imperialists not only seriously threaten the security of the peoples in southeast Asia, but also pose a brazen challenge to the entire socialist camp. This grave situation required that the fraternal socialist countries, the communist and workers parties, and all forces of peace, democracy, and progress in the world unite closely to oppose U.S. imperialism and defeat its aggressive war in Vietnam, to crush all its adventurous military plans in other areas, and to preserve world peace.

For their part, our party and people promise to exert all their might and main to fight the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in order to defend national independence and defend the southeast Asia outpost of the socialist camp, thus contributing to the safeguarding of peace in Asia and the world.

In their struggle against U.S. aggression to defend the north, liberate the south, and achieve national reunification the Vietnamese people have always enjoyed the sympathy, support, and aid of the Soviet people in all fields. The warm support and valuable assistance of the Soviet Union, China, and other fraternal socialist countries as well as the sympathy and support of the working class and the peace-loving people of the entire world constitute an important factor insuring victory for the Vietnam revolution.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to the government and fraternal people of the Soviet Union, who, as always, are giving active support and assistance to the people of Vietnam. We wish the great Soviet people many and greater successes in laying the material and technical basis for communism and in defending world peace.

May the militant friendship between the parties and peoples of our two countries consolidate and develop with each passing day!

Long live the great Soviet people!

Long live the CPSU--founded, educated and trained by
Lenin!

Long live victorious Marxism-Leninism!

The Central Committee of the Vietnam
Lao Dong Party,

President Ho Chi Minh

CSO: 3520-D

SPEECH BY COMRADE LE DUAN, HEAD OF THE VIETNAM
LAO DONG PARTY DELEGATION, TO THE 23D CPSU CONGRESS

[Following is a translation of a speech by Le Duan,
in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap
(Studies), Hanoi, No. 5, May 1966, pp 4-9.]

Dear Comrades: We are extremely happy to represent the Vietnam Lao Dong Party at the 23d congress of the glorious CPSU. Permit me to convey to the congress the most ardent congratulations and to convey through the congress delegates the most friendly, fraternal greetings of the communists, working class, and people of Vietnam to the 12-million-strong army of communists, all workers, the collective farm peasantry, and the intelligentsia of the Soviet Union.

We are grateful for the heartfelt words by Comrade Brezhnev about the Vietnamese people's struggle against the American imperialists and for the salvation of the motherland. The mighty support given by the 23d CPSU Congress is a mighty, inspiring factor for our people and the men of the armed forces of all our country.

We have listened with interest to Comrade Brezhnev's report. We know that the 23d congress will be a new step forward in the cause of building the material and technical basis of communism, in the constant growth of the material and cultural standard of the Soviet people, and in the strengthening of the Soviet Union's economic and defense might. It will be a contribution to the cause of the defense of peace in the interests of the socialist camp and all mankind. It will also help the national liberation revolutions, the working people and the oppressed peoples throughout the world.

Comrades, the CPSU, which was founded by the great Lenin 63 years ago, was the first party to carry out a victorious proletarian revolution and the first party to head the building up

of socialism and communism. The CPSU has traversed a long historic road of struggle and has scored victories of tremendous international significance. The Great October Socialist Revolution opened up a new era in the history of mankind's development. The October revolution is an example of world revolution. The existence of the world's first proletarian state and its constant strengthening and growth were a source of inexhaustible inspiration; a great, constant and reliable support in the revolutionary struggle for the international working class and the oppressed peoples. The historic victories scored by the Soviet state in the civil war and in the struggle against the intervention of 14 imperialist states proved that the worker-peasant forces headed by the party of Lenin are invincible.

Relying on the alliance with the peasantry inside the country and having the support of the international proletariat, the working class of the Soviet Union raised high the banner of national liberation and socialism. And that is precisely why the young Soviet state could inflict defeat on the forces of decaying imperialism. During World War II the heroic Soviet people and their army routed international Fascism, saved mankind from the fascist menace, and also considerably weakened the other imperialist forces, thus creating favorable objective conditions for the development of the national liberation movement and for the emergence of the world socialist system. Historical facts also show that the growth of the might of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal socialist countries has turned our socialist camp into a factor determining the main content, the main direction, and the main peculiarities of the historic development of human society in the present era.

The recent successful completion of the seven-year plan by the Soviet people has strengthened the Soviet Union's economic and defensive capacity and has raised the material and cultural standards of the people. Soviet science has scored remarkable victories in the study and exploration of outer space. Our Vietnamese people have received with boundless joy the news on the launching of an automatic lunar station in the USSR and its soft landing on the moon, as well as that on the placing of a pennant on Venus bearing the coat of arms of the Soviet Union.

These outstanding achievements have further strengthened our faith in advanced Soviet science, in the advantages of the socialist system, in the strength of our socialist camp. Today, the Soviet people are settling down with great enthusiasm to fulfilling the five-year plan, the beginning of which is being laid by the 23d congress and which will end on the birth centenary of V.I. Lenin, the great teacher and leader of the peoples of the Soviet Union and of all the world. The 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution will be celebrated in 1967. These

remarkable events will undoubtedly greatly mobilize and inspire the Soviet people in the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the five-year plan, and will greatly inspire the progressive peoples of all the world to complete their revolutionary tasks. We wish the heroic Soviet people great victories in building up the material and technical basis of communism.

Under the leadership of the glorious party of Lenin the Soviet people are constantly enhancing their revolutionary heroism and proletarian internationalism in building up a new society and are making a huge contribution to the liberation of the working class, of all working people and oppressed nations. The oppressed and exploited peoples throughout the world regard the Soviet people as their sincere comrades and loyal associates, as their reliable bulwark in the struggle against the forces of international reaction and for the liberation of mankind from all forms of oppression and exploitation. In order to carry out the historical tasks set before us, the working class and people of Vietnam are striving for close unity with the people of the Soviet Union, with the working class, working people, and oppressed peoples of all the world, and for the unshakable unity of all these forces.

Comrades, inspired by the October revolution, the Vietnam Lao Dong Party and our Vietnamese people have carried out a revolution under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. In World War II the routing by the Soviet Union of the international fascist coalition created objective favorable conditions for the victory of our August revolution in 1945. The victory of the Chinese revolution created favorable conditions for our victory in the war of resistance, which we waged against the French colonialists. Since then and up to the present, the Vietnamese people are continuing their stubborn struggle, not retreating a single step before any enemy; continuing their struggle to build socialism in North Vietnam and to accomplish the tasks of the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country.

We inflicted defeat on the French colonialists, and the Geneva agreements on Indochina were signed in 1954. The signing of the Geneva agreements was perfectly correct then, considering the correlation of forces inside the country and the international arena at that time. But the American imperialists, because of their reactionary nature, have violated their commitments, brazenly thwarted the Geneva agreements, began their intervention in the south of our country and went over to an openly aggressive war, striving to turn the south of our country into a new-type colony and a U.S. military base with a view to using it as a beachhead for attacking the socialist camp. They are pursuing a neocolonialist policy and threatening the independent national states of southeast Asia. Through military and administrative measures, the American imperialists and their henchmen

have unleashed cruel terror and repressions in an effort to destroy the revolutionary forces. In this way they have killed 170,000 people in South Vietnam after the reestablishment of peace, in the 1954-1959 period. In the same period they have disabled 400,000 people by torture; they have kept 800,000 people in 8,000 huge concentration camps disguised as "strategic hamlets." But the people of South Vietnam, not wishing to give up under any circumstances, have risen up in arms against the American imperialists and their henchmen and have inflicted considerable political damage upon them.

The henchmen of American imperialists in South Vietnam resorted to guillotines all over the country in a cruel campaign of terror aimed at physically exterminating the people with a view to intimidating and suppressing the people of the southern part of our country. Under these circumstances, the people of South Vietnam were compelled to take up arms under the NLFSV banner in order to save their country and their homes. At first, our South Vietnamese compatriots were practically unarmed or equipped with primitive weapons, but spurred on by deep hatred, they used political and military forms of struggle against the enemy. The American imperialists, on the other hand, delivered various types of modern weapons to South Vietnam, set up their command in South Vietnam, and openly began to wage a "special war" there.

But now the resistance forces in the southern part of our country have grown into a mighty force. During the five years from 1960 to 1965, the people and liberation army have killed and wounded 630,000 officers and men of the puppet army and 20,000 Americans, captured 70,000 pieces of various firearms, shot down and destroyed 2,500 planes, and liquidated 6,000 "strategic hamlets." Four-fifths of South Vietnam's territory have been liberated and about 10 million of our compatriots (out of 14 million) are living freely and have been given over 2 million hectares of land. The American imperialists have employed huge air forces and modern means of warfare in the aggressive war in South Vietnam, trying to stamp out the struggle of our South Vietnamese compatriots. But the American aggressors have landed in a blind alley. Their "special war" strategy has gone bankrupt. They were compelled to go over to a local war in which 250,000 American troops are now directly involved. But the American imperialists have now moved masses of troops into South Vietnam after the South Vietnamese people secured absolute political supremacy and defeated the "special war." The American troops, the puppet army, and the forces of the American satellites, numbering 700,000 men, have become stuck ear-deep in the bog of war and the army and people of South Vietnam deal them crushing blows. This is why even if the Americans ship more thousands of soldiers to South Vietnam, our South Vietnamese

countrymen, with the support of North Vietnam and the socialist camp, will continue their resolute struggle and are bound to win. In the period from November 1965 to February 1966 alone, the army and people of South Vietnam disabled 35,000 enemy soldiers (including 16,000 American soldiers and 3,500 Pak Chong-hui mercenaries) and brought down and destroyed over 500 U.S. aircraft.

The Americans are also sustaining heavy defeats in the destructive air war which they are waging against our North Vietnam. The army and people of North Vietnam have brought down more than 900 modern American planes, thereby frustrating the American plan to exploit their "air supremacy," subdue North Vietnam, and get out of the bog in which they became stuck in South Vietnam.

Despite their heavy defeats, the American imperialists continue to be stubborn. They are feverishly stepping up and escalating the hostilities, and continue to ship over new units of their own and satellite troops to South Vietnam. They do not cease to accompany all this with false diplomatic tricks termed "peaceful negotiations," "unconditional talks," and so forth. But while giving lip service to peace, the American imperialists are actually intensifying their military operations, resorting to exceptionally cruel and inhuman methods--spraying toxic chemicals, employing poisonous gas, strategic aviation, and the heavy bombardment of South Vietnamese villages. They are waging a destructive war in South Vietnam by using "scorched earth" tactics and are subjecting schools, hospitals, pagodas, and temples in densely populated areas of North Vietnam to ruthless air raids.

From this rostrum we passionately call on the socialist countries, on the fraternal parties, on the working class of all countries, on the people fighting for independence; on all forces of peace and progress throughout the world to render us all-out support in staying the bloody hand of the American imperialists, in inflicting a defeat on the American imperialists in their aggressive war. We are absolutely sure that our South Vietnamese compatriots will fight the enemy, the American imperialists, until a victorious end, cost what it may, and will tolerate no return to the old disgraceful slavery. All our Vietnamese people do not fear making sacrifices in upholding their independence and sovereignty, the unity and territorial integrity of their country, in discharging the duty of a nation defending an advanced post of the socialist camp in southeast Asia. We are firmly convinced that resolved as we are to fight and win, and receiving huge assistance from the socialist camp, the international working class, the national liberation movement, and progressive mankind, we are bound to beat the American aggressors.

The Vietnamese people have traversed a long and difficult road of struggle and this is why they passionately want peace. But peace is inseparable from independence and freedom. Peace will be restored immediately if the American imperialists stop their aggressive war against our country, withdraw all expeditionary forces, and recognize the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of our country. In short, the American imperialists must recognize the four-point stand of the DRV Government and the five-point statement of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and must renounce their aggressive policy vis-a-vis our country. If the American imperialists continue the aggressive war, our people will go on fighting till victory. The Vietnamese people are fighting for their national independence and for world peace. If the American imperialists are not defeated in Vietnam, it will be impossible to safeguard peace in southeast Asia and throughout the world. This is why our struggle against the American imperialists and for the salvation of our country enjoys the sympathy and support of the fraternal socialist nations, of the international proletariat and international communist movement, of the national liberation movement, and of all people of the world who prize peace, freedom and justice, including the American people.

Our struggle will be long, difficult, and fierce, but we are sure that with the huge support of the Soviet Union, China, and all fraternal countries of the socialist camp and the people of the world, the Vietnamese people will definitely achieve final victory. Permit us to avail ourselves of this opportunity to express deep gratitude to the Communist Party, the government, and the great Soviet people for their huge and all-round assistance to the struggle of the Vietnamese people. Permit us also to express deep gratitude to the fraternal socialist countries, to the fraternal parties, and to the working class and people of all countries of the world for their sympathy and support to the just struggle of our people.

Comrades, important changes in favor of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy, and peace have occurred in the international situation in recent years. The forces of imperialism have sustained a defeat in their attempts to stem the world revolutionary movement. The world socialist system is becoming an ever more decisive factor in the development of human society. The international communist and workers movements is growing. It continues to play an important role in the struggle of the working class and people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. In Asia, Africa, and Latin America the struggle of the people against old and new colonialism and its henchmen has assumed a broad scope and a heavy blow has been inflicted upon colonialism and its henchmen in the course of this struggle. The movement for national

independence, which rising like a typhoon, is the main feature of the current situation. But national independence can be strengthened and developed only if political power is really in the hands of the people, if there is no dependence on the imperialists in this or that form, and if development proceeds along noncapitalist lines.

At present the world revolutionary movement is on the offensive. It is compelling the imperialists and the forces of international reaction to take up defensive positions. Furthermore, the world of capitalism is threatened by a new economic crisis. Internal contradictions, both economic and political, are growing sharper, not only in each of the imperialists states but in the imperialist camp as a whole. Faced with these growing difficulties, the forces of imperialism headed by the United States refuse to retreat and are unleashing wars in one part of the globe, staging coups d'etat in another, and are going out of their way to damage the socialist countries, to obstruct the national liberation movement, and to stamp out the international working class movement. They are striving to perpetuate the domination of capitalism and are pursuing a neocolonialist policy with a view to recapturing lost positions and establishing their world domination. But we have every reason to say that the forces of peace and revolution are superior to the forces of imperialism and war in the modern world and that they are capable of thwarting the dark plots of the imperialists and of inflicting a defeat upon them if they plunge headlong into a new world war.

This is why it is the primary task of the communist and workers parties in present conditions to fight in defense of world peace. At the same time, it is necessary to unfold the revolution for the liberation of the working class, the working people, and the oppressed nations. These two tasks are most closely linked and they must be solved simultaneously. Only then will it be possible to stay the criminal hand of the imperialists in this or that area and prevent them from unleashing a world war. This is why the only correct line at present is to rally together all revolutionary forces with a view to thwarting the aggressive political course of the imperialists, led by the United States, and making them retreat step by step, winning one position after another from them. Only in this way will it be possible to frustrate their designs and actions aimed at unleashing a war and safeguard world peace.

Our Vietnamese people are waging a resolute struggle against the aggression of the American imperialists and for the independence of their country, and are simultaneously making a contribution to the cause of safeguarding the security of the socialist camp, the independence of the peoples, and the cause of world peace. We hope that the socialist countries, the communist and

workers parties, are united with us, are supporting us by all means, and are helping us to defeat the American aggressors. As for us, we, the Vietnamese communists, assure you that we shall be loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, loyal to the revolutionary principles of the Moscow declaration of 1957 and the Moscow statement of 1960. We assure you that we shall devote all our energy to the struggle for the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for the cohesion of all forces coming out for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

Dear comrades, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded, headed, and fostered by the great Lenin, has scored great victories in the socialism revolution and has made a considerable contribution to the development and victory of the liberation revolutions of the working class, the working people, and the oppressed nations all over the world.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people have glorious revolutionary traditions and they are known for their lofty proletarian internationalism. We believe that, guided by these traditions and feelings of proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party and the Soviet people will successfully complete the building up of the material and technical basis of communism and will make their contribution to the safeguarding of peace and the development of the world revolution.

We respectfully wish the congress brilliant success and we (now) read a letter of greeting to the congress, signed by comrade Ho Chi Minh, from the Central Executive Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party. (The text of the letter of greeting to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from the Central Executive Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party is printed on page one of this issue of Hoc Tap.)

CSO: 3520-D

FOLLOW THE EXAMPLES OF THE DEAD REVOLUTIONARIES

[Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Vietnamese-language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No.5, May 1966, pages 30-32.]

Twenty-five years ago, on 24-5-1941, at Hoc Mon, the French colonialists executed with a fire squad some cadres-leaders of the party--comrades Nguyen Van Cu, Vo Van Tan, Phan Dang Luu, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai.

Up to the last minute, those comrades had set examples of heroic sacrifices of the communist soldiers.

Comrade Nguyen Van Cu was born on the 25th day of the 5th month of the year Nham Ti (1912) at Phu Khe Village, Tu Son District, Bac Ninh Province. In 1930 he joined the party and was sent to the Hong Quang mining area to operate for the establishment of a party base there. He was appointed secretary of the special party committee at Hongay-Uong Bi mining area. Shortly afterwards, he was arrested, sentenced to life and banished to Poulo Condor Island. In 1936, he got out of the jail and continued to operate. He was appointed member of the Bac Ky (Tonkin) regional party committee, and later to the party Central Committee. In 1938, he was appointed secretary general of the party Central Committee. He made a big contribution to the establishment and leadership of the Democratic Front of Indochina. In November 1939, he convened the 6th party Central Committee conference to adopt a party line for the first phase of the Second World War.

On 17-1-1940, he was caught in a trap set by the French secret police on Nguyen Tan Nghiem Street in Saigon. After the outbreak of the Cochinese uprising (22-11-1940), he was charged by the French colonialists with having committed the "crime" of being "responsible morally" for that uprising, and was sentenced to death by the Saigon military court on 25-3-1941.

On 24-5-1941, he and four comrades--Vo Van Tan, Ha Huy Tap, Phan Dang Luu, and Nguyen Thi Minh Khai--heroically sacrificed themselves at the Hoc Mon firing range.

Comrade Vo Van Tan was born in 1894 at Duc Hoa Village, Duc Hoa District, Cholon (Cochinchina). In 1926 he joined the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association (or Vietnam Revolutionary Comrades Association). In 1930 he joined the Communist Party. He was appointed (in 1931) secretary of Cholon provincial party committee, and then sent to Gia Dinh (in 1932) to

be secretary of the provincial party committee there. Then he was appointed member of the Nam Ky (Cochinchina) regional party committee. In 1937 he was elected secretary of the latter, and later appointed to the party Central Committee. He was one of the party cadres who had been operating underground for a long time. He had a lot to offer to party leadership, particularly in Cochinchina. On 21-4-1940 he was arrested by the French secret police at a secret party organ headquarter in Hoc Mon. Accused of having committed the "crime" of being connected with the Cochinchinese uprising, he was sentenced to death by the Saigon military court on 25-3-1941, and shot to death at Hoc Mon on 24-5-1941.

Comrade Phan Dang Luu was born in 1902 at Trang Thanh Village, Yen Thanh District, Nghe An Province. In 1926 he joined the Tan Viet (New Vietnam) Revolutionary Party and became a member of its leadership. In September, 1929, he was arrested by the French secret police in Haiphong, sentenced to seven years of hard labor, and banished to Barmethuot. He actively took part in the activities of the Communist Party in the jail. In 1936 he got out of the jail, and was assigned by the party the legal work at Hue. Under the leadership of the Trung Ky (Annam) regional party committee, he had many contributions to the Democratic Front movement in Annam. At the end of 1939 when World War II broke out, he went underground and was appointed to the party Central Committee. He attended the 6th party Central Committee conference (11-1939) and, along with comrades Nguyen Van Cu and Le Duan, drafted the party line to be followed in the first phase of World War II. He also attended the 7th party Central Committee conference (11-1940), and reported to the conference on the armed uprising proposal of the Nam Ky regional party committee. He brought with him the decision of the Central Committee to delay the armed uprising, but before he arrived the order to launch the uprising from the Nam Ky regional party committee had been sent out and the Cochinchinese uprising broke out under not so ripe conditions. He was arrested on 22-11-1940, sentenced to death, and shot on 24-5-1941.

Comrade Nguyen Thi Minh Khai was born in 1910 in Nghe An. In 1927 she joined the Tan Viet Revolutionary Party. In 1930 she joined the Communist Party. In the summer of 1930, she was sent by the party to China to operate. In 1931 she was arrested by the British imperialists in Hong-kong, and was jailed for three years. In 1934 she got out of the jail and resumed her activities. She was chosen by the party to be a member of our party delegation attending the 7th International Communist Congress (7-1935) in Moscow. Then she enrolled in the Oriental University. In 1937, after having graduated from that university, she was sent back to the country to operate. She took part in the Saigon city party committee and the Nam Ky regional party committee. She was the secretary of the former. She had a lot to offer to building the party base in Cochinchina, particularly in Saigon. She also made a lot of contributions to our country's woman movement.

She was arrested by the secret police on 30-7-1940 at Binh Dong.

She was tried at the Saigon military court on 25-3-1941 for the "crime" of being connected with the Cochinchinese uprising, and was sentenced to death. She was shot at Hoc Mon on 24-5-1941.

Comrades Nguyen Van Cu, Vo Van Tan, Phan Dang Luu, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai set examples of the invincibility of our party and nation.

Like many other dead revolutionaries, they offered their lives to the work of national liberation. They heroically struggled against the imperialists and feudalists to protect the interests of the workers' class and of the Vietnamese people as a whole. They struggled for patriotic and communist ideals. Thanks to the sacrifices of those comrades and of so many other dead revolutionaries, our people's liberation work was crowned with big victories.

Following the noble sacrifices of comrades Nguyen Van Cu, Vo Van Tan, Phan Dang Luu, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, we pledge to develop revolutionary heroism, to struggle resolutely against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, to bring our people's fight against the U.S. for national salvation to complete victory.

5598.
CSO 3520-D

CONCEPT, THINKING, AND WORKING METHOD TO BE ADOPTED BY
PARTY ECHELONS IN DIRECTING THE WAR

[Following is a translation
of an article by Chu Van Tan
in the Vietnamese - language
periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies),
Hanoi, No.5, May 1966, pp.33-41.]

At the present time a big problem that is being posed to us is how to defeat the U.S. piratical aggressors, to defend the north, to support actively the liberation struggle of our compatriots in the south, to move toward achieving reunification of our fatherland.

The object of our fighting is a piratical enemy who is the most ruthless, savage, and the shrewdest in the world. In the war of destruction against the north, the U.S. imperialists have been using aircraft, weapons, and military resources of the most modern type. They know how to draw experiences from their piratical acts fast and to change often their striking maneuvers so as to create big difficulties and losses for us. Moreover, their aggressive war-provoking plot does not stop at the present level.

To cope with the U.S. imperialists, our party and Government are conducting a big people's war. This is an all-people all-out war having more and more modern factors and a very sound coordination among different arms and services, as well as among party organizations, government and military establishments, and people's groups.

The need for directing the war to defend our fatherland today is much greater than that during the war of resistance against the French colonialists. Therefore, besides studies and full understanding of the presently available experiences, party committeemen at all levels must really go deeply into studying the directing of an all-people all-out war under modern conditions, for the purpose of gathering and mobilizing all the forces of the nation for a sure victory over the aggressors.

Looking back at our fighting the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction in the recent time, we can as an initial step draw the following remarks and experiences.

To Recognize the Aim and Nature of the War of Resistance for National Salvation, to Direct the War with Initiative, Determination, and High Concentration

The U.S. imperialists' war of destruction against the north will con-

tinue long, bitterly, and decisively. We must anticipate the daring plot of the U.S. imperialists to widen the war to all our country, with all their arms and services, and on a much larger scale. Therefore, everybody must definitely determine this: we must organize an all-people and all-out war of resistance.

In the last eleven years, as the people of the south conducted their revolutionary struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the people of the north were also preparing for the war of resistance against the U.S. and, for more than a year, directly fought against the U.S. Although the second war of resistance against the U.S. has been taking place in the north since over a year, many cadres have not in fact recognized fully the aim, nature, and content of this great war of resistance. To fight back in a war of destruction is not simply this: as the enemy strikes, we fight back; wherever the enemy strikes, we fight back there. This way of understanding not only is not enough, but also lowers the great significance of the war of resistance. At present, the people of the north of all walks of life and everywhere are getting deeper into the war of resistance against the U.S. for national salvation. The problem is not only to fight back in the enemy's war of destruction, but also how to organize the war of resistance in order to thwart all the U.S. imperialists' aggressive plots and will; not only to defend the north, but also to contribute to the work of liberating the south and reunifying the fatherland.

Therefore, on the basis of confirming our determination to fight the war of resistance long and to have long-term war-directing line, those who have the responsibility for directing the present war of resistance against the U.S. for national salvation must direct the activities of all branches toward serving the all-people, all-out war of resistance. We must have careful ideological and organizational preparations, and actively and urgently fulfill all actual combat tasks; only by doing so could we create the opportunity to score big victories. If the preparations for the war of resistance were only temporary and of "so far, so good" nature, final victory would certainly take a long time to come.

In the process of conducting the war to defend our fatherland, a particularly important need on the part of the war leaders is to aim at always taking initiative in regard to the enemy; we must take initiative to fight him and at the same time to cope with all his shrewd plots and maneuvers.

In the mind of the leaders today, this state of things cannot exist: to take initiative in strategic matters, but to remain passive in tactical matters. In the last few years, the enemy always was passive in both strategic and tactical matters. He was continually defeated and went from one surprise to another. His "initiative-taking" look is in reality his being passive. Indeed, the fact that U.S. combat troops were being rushed to the south and that U.S. aircraft aggressively attacked the north is just a passive situation in which the U.S. imperialists want to save their critical situation in the south. The results of those passive actions were tens of

thousands of U.S. soldiers being killed in the south, over 900 U.S. piratical aircraft being destroyed in the north, hundreds of U.S. pilots dead or captured. The U.S. imperialists continue to be seriously bogged down in the south and heavily defeated in the north. The enemy's efforts have created difficulties not too small for us, but our people get stronger and calmer as we fight on and continually deal thundering blows at the enemy.

The initiative-taking position, both strategically and tactically speaking, belongs to us, for besides the basic advantages of a good-cause war we are being led by Marxist-Leninist military thoughts. As we recognize this fact, in spite of the fact that our country is invaded, we still direct the war against imperialism with the standing of a person having initiative in hand.

The absolute initiative-taking view requires that those who lead the people's revolutionary war know ourselves and know the enemy; have far and wide vision, foretell in a scientific manner the development of the situation, at the same time make careful preparations; make ideological and organizational preparations, preparations in regard to stand, plan, and measures, immediate and long-term preparations, preparations for things big and small, for the party and all the army and people.

The U.S. imperialists' world-domination scheme was kindled ever since the U.S. monopolizing capitalism had begun growing strong. As for the plot to seize Vietnam, they must have prepared for it at least more than twenty years ago. Having read the mind of the imperialists, the party Central Committee long ago started making preparations for all the party, army, and people; as a result, our people have scored brilliant victories. Those who have the responsibility for directing our people's war of resistance for national salvation must all train themselves to acquire a wide political vision, recognize the imperialists' immediate and long-term plots, closely follow and fully understand the military developments, have correct and timely positions, be prepared to cope with any eventualities, not be afraid when the situation changes fast and gets more complicated. In both strategic and tactical matters, we always need to anticipate the worst possibilities and have formulas to cope with such possibilities. This does not mean that we are pessimistic or afraid of the enemy, but this is a scientific way to work, with careful consideration of advantages and disadvantages.

The reality of the fight against the U.S. for national salvation so far points to the fact that many cadres were soundly and clearsightedly taking initiative in regard to evaluating the situation, directing strategic and tactical matters, etc. just because they had gone through the trouble of carefully studying and seeking to understand the party Central Committee stand and line. It would be very dangerous if, in the directing of the war for national salvation, somebody somewhere lacked readiness and flexibility, incorrectly assessed the situation, felt powerless in the face of new difficulties and complications, did not have a clear-cut stand, were too careless or slow in advancing plans to prevent and to fight the enemy. This situation

might result from lack of experiences, but it would be mainly due to deformities in our views, thinking, and concept.

The U.S. imperialists always shape up their aggressive plans decades ahead. It is therefore extremely illogical if a comrade-committeeman cannot visualize the responsibility of his party committee (even in a few years) for such problems as building of forces and bases, air-defense evacuation, preparation of locations for secret wartime activities, etc. If we "jump only when the flooding water touches one's feet," if we lack initiative to calculate and to arrange rationally such problems, it will be hard to talk about properly fulfilling our production and combat tasks and duties to protect the people's lives and properties.

The initiative-taking concept in war-directing is the very demonstration on the part of the revolutionary cadres of the determination to fight the U.S. for national salvation. The work of fighting the U.S. for national salvation requires that we exploit and develop to the largest extent the nation's revolutionary potentiality. This is an all-out race between us and the enemy; our determination must be 10 times, 100 times greater than our enemy's. Those who have a subjective attitude toward the enemy cannot be calm and brave at the time of action. Because of lack of preparation, they will be passive, awkward, and even confused when facing difficult problems.

After eleven years of peaceful construction, the north has grown much stronger, but as we enter the time of war we cannot help feeling new and inexperienced. In the meantime, the wartime difficulties are 100, or 1,000 times greater than those in peacetime. In the face of the innumerable difficulties and complications that arise in wartime, the correct attitude of the leaders is to analyze and to judge calmly and to overcome resolutely.

The more numerous the contradictions and difficulties become, the more complicated the problems are, the more clear-sighted and calmer those who direct the war must be in coping with them. The enemy often changes his rule for action; the more the enemy is daring and shrewd, the calmer and more self-confident we must be.

Faced with difficult problems, the leaders must study them hard to see where they should start to untie the knot. They must adopt the attitude of analyzing to the end and seeking to the end a solution. They must save time in solving their work in a fast and neat manner. They must resolutely avoid superficial, half-way working habit and the tendency to depend and to rely on assistance from their superiors. That way difficulties would be greater and they would be even more confused; moreover, as one problem was not solved before a new one would appear, the cadres concerned would feel terribly lost and would not know how to solve their problems properly.

We must know how to use the calm and sharp behavior of the true leaders to defeat the mad and savage action of the imperialists. To have only a "desire" to defeat the U.S. aggressors, only a "desire" to have initiative

over the U.S. aggressors is not enough. In a leader this desire must be turned into courageous spirit aimed at overcoming all difficulties, mobilizing and uniting all the strong forces of the masses, resolutely defeating the U.S. imperialists in both fighting spirit and actual fighting.

From our experiences we know that wherever the leaders-cadres do not stress spirit of responsibility, do not fully understand party line and policies, and are too impatient in doing their work, the work there will surely be delayed. We cannot overlook the situation in which leaders-cadres fail to go through the trouble of studying and getting to understand fully party line and policies so that they would not dare to take the lead in case something happens, would not do what is right, nor criticize and struggle against what is wrong.

Uncertain stand in certain work on the one hand shows a lack of determination on the part of those who bear the responsibility, and on the other proves that the party echelons have not correctly achieved centralized leadership.

Lack of centralization in leadership under war conditions is extremely harmful. Everybody knows that for an army, no matter how big and well-trained it is, if its staff during a battle behaves in a "the drum beats one way, the trumpet blows another way" manner and gives ununified orders, its fighting power will certainly decrease, or even become paralyzed. Only by achieving correctly centralized leadership can the party echelons rely on the intelligence of the collectivity and help one another to recognize fully and deeply all party stand and policies; as a result, they can develop the effects of their guidance over the masses.

Centralized leadership means to guarantee that all combat and productive work is done in accordance with the line, stand, formula, and principle advanced by the party. At the same time it guarantees perfect understanding and solidarity between the superior and inferior ranks, and a close cooperation among all branches and groups in local areas.

Centralized leadership does not mean that anything, big or small, is to be discussed and solved by all. Our party has adopted the principle of collectivity assuming leadership and individuals being in charge; how much is the responsibility of the collectivity and of the individuals has been clearly defined. Working conditions of party echelons are now different from those of the past few years. However, if under the pretext of the war-time situation we let the phenomenon of scattered leadership take place, if the relation between superior and inferior ranks were loose and the coordination among different branches far from smooth and orderly, if those in charge solved their problems too superficially and liberally, any errors would be very harmful for the common revolutionary work even though they were limited in a few local areas or under certain circumstances.

In short, in the process of conducting the war, each party committee-

man, each cadre of us must closely combine revolutionary enthusiasm with revolutionary knowledge and develop to a high degree the strength of the leadership and of the masses. To do so, we must always strive to take initiative, be determined, and concentrate on directing the war.

To Build Leadership Behavior and Working Habit Suitable for Wartime

The fight against the U.S. for national salvation more and more leads to great and urgent needs. The whole of the pattern of living, working, production, and combat must be changed to suit the time of war. The habit of working too slowly and living from day to day; the working pattern that is too functionary-like, mechanical, and red-tape; all phenomena of too much reliance on one's superiors, lack of creativity, lack of self-sufficient spirit, poor sense of collective ownership must be gradually and completely overcome as soon as possible. Those old-fashioned habits, strange to revolutionary spirit even in peacetime, are much more harmful in wartime.

Not only should the state organs, factories, work sites, and farms build a working pattern being militarized to suit the situation, but the living of all the people must also be changed to conform with the time of war. To do so, cadres must set examples for the masses to follow. We need to end fast the "transitional" situation and to overcome all the difficulties and feelings of being new and inexperienced common in the initial period of the war; because events develop fast and the enemy does not stand still to accept defeat, the revolutionary situation in the country as a whole does not wait for us, either.

The whole of the party and state leadership machinery must move fast to serve in the best way production, combat, and the people's living.

In regard to production, the requirement from party echelons is to understand fully the line on continued building of the material and technical base of socialism in the north under conditions of war. Today production requires courage and readiness to bear hardship and sacrifices. Production must be aimed at satisfying the urgent needs of both the rear and the front. The more the enemy destroys, the more and faster we must produce. We must guarantee good production, at the same time actively protect production and producers, and try to limit the enemy's destruction of production. In addition to strengthening measures of preventing and avoiding the enemy's destruction of production, we must stress the sense of collective ownership, develop creativity and spirit of mutual assistance in production, and speed production and practice thrift at the same time.

To direct production does not mean to guide the masses toward changing their working hours to suit the war situation, but to launch a revolutionary heroic drive in productive labor and, on this basis, to solve very properly the organizational and production-measure problems. In directing production at this time, we should not underestimate political and ideological work, for it would be a serious shortcoming. But it would be also a

mistake not to keep struggling to raise our ability to direct production organization and measures. Therefore, correct production-directing by party echelons must be thorough, deep, and more urgent; the determination of the party Central Committee must be absorbed by every worker and become a source of encouragement so that everybody would work hard, create and produce as much material wealth as possible, and contribute to the fight against the U.S. for national salvation.

In regard to combat, the requirement from party echelons is to understand fully the party military line and at the same time to have the least knowledge of military strategy and tactic, of the formula and principle of military activities, and of the art of directing a revolutionary war.

Wherever there still exist confusions in the directing of the building of people's armed forces, the combining of economic building and consolidation of national defense, and the fulfilment of combat tasks, the party echelons there cannot be said to have fully understood the party military ideas.

To be the true clearsighted staff of the masses, the party echelons must first study the theoretical and practical problems related to the war fought for the defense of our fatherland, such as purpose and nature of the people's war; the formula calling for long-lasting resistance war, but faster defeat of the enemy; reliance on our own efforts and at the same time active struggle for international aid; the way to fight the people's war, including conventional and guerrilla warfares; combining of three aspects-- political struggle, armed struggle, and military operations; building, consolidation, and coordination in combat of three types of people's armed forces; application of basic principles of combat-directing (active initiative-taking, lively mobility, wise courage, surprise secret), etc. Besides, we must also seek to understand a number of aspects of the military art, such as sure understanding of the enemy's situation, sure understanding of our situation and way of fighting the enemy, protecting of ourselves, etc.

Party echelons must not limit ourselves to directing only the common line, formula, and principles, but must also go deeply into military strategy and tactic and even understand, to a definite extent, military art and techniques.

Party echelons cannot, of course, substitute military organs and do all their work. However, if each and every comrade in the party committees gets hold of basic military knowledges, the evaluation of local fighting power, the judgment of the enemy's plots and operating rules in local areas, the affirmation of immediate or long-term tasks aimed at protecting the people's lives and properties and strengthening local defense capacity will be more accurate and thorough. As a result, the effects of party echelons directing the revolutionary movement in general, and the local military organs in particular will be greatly enhanced.

Correct direction by party committeemen of all levels clearly is a decisively significant factor in regard to the ever-growing people's national defense in the north and an important reason behind the brilliant feats of arms of our army and people.

The fact that somewhere sometimes some party committeemen made the mistake of being too simple-minded, subjective, and superficial in recognizing the situation, in setting up plans for defending against and attacking the enemy, etc. is due, besides ideological reasons, to limited military knowledge.

To play our role correctly, party echelons do not have to know in details pure economic and military sciences, but we must go more deeply into the science and art of directing the people's war, which consist of directing of combat and directing of production in wartime. If each and every comrade in the party committees always affirms his sound fighting stand and high sense of responsibility in regard to the masses and people, patiently studies to improve his leadership capacity, dares to think and to do, and does not fear difficulties and hardships, there surely be more contributions to our people's fight against the U.S. for national salvation.

To Strengthen Ideological and Organizational Work in Wartime

Party leadership over the masses in wartime is primarily aimed at developing the heroic character and exploiting all the potentialities of our people to defeat the aggressors and to push the revolutionary work ahead.

The U.S. imperialists are more and more engaged in new military adventures and commit many more bloody crimes against our people. The war for the defense of our fatherland is entering a decisive phase. Bitter tests in the war make the masses' thinking change very fast and become very complicated. Therefore, the political and ideological work holds a very important role.

The political and ideological work on the one hand must concentrate on teaching patriotism and socialism to all our party, army, and people; make everybody confident in party line and policies, determined to fight and to defeat the U.S. piratical aggressors, and willing to fulfill all production and combat tasks; and on the other must concentrate on criticizing, overcoming, and preventing first manifestations of rightist ideas and then individualism. It must also fight off the influences of "psychological warfare" and counter-propaganda arguments of the enemy.

In the hours of bitter fighting, the ideological battleground must be further consolidated. The battles against the U.S. piratical aircraft have taught us a lesson: if the political and ideological work were done well, the masses would not be shaken at all even when the enemy has inflicted damages; on the contrary, even in case we scored a big victory, if we neglected propaganda work, the effect of the battle would be limited only in

the military field.

To develop the strength of the political and ideological work, party echelons must pay special attention to consolidating the propaganda-training machinery, concentrating cadres and means for the latter, and giving it sound directing in regard to the formula and content of the work for each period. It is necessary to form a habit among cadres and party members to do political and ideological work. We must fight the tendency to avoid actual work, to leave the work to the lower ranks and to let the masses "solve by themselves" wrong ideas, if any, on the pretext that time is pressing and the work is urgent; this tendency not only shows the leaders' attitude of irresponsibility, but also easily leads to the wrong of authoritarianism.

Cultural and artistic activities are an indispensable part of the political and ideological work. These activities must be directed toward nurturing revolutionary sentiments for the masses, consolidating their confidence in correct party leadership and the final victory of the war of resistance, and creating a sizzling and strong revolutionary prestige in the army and people, whose determination is to fulfill all production and combat tasks.

In addition to the political and ideological work, proper importance must be attached to organizational work.

The north has gone through more than a year of direct fighting against the U.S. imperialists. However, in some branches either directly or indirectly involved in combat-serving work, there were some aspects of their work that were not so stabilized. This proves that our organizational capacity is still far from sound.

The urgent problem that we face now is that, no matter how far and bitter the war may become, we must at any cost guarantee that the economic, political, and military machineries operate smoothly.

To do so, first of all party echelons must perfect the machinery that helps us to direct the war of resistance. This machinery must be very compact, light, and strong to deserve being the efficient staff of party echelons in local areas.

The organizing of work-execution is also very important. It means we must fully understand the situation, maintain smooth relation between superior and inferior ranks, coordinate all branches properly, control and supervise closely, correct and change in time any shortcomings, constantly review and popularize experiences, and so on.

Does every party and state stand and policy permeate the masses? What is its effect? Is it necessary to just maintain it or to change or supplement it to conform with the new situation? The link in charge of organizing work-execution must find early answers to those questions.

In the war, we must compete with the enemy for every hour and minute. Consequently, if sometimes the party and state stand and policies fail to reach their legitimate goals just because some local areas are not keen and too slow or are too fast and slight their work, this will be a great offense against the people. This situation must be overcome early.

Regarding the people, organizational work must pay attention to these aspects: organization of production; organization of combat; organization of combat-serving work; organization of living. We must equip the people with the minimum knowledge of the people's war, of the enemy's plots and maneuvers, of the way to fight and to keep off the enemy, of the way to guard against traitors and to keep secrets, of the experiences in fighting the war of destruction, espionage war, "psychological warfare," etc. Only by doing so can we help them to remain unshaken under any complicated circumstances. We must take care of organizing the people's living, particularly the protection of adolescents and children. In the war, the masses must bear a lot of sacrifices. Therefore, party echelons must seek every means to help and to guide the masses toward a stabilized living, which would allow them to fight the enemy well and to reinforce our forces. If necessary, we must call on the masses to make sacrifices for the revolution, but we absolutely must not neglect the protection of the masses' lives.

In regard to fighting the enemy, organizational work must also be further strengthened, particularly the organizing of work-execution. For instance, in organizing anti-aircraft shooting with infantry guns, we showed a lot of effort, but it was far from enough. Although the whole of the north is sizzling with an effort to fight the war of destruction, let us ask how many party committeemen devote time to discussing the organizing of anti-U.S. aircraft shooting. Therefore, we need to count to see how many cells in charge of shooting low-flying aircraft we have in each province, district, and village. We have to see whether cell members have any doubts about their thinking, organization, living, and techniques; and whether they think that the current policies and systems are rational enough. And what is the coordination among the firepower rings and layers. If we launched a movement to shoot low-flying aircraft without going deeply into trying to understand the above problems, it would be very hard to score great victories in directing the effort to fight the war of destruction.

Moreover, there are so many problems related to the organizing of enemy-fighting work, such as communication-transportation, production of weapons and ammunitions, etc. Party echelons must always keep in mind to follow and to review the war-directing effort, and have correct stand so as to assure victories all the time.

On the basis of the party military line, party echelons have the responsibility for directing the all-people, all-out war of resistance against the U.S. for national salvation.

We are directing the war of national liberation with the prestige of being on the offensive and the spirit of disregarding any difficulties and hardships that the U.S. imperialists might create while absolutely not subjectively slighting the enemy's power.

To fulfill our tasks properly, all party echelons need to promote fast changes of concept, thinking, and working method to suit the new situation. It is necessary to study and to understand fully the purpose, significance, and nature of the war of resistance for the defense of our fatherland; always to keep in mind the need for taking initiative over the enemy; and to stay determined and to concentrate to a high degree on war-directing work. We must attach importance to both directing of production and directing of combat, and closely combining ideological work with organizational work. We must ceaselessly develop the leadership role of the party in the war of resistance; at the same time do our best to build and to consolidate party organizations, government organs, mass groups, and people's armed forces. Only by doing so can we combine the wisdom of the leadership with the strength of the masses; mobilize the big force of all the party, army, and people for defeating the plots and aggressive maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists; bring the sacred war of resistance of our people to complete victory.

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LET US UNDERSTAND THE PRESENT INDUSTRIAL AND
COMMERCIAL TAX POLICY OF THE PARTY AND STATE*

[Following is a translation of
an article by Doan Trong Truyen
in the Vietnamese-language peri-
odical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi,
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In the past, the industrial and commercial tax policy had been set up under definite historic conditions and had actively affected the people's economy in the north.

After the restoration of peace, our state took over the capital city, other cities, and the areas where were concentrated private industrial and commercial enterprise establishments. In the period of economic restoration, beside the state-operated sector that had just been built, there were the privately-operated capitalist sector and a large sector comprising small individualistic enterprise holders. Under those circumstances, the party and state issued the industrial and commercial tax policy. At that time, along with other policies and measures dealing with prices, commerce, credit, management of exports and imports, market management, etc., the industrial and commercial policy had the active effect of helping to restore and to develop the economy; to use, to limit, and to regulate the privately-operated capitalist industry and commerce; to develop fast the state-operated economic sector; to gather an important capital for the state.

In 1959, in the middle of the period of socialist reforms, the party and state decided to change the tax-computing and -collecting measures applicable to cooperative organizations in regard to their income. This change was aimed at encouraging handicraftsmen to go the collective way and to build the material and technical base of handicraft cooperatives, and small-business people to switch to production and gathering them in cooperative cells.

The victory of socialist reforms over the privately-operated capitalist and individualistic economic sectors, along with the fast development of the state-operated economic sector, brought about great changes in the economic structure of the north. The man-exploiting-man system was basically abolished; the socialist production relation was widely established in the two forms of all-people and collective ownerships.

* The regulations about industrial and commercial taxes applicable to cooperatives, cooperative organizations, and individual families doing industrial and commercial enterprises were drafted by the National Assembly Standing Committee and put into effect on 18-1-1966.

Because of the fast development of state-operated industry and commerce, the state bank, and state-operated communication-transportation, and because of the fact that the state was holding foreign trade completely, the state-operated economy assumed the role of leadership in the whole of the people's economy. State-operated economy accounted for a larger part of the total industrial output value and total wholesale sales; as a result, the state-operated economic branches contributed most of the receipts in the state budget.

The socialist production relation that prevailed in the whole of the people's economy made the socialist economic rules have a basis on which to develop their wide effects in the economy, and created favorable conditions for the productive force to develop fast and for the socialist economic base to be consolidated. Such conditions allowed us to move to the period of socialist industrialization, with socialism-building being the major interest, and at the same time to continue completing socialist reforms.

In the new period, in the first years of the first five-year plan, collectivized small industry and handicraft, with the assistance and under the guidance of the state and state-operated economic sector, developed relatively fast, along the line of the state plan. However that development was not regular. In the recent years, this development tended to slow down; the material and technical base in a number of branches, though further strengthened, was in general still weak; most raw materials still were imported; the capacity of the cooperatives in management of production and financial matters, in spite of some progress, was in general still poor.

In the field of small business, a part of the small-business people were switched to production; another part were used by state-operated commerce; and still another part were organized into cooperative cells; moreover, a large number of small-business people did not belong to any organizations as yet.

The socialist-reform work made decisively great achievements; but in the past, many comrades among us many times evaluated too highly the results of the socialist reforms in privately-operated capitalist industry and commerce, handicraft, and small business. Because of this inaccurate evaluation, and because we had not yet recognized properly the complicated and long-lasting character of the revolution in production relation, we underestimated to some extent the consolidation and perfection of the new production relation and failed to continue completing socialist reforms in both handicraft and small business. Sometimes we neglected the management of handicraft cooperatives; cooperative organizations of small-business people, individualistic handicraftsmen, and small merchants; as a result, with the practice of speculation and hoarding and goods-exchanging being widespread, many people left productive work to do business again.

Because the handicraft cooperatives do not have the same level of technical equipment and enterprise management, because of differences in

branches, occupations, the goods produced and enterprise, and the conditions of raw material supplies and collecting-purchasing of finished products, and also because of shortcomings in economic-financial management, industrial and commercial reforms, and market management by the state, the incomes of the handicraft cooperatives and small-business cooperative cells were very different. Some cooperatives had high income; some others had low and unstable income; in some cases the income of handicraftsmen was higher than that of workers of state-operated factories; in other cases the income of small-business people and those in the catering business was higher than that of producers.

With the new changes in the situation and the need for strengthening industrial and commercial management, both collective and individualistic, the old tax regulations were in many aspects inappropriate. Particularly at the present time, as the north has entered the period of war, the weaknesses of the old tax regulations reveal themselves more clearly:

First, the old tax regulations have not yet developed to a correct degree their effects upon encouraging the development of the necessary branches and occupations in small industry and handicraft, the redistribution of the productive force, the speeding of technical revolution, and the effort to provide the necessary branches and occupations with more technical equipment. They have not yet developed enough their effects upon consolidating the new production relation, speeding the completion of socialist reforms, and strengthening market management. According to the old regulations, all productive branches and occupations, with disregard to the degree of their importance, were to pay the same enterprise tax of 2 percent. In accordance with the enterprise income tax policy, the collective and individualistic industrial and commercial enterprise establishments were allowed to deduct the same living expenses, with disregard to the types of branches and occupations and without distinction as to productive enterprise, catering and serving branch, or commercial establishments. All branches and occupations that belonged to the same type of cooperatives, with disregard to the degree of their necessity and the volume of technical equipment they actually had, were allowed to deduct equal amounts of income tax to put in accumulation funds, etc.

Second, the regulation of income through enterprise income tax was not very rational between the high-income and low-income industrial and commercial establishments. The difference in the tax brackets between those high- and low-income establishments was not correct yet. The high-income establishments were to pay income tax in the 11-13 percent bracket, while the low-income ones 8-9 percent of their taxable income. On the other hand, the tax organ failed to collect all taxes, thus reducing the effects of the tax policy and creating damages for the state. The weaknesses of the old tax regulations and the shortcomings in the implementation of the tax policy as mentioned above led to unjust and irrational contributions to the state by handicraftsmen, those working in the catering and serving branch, small-business people, industrial and commercial enterprises, and farmers.

Third, the old tax regulations did not fully satisfy the new needs of wartime, such as to encourage development of local industry, agriculture, communication-transportation; to move productive establishments; to strengthen market management and to enlarge local market; to fight resolutely against speculation-hoarding.

Those weaknesses of the industrial and commercial tax policy and those shortcomings in the implementation of the latter also created a number of failures in leadership and management of collective and individualistic industry and commerce. This situation required that the industrial and commercial tax policy be complemented and the tax regulations be changed.

In the people's economy in the north, small industry and handicraft still occupy an important position and are to last long. At present, under the conditions of war throughout the country, the tasks of the north are to do productive and combat work at the same time, to build a strong rear for the entire country so as to strengthen economic and national-defense potentialities, to defeat the U.S. piratical aggressors. These tasks require that the state speed the development of small industry and handicraft (of local industry) to serve production and combat, to solve an important part of the local population's needs for consumer goods, to achieve "on-the-spot logistics," and to supply some of the exported goods.

To do so, the state needs to approve economic policies and measures (commerce, prices, taxes, etc.) combined with educational and administrative managerial measures to strengthen leadership over small industrial and handicraft cooperatives. The state does its best to encourage, to guide, and to help these cooperatives to provide themselves with technical equipment and to improve techniques, to develop the necessary branches and occupations in accordance with rational sectors, to move some of these establishments from cities and chief towns to the countryside, from the delta to the highland; to encourage the cooperatives to exploit and to utilize domestic raw materials and materials, to use fully waste products and materials; to guide cooperative management in accordance with socialist principles, to prevent and to eliminate gradually the old enterprise habit of the small private owners.

For the small-business people, the state must educate further, arrange their jobs, continue shifting most of them to production. In the time to come, in society and the market, there still is a group of private-enterprise people who are in the catering and serving business and do small-business jobs. Therefore, the reforming of small-business people must be done urgently, actively, continually, with over-all and gradual planning. In wartime, we cannot afford to underestimate management of market and private commerce, not to keep reforming businessmen nor to punish severely the speculators and smugglers.

To conform with the situation and revolutionary tasks and the situation of collective and individualistic industry and commerce today, the party

and state have complemented the industrial and commercial tax policy; the National Assembly has set up new industrial and commercial tax regulations applicable to cooperatives, cooperative organizations, and individualistic families doing industrial and commercial enterprise. The change of the industrial and commercial tax policy this time is aimed at further developing the role of the latter so as to serve more effectively the party and state line and policies regarding collective and individualistic industry and commerce.

The new industrial and commercial tax regulations include the different kinds of taxes: enterprise tax, enterprise income tax, tax imposed on business trips. Moreover, sales tax which has a great deal to do with the price policy is still retained and will be subject to further study. Business licence tax, which no longer had its usefulness, was abolished.

Enterprise tax, imposed on the entire turnover (the total receipts of the handicraft production enterprise, catering, commercial establishments and the money received from serving, catering, additional labor, transportation, architecture services) of all industrial and commercial enterprise establishments, whether they are for profit or non-profit; it is primarily aimed at helping the state to have control over the business situation of such establishments and to manage right from the beginning all industrial and commercial enterprise activities in society.

Enterprise income tax, collected according to progressive schedule from enterprise profit of industrial and commercial establishments; it has a more complicated content, involves more policy significance, and has more effect upon encouraging the development of branches and occupations, regulation of income, control over the financial affairs of such establishments.

Tax imposed upon business trips combines enterprise and enterprise income taxes imposed on each single business trip of those business people having no fixed enterprise addresses. This tax is relatively higher than the tax imposed on business at fixed addresses.

Let us hereunder try to understand the practical content of the industrial and commercial tax policy in connection with the three basic needs--to serve production development, to aid socialist reforms, and to regulate the income of those doing industrial and commercial enterprise.

1. The industrial and commercial tax policy serves the need to encourage development of production and of necessary branches and occupations, technical improvements, and rational distribution of the productive force.

The present industrial and commercial tax regulations clearly show the state line on encouraging the development of the small industrial and handicraft branches and occupations that are necessary and profitable for

production, combat, and the living along the line of the common plan.

The enterprise tax schedule, ranging from 1 to 5 percent, makes some distinction among different branches and occupations: the production, transportation, architecture branches are more encouraged than the serving and catering enterprise branches are; the latter are more encouraged than the commercial enterprise branches are. It ranges from 1 to 3 percent for the production, transportation, and architecture branches; from 3 to 5 percent for commercial and catering branches. In the productive sector, the branches that produce capital goods serving agriculture (farm implements, fertilizers, insecticides, etc.) and rudimentary transportation means are allowed to pay the lowest (1 percent) tax rate because they need to be encouraged. The branches and occupations that serve the very vital needs (rice processing, utensil making, etc.) in the people's everyday life are also allowed to pay the lowest (1 percent) tax rate. Other branches and occupations like those that produce paper lanterns, fine-art objects, etc. must pay a higher (3 percent) tax rate; the catering branch pays 3 percent, but restaurants and tea houses must pay 5 percent.

The enterprise income tax schedules show three different types of branches, with the rates of exemption and progressive tax schedules applicable to the three types. Exemption rates themselves are divided into levels for various branches and occupations, with distinctions made as to different sectors. Production, transportation, and architecture branches and occupations which need more encouragement get the highest exemption rate, 19-38 piasters a month; the serving and catering enterprise branches and occupations get the exemption rate of 19-28 piasters; commercial enterprise branches get the lowest one--16-24 piasters. In small industrial and handicraft production, the most important branches and occupations that need fast development like those that involve techniques and heavy labor (mechanical engineering, power, chemicals, glass-making, water transportation, boat-building, ferryboat-building, etc.) are given the highest exemption rate which is the same and applicable to all places--cities, chief towns, or rural areas. Other branches and occupations are given lower exemption rates.

The income tax rates applicable to the production, transportation, and architecture branches are computed in accordance with partial progressive tax schedule of 8-22 percent; the serving and catering branches, 10-28 percent; and the commercial branches, the highest schedule--12-32 percent.

The cooperatives that have the initiative of substituting domestic and local raw materials and materials for the imported and state-supplied ones either get total income tax exemption or pay less income tax.

The small industrial and handicraft production sections of agricultural production cooperatives are allowed to pay the lowest taxes in the enterprise income tax schedules applicable to handicraft, transportation, and architecture because they fully use labor power and raw materials and materials in agriculture to make the things that agricultural production needs.

In addition to encouraging development of production and the necessary branches and occupations, the industrial and commercial tax policy also encourages technical improvements, the strengthening of technical equipment, and the building of the material and technical base of the cooperatives by putting the saving from enterprise income tax reduction in accumulation funds, which would be used when the cooperatives purchase machinery and tools and build houses and workshops. For the high-level cooperatives in the mechanical engineering, manufacturing, chemical, ferryboat and boat-building branches, the rate of saving from tax reduction is the highest, or equivalent to 30 percent of their income tax; for high-level cooperatives in other branches and occupations, up to 25 percent; for intermediate-level cooperatives, up to 15 percent.

The industrial and commercial tax policy also contributes to redistributing the small industrial and handicraft productive force and building new economic areas. In the past years, small industry and handicraft developed relatively fast, but not so steadily, and were usually concentrated in some big cities and chief towns. In many local areas, because we still do not know how to use actively local manpower and raw materials to manufacture goods for local consumption, people have to go to far places to buy goods, including such common items as rulers, pen holders, wooden slippers, furniture, etc. This is not an economically rational thing.

Today, in the new situation, it is necessary to speed local industrial development, to redistribute the productive force, to build new economic areas. The industrial and commercial tax policy must contribute to achieving that formula by distinguishing properly the rates of tax exemption applicable to different sectors, with consideration given to real living situation in different areas and to living conditions in cities, and with appropriate system of tax exemption and reduction to encourage production development in new areas and the moving of productive establishments to the highland and countryside. Cooperatives in the countryside and highland get the same tax exemption as those in chief towns. Cooperatives in cities and chief towns having moved their productive establishments to the countryside in accordance with the guidance and redistribution of local authorities are entitled to the same rate of tax exemption for some time. Cooperatives having moved to the highland or areas of special hardship get benefits from suitable tax exemption and reduction system. Secondary crop-processing establishments get the 2 percent enterprise tax rate, but agricultural or handicraft cooperatives doing on-the-spot crop processing are entitled to the lowest (1 percent) tax rate in the production branch.

2. The industrial and commercial tax policy serves the needs for consolidation and perfection of the new production relation, consolidation of cooperatives, improvement of enterprise management, strengthening of market management, and continued completion of socialist reforms.

After the handicraftsmen have really contributed capital goods to the cooperatives, taken part in collective production, and obtained benefits in

accordance with the length and quality of their labor workday, the production relation is said to have been changed--the socialist production relation has taken shape. But this new production relation has not yet been consolidated; many cooperatives still retain the old enterprise practice of small owners, or even run after self-developed capitalist tendencies.

A group of commercial-enterprise people have switched to productive branches and have really been reformed; they are no longer small-business people. Some people of the remaining group have joined the "cooperative cells," and some are still operating privately. By their nature these "cooperative cells" are not socialist collective economic organizations. In the past years, the reality proved that these "cooperative cells" had the nature of privately-operated commercial establishments, and that under conditions of slackened state management they had a lot of passive effect upon the "free" market. The "cooperative cells" of the small-business people are organized for the specific purpose of helping the state to manage, to educate, to reform, and to utilize the small-business people. But they have socialist-reform significance only when, and within specified limits, they are used by state-operated commercial establishments as representatives and operate in conformity with prices set by the state-operated commercial branch rather than with the "free" market laws. To carry out absolute socialist reforms among the small-business people is to switch them to productive establishments organized in the pattern of socialist production relation. As to those who still do commercial enterprise, through "cooperative cells," the state must strengthen management over them, and educate them better while the state-operated commerce must know how to use and reform them.

In the period in which socialism-building is our major concern, we must always combine socialism-building with socialist reforms and continue to complete the latter. The struggle between two roads and the class struggle still go on. At present, in the time of war, we must attach more importance to this matter.

To implement correctly the present industrial and commercial tax policy for the purpose of developing its effects upon speeding of production, strengthening of the material and technical base of the cooperatives, improvements of enterprise and financial-affairs management, strengthening of accumulation funds, and improvement of the living of cooperative members to make an important contribution to consolidating the socialist production relation of handicraft cooperatives. The industrial and commercial tax policy also has the effect of helping to consolidate and to perfect the new production relation, to continue socialist reforms, to strengthen market management by imposing less enterprise income tax on cooperatives than on individualistic enterprise holders; less on the productive branch than on the serving and catering branch; less on the serving and catering branch than on the commercial branch, for the purpose of encouraging people to shift to production.

In regard to the small industrial, handicraft, transportation, and architecture branches, the enterprise income tax schedules are based on col-

lective enterprise of the cooperatives in the socialist economic sector. For the individual families, the state only increases those schedules by 25 percent (only 10 percent for the branches and occupations that do not need to be organized into cooperatives yet). For the serving and catering and commercial branches, the enterprise income tax schedules are based on the enterprise of individual families and are partly progressive. The state reduces 5 percent of these schedules while imposing income tax on the "cooperative cells" of the small-business people. The cells that are used by the state-operated commercial branch are given an additional tax reduction not more than 10 percent if they have spent money to buy display counters and windows or to repair their stores.

The two different ways of computing the tax schedules as mentioned above serve to confirm that the socialist production relation in small industrial and handicraft production has become widespread; as to small commerce, its private-enterprise nature still plays a major part.

For the purpose of strengthening industrial and commercial management, the tax regulations require that all enterprise establishments register, declare on time their taxable turnovers and incomes, do bookkeeping and accounting work, and compute losses or profits in accordance with the system adopted by the state.

Those enterprise establishments and families that fail to register, or commit cheating acts and violations of regulations, not only are dealt with according to industrial and commercial registration regulations and compelled to pay the exact taxes due, but also can be fined and even brought to trial in a people's court. In regard to business-trip enterprise, the tax schedules are limited to the goods the state allows to be transported freely from one place to another; this limit helps to restrict careless enterprise that throws markets and prices into disorder, thus contributing to strengthening of market management.

3. The industrial and commercial tax policy serves the needs for regulating incomes and mobilizing just and rational contributions of those doing industrial and commercial enterprise.

Because of the fact that production and enterprise characteristics and technical and economic-management capacities in small industrial and handicraft branches and occupations are different, the incomes of cooperatives and individuals doing private enterprise are naturally not the same. Having the role of redistributing national income, the tax policy has to develop its effects upon regulating incomes and mobilizing, justly and rationally, parts of the incomes in industrial and commercial enterprise for the benefit of the state budget. Income tax consists of three schedules of progressive tax for three different types of enterprises; the high-income establishments must pay tax at the higher rate while the low-income ones at the lower rate. The lowest tax rate applicable to small industry, handicraft, transportation, architecture remains the same (8 percent), but the exemption level is raised;

consequently the low-income establishments pay less tax due to more tax exemptions. To prevent speculation, cheating, and illegitimate profit-making, the tax regulations stipulate that those enterprise establishments that show irrational and improper incomes (except when technical and managerial improvements are involved) must pay additional tax plus whatever is due according to the tax schedules.

Industrial and commercial taxes applicable to the collective and individualistic sectors account for only small portions in the total national income each year. The revision of the industrial and commercial tax regulations this time is not primarily aimed at increasing taxes and revenue for the state budget, but rather at helping to regulate incomes and to maintain rational living standards among those doing industrial and commercial enterprise and workers, state employees, and farmers; among those doing services and catering jobs and business people. On the basis of developed production, increased cooperative incomes, and more just and rational contributions, the source of state revenue will be properly secured.

The nature of taxes is determined by the nature of state power. In the old society, as well as in the southern society under the present rule of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the nature of taxes is to serve as the tool of the bourgeoisie-landlord class for exploitation of the working people; it is entirely against the latter's interests. In our socialist society it is entirely different: the nature of our taxes reflects the solidarity between the interests of the working people and those of the state. The state mobilizes part of the incomes of cooperatives and individualistic families for the state budget, on the basis of a correct calculation of the relations between the state and the people, between workers and farmers and other working-population strata, between accumulation and spending, for spending that serves the common interests of society.

Taxes yield to the political tasks of the party and state in different revolutionary periods. Our state uses tax money to build socialism, to do socialist reforms, to strengthen national defense, to raise the collective welfare of society. At present, taxes must serve the socialist revolutionary tasks in the north and the task of fighting the U.S. for national salvation in all our country. The newly-revised industrial and commercial tax policy, basically speaking, conforms itself with the present industrial and commercial situation, satisfies the needs of the new revolutionary tasks, and suits the common and particular interests of the industrial and commercial enterprise strata.

We need to understand fully the basic idea behind the present party industrial and commercial tax policy, namely, to speed production development, on the basis of the effort to carry out the technical revolution and the revolution in production relation; to raise productivity and fighting power so as to bring the fight against the U.S. for national salvation to complete victory. Only on that basis can this tax policy achieve rational distribution of na-

tional income and guarantee just and rational contributions to the state budget and appropriate living standard of those doing industrial and commercial enterprise.

We must not take too lightly the tax work and financial task of the state. As the state is mobilizing and highly concentrating manpower and resources on the fight against the U.S. for national salvation, if we fail to collect taxes or if we collect taxes not in conformity with the tax policy, we shall not be able to develop the effects of the latter upon the above-mentioned aspects and shall harm our tasks of mobilizing manpower and resources for the war of resistance.

The industrial and commercial tax work serves the political and economic tasks of local areas, and is closely related to production and the living of the people there. Industrial and commercial taxes can develop their effects only when they are combined with other work related to commerce, prices, collecting-purchasing, additional work, credit, etc. Otherwise a "the drum beats one way, the trumpet sounds another way" situation will result, with the tax work not only being deprived of its good effects but also having harmful effects. All state organs, particularly the local ones, need to understand fully the industrial and commercial tax policy and to implement it properly and effectively. The new industrial and commercial tax regulations clearly demonstrate the fact that the Central Committee gives more power to local areas in assuming leadership over implementation of the tax policy; highly consider the role and tasks of local authorities; at the same time guarantee the centralized and unified character, in regard to principle, policy, and system, of the financial structure of our state.

Party echelons and authorities at all levels need therefore to recognize fully the importance of industrial and commercial taxes so as to lead the tax organs and the branches concerned in implementing properly the new tax regulations.

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EXPERIENCE OF THE HANOI PARTY COMMITTEE
IN YOUTH ORGANIZATION AND TRAINING

Following is a translation of
an article by Tran Sam in the
Vietnamese-language periodical
Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 5,
1966, pages 51-58 & 89

Hanoi, our nation's capital, is also our nation's economic, political and cultural center. The number of youths concentrating in Hanoi is growing in accordance with the rate of building socialism. At present, Hanoi youth accounts for 25 percent of the city population. More than 100,000 of them are working in industrial and agricultural branches and nearly 50,000 are studying in middle level professional schools, colleges and universities. Up to 10,000 are young middle and high level technical cadres. Many youths, trained in Hanoi factories and schools, have been and are being assigned to work in various fields of activity in nearly every area in the North. Thus, the education of Hanoi youth is not only of great importance to the building of the capital but also of great significance to the general movement of the nation.

Hanoi had been under French occupation for a long time during the resistance war against the French aggressors. Under the party leadership, youth of all strata, especially young workers and students, had highly demonstrated their bravery in fighting the enemy. They set many courageous examples and today their glorious tradition is being developed more strongly in the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation. But apart from these essential good points, Hanoi youth could not help from committing many shortcomings and weak points due to the bad influence of the old capitalist way of life and colonialist culture. Under the iron heels of the French aggressors, the temporarily-occupied city of Hanoi became a big "germ cell." Never before had social ills been so serious as in those days. According to incomplete figures, in the city alone there were 45 brothels operated legally with the permission of the French, 50 "geisha" houses, 13 dancing halls, more than 2,000 opium-smoking houses and dozens of illegal brothels. In Hanoi, a city of 300,000 people, there were 15,000 prostitutes entertaining the enemy troops. There were more than 1,000 hoodlums and thugs running loose all over the city. Book stores displayed countless obscene books, such as "Song da" (Let's enjoy life first), "Chuyen rieng" (Confidential stories); countless sexual films (American) were shown in movie-houses. Everyday, the enemy radio broadcast repeatedly such disgusting and sorrowful songs as "dream of love," "sad love," "old love,"...By countless

ways, the enemy constantly deceived our youth with what they called "nationalistic ideology" or with the dream of "riding a horse with a Colt 45 in hand" a la American cowboy, and used them as cannon-fodders. The American way of life, with the philosophy of "let's enjoy life while there still is time" as its fundamental argument, was noisily publicized with the purpose of poisoning our youth's mind. If Hanoi at the time was the big prison of the French imperialists, then schools were their small prisons where their security agents and informants used every cunning tricks such as political digression, cultural corruption, debauchment, etc. to corrupt our youth and students so that they could easily carry out their policy of "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese." Not many youths were completely corrupted but those who were influenced by the enemy's "poisonous tricks" were not few either.

After the anti-French resistance ended in victory, our youth in the capital were liberated along with the people in the North. Educated by the party, they have since made constant progress. Many people returning to the city only looked at the surface and saw only the youth's weak points and shortcomings, and thus they did not have confidence in the youth and accused them of thinking only of "fancy suits and hair-cuts", etc. Grasping firmly the party Central Committee policy, the Hanoi party committee recognized that most of the city youth came from working families and thereby had a basic good nature; even the few youths who had just been corrupted could still make progress if they were helped. What happened has proved that being educated by the party, the Hanoi youth did in fact make rapid progress; and today, after 11 years receiving such an education, the youth have made great achievements in every field and are moving upwards to be worthy of their being the youth of the nation's capital.

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In its youth mobilizing work, the Hanoi party committee has always given attention to youth education in order to meet the immediate requirements of the revolution and at the same time help the youth to acquire enough energy to build and lead the future society. Most of the Hanoi youth grew up in a peaceful and constructive environment and have not experienced any reality in revolutionary struggle and production, thus they are still inexperienced in production and immature in politics. Therefore, it is necessary to educate them in every field, particularly in politics and ideology. To heighten their political consciousness, the Hanoi party committee has initially helped them to distinguish the nature of the old and new systems, the past and present life, and to build up their sense of being masters of the country, to cherish and love the capital, to cherish and respect the new system and to adjust themselves to the new progressive, healthy and happy life.

Helping the Hanoi youth make drastic changes in their thinking and action so that they can adjust themselves as soon as possible to the new system is not easy. Many among the Hanoi youth still have in their mind the vestiges of the old thinking line, which are mostly evident in their laziness, fear of

hard manual work, love of fancy suits, arrogance, etc. To guide the youth step by step, the party committee has launched a movement of youth voluntary participation in labor to educate the youth to adopt a correct attitude toward labor. When a youth courageously takes up a broom for the first time to clean the streets or takes up a pick to dig earth in the socialist labor day, he is more or less aware of his attachment to the revolution and to the capital. In addition to the movement of youth voluntary participation in labor, the Hanoi party committee has also organized meetings to exchange ideas on typical cases of young people who have become progressive and were admitted into the Youth Corps thanks to the collective help and their own efforts. Through such exchanges of ideas, the youth have seen more clearly all the cunning tricks used by the imperialists at the time Hanoi was temporarily occupied and the illusory prosperity and gaiety of the city before liberation day, and thus they have realized that their duty now is to overcome any difficulty left by the imperialists, to work and study hard and to build and defend their socialist capital.

The Hanoi party committee has also guided the Youth Corps in organizing the participation by the youth in such works as reforming capitalist private industrial and commercial enterprise and in such campaigns as agricultural and handicraft cooperativization in order to educate the youth to hate the parasitic and exploiting life and to define their purpose in life, which is to strive to serve the working class and people and to work hard in accordance with the slogan "one for all and all for one." After attending meetings held by the masses to recall past poverty and hardship and exhibitions of the working class' traditions, many youths of working families have seen clearly the causes of poverty of their country, families and class, and thus their class consciousness and viewpoint have been heightened as a basis for developing their patriotism and love for socialism.

Regarding youths coming from bourgeois families, the party committee acknowledged that most of them were not directly involved in acts of exploitation. Although they were influenced by bourgeois thinking, as young as they are, they can become enthusiastic in seeking progress and easily receptive to the policy and they will love and cherish their fatherland and socialism if they are helped by the collective. The party committee has organized studying sessions for them and heard reports on typical cases of youths who reformed themselves and their parents, etc. This has great effects on helping bourgeois youths realize that the party policy of reform is correct, humanitarian, and not only consistent with the requirements of the socialist revolution but also to the advantage of the bourgeois himself. This education also helps the bourgeois youth realize the evil nature of their class and that their duty is to help their families reform, to determine the future themselves, to work and study hard and to offer their physical and mental strength to socialism. As a result, in the period of socialist reformation, the number of bourgeois youths striving for progress increased substantially; they energetically fought against the negativeness of their families and helped their parents reform. Through such tests, a number of bourgeois youths became mature and were admitted to the Youth Labor Corps.

Over the past 10 years, since the liberation of the capital, the class

structure of the youth in the capital has undergone great changes. Many children of workers, peasants, cadres and employees of the people's democratic government have grown up and joined the youth rank, thus deeply changing the nature of the youth rank in the capital. This, along with the strengthening of political and ideological education by the party, have completely changed the moral aspect of the youth rank in the capital.

Through the study of the resolution of the 3rd party congress, the resolutions of the party central executive committee and the resolutions of the Youth Corps, members of the corps have realized more deeply the party revolutionary line and the duty of youth in the current revolutionary period. In 1963-1964, in the face of complicated developments of the class struggle both in the country and abroad, the Hanoi party committee, acting in the spirit of the resolution of the 9th meeting of the party central executive committee, instructed the Hanoi youth labor committee to launch a class education movement among its members with the purpose of imbuing them with the great revolutionary spirit of the working class, an absolute confidence in the party leadership, a sense of collective ownership, a sense of discipline and a communist virtue. This class education movement, under the theme of "three recollections, three reviews" (on the basis of recalling past poverty, recalling past hardship and recalling traditions to review one's class stand, to review one's revolutionary enthusiasm and to review one's labor productivity and work efficiency) was successful because it combined the three aspects: fostering class emotion, heightening consciousness and reviewing action. Apart from this, on such occasions as the anniversary of the party and the Corps and other great historic days, the task of educating youth on the revolutionary tradition were carried out in many forms: organized tours of the Museum of Revolution and Museum of the Armed Forces, visits to heroes' graves, reading journals of the revolution, folk song singing contest, social gatherings of three generations (old people, young people and children), etc. After August 5th, 1964, the day the U.S. imperialists began their war of destruction against the north of our country, the "3 readiness" movement has been launched in time among the youth, arousing their revolutionary spirit, fighting courage and determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors, defend the Fatherland, protect the new system, support the liberation revolution of the people in the South and move towards national reunification. More than 200,000 members of both sexes and young people of all strata in the capital voluntarily asked to join the "3 readiness" movement, actively attended military training courses and energetically learned such national defense sports as: armed operation, armed swimming, rifle shooting, grenade throwing, national boxing, and shooting U.S. aircraft with infantry rifles. The "3 readiness" movement, originally launched among the youth in the capital, has become a big youth's revolutionary campaign, a school for revolutionary action, and a school to foster revolutionary heroism of all the youth in the North in the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation.

Opposing imperialist cultural influence is an important part of youth education in the capital. In the past years, the Hanoi Youth organized such campaigns as "three should, two should not" (3 should: meet, study, work on time; maintain order and discipline in public places, respect elders, love

children; be simple, thrifty. Two should not: dress gaudily, chase girls, make troubles); "new way of life," "August chorus," "build true love," and boycotting the enemy "yellow books" still illegally circulated...These campaigns had the effect of fostering communist virtues among the youth, giving them a way of life full of culture, labor, discipline, good manners and civilization, and at the same time eliminating the ill-effects of the old way of life.

Youth education carried out by the party and the youth corps over the past years have given the city youth a highly revolutionary enthusiasm in production and combat, worthy of the traditions of the heroic capital. Tens of thousands of youths have proved themselves to be outstanding in industrial and agricultural production emulation movements in the capital; a great number of Hanoi youths have voluntarily joined the army and the youth assault group fighting the U.S. for national salvation, or are serving in most of the areas directly involved in fighting. They have scored and are scoring great achievements.

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To develop the youth's role as an assault force, the Hanoi party committee has led the youth corps in launching separate movements for the youth and bringing youths in weak fields of production both to step up the youth movement and to push the general movement forward. The movement to develop the highlands' economy and culture, the youth "new way of life" movement in the past and the recent "3 readiness" movement have been very effective in heightening the revolutionary spirit of the Hanoi youth.

Youth creativeness and competitive spirit in industrial production in 1957-1958 were greatly stimulated by the movement to "develop Nguyen The Nghia's initiatives," the movement to "increase active hours and reduce idle hours," the movement to improve product quality, to review labor productivity, etc. Youth accounts for a high percentage in the capital's workers rank. They are very active and receptive to the new and have a relatively high cultural level, but their management knowledge in general is still very limited. Initial investigations in a number of establishments indicated that the amount of labor time wasted in a day due to a lack of labor discipline on the part of the youth was from 30 minutes to one hour. On the other hand, due to sloppiness or due to a long break in working time 30 minutes could be easily wasted. From these facts, it is then clear that in industrial production the youth corps should concentrate on educating its members and other youths to strive to increase the principal labor time and the operating hours of the machines so as to increase the volume of products for the society. In this connection, youth branch groups have taken several measures. For example, the youth in the Hanoi Machinery Plant have organized a movement to win such titles as "rationalized machine," "red flag machine,"...campaigns for order in production, etc. In the steel division of the plant, they have strived to reduce idle time and have increased useful time by 25 to 35 percent; in the 8-3 Weaving Factory, they have improved work assignments, increased machine operating hours,

assigning concrete jobs to individual workers, scheduling rational lunch and working hours, etc. The Thang Long cigarette factory found a rational way to increase the machine operating time from 4 hours to 5 hours 8 minutes for each shift. Hoang Duc Minh, a youth labor member of the Tran Hung Dao machinery plant, was a typical example of a young outstanding worker who always stayed close to the machines, rationalized tool arrangements, scheduled suitable time for his personal needs, thus increasing the machine operating hours... The forms of activity of the youth have had a great effect in helping the general emulation movement in the factory.

In local industrial plants, working sites and small industrial and handicraft cooperatives, where most of the works are still done manually and labor productivity is still low, it is necessary to develop the spirit of daring to think and to do of youth members in equipping and manufacturing themselves mechanized or semi-mechanized tools. To meet this requirement, the party committee has led youth branch groups to further educate their members on production organization and labor discipline, encourage them to develop initiatives for rationalizing production, improve techniques, learn old workers' experiences and study technical data and books in order to increase their professional level and technical knowledge. In the process of guiding the recent emulation movement of raising labor productivity, the youth corps has translated good experiences into working methods compatible with youth characters and with the nature and situation of our current industrial production, such as the method by which the masses review their labor productivity themselves (through this reviewing method, thousands of youth corps members and youths have gradually learned to analyze their daily production results and to work out measures to develop their initiatives and to overfulfill the plan before schedule); as a result, the youth movement has a broader mass basis and the general emulation movement has been greatly enhanced. The method of studying, catching up with and surpassing advanced examples also has been very effective. Collective examples of producing high quality products, such as the examples set by youth members of the lathing cell 9 of the Tran Hung Dao machinery plant, members of the youth group 4 of the Minh Hoa lumber cooperative, and other good individual examples in labor productivity, such as Le Van No's, Hoang Duc Minh's, Dao Thi Thu's, Luu Van Tuc's, etc., have not only enhanced the daring spirit of the youth but also brought out good experiences for the youth to study. The method of combining labor productivity discussions with technical demonstrations has brought good practical results to the popularization of advanced working experiences and the heightening of youths' professional level. Other methods such as: attacking difficult jobs, volunteering to accept certain plans recommended by the specialized division, striving to overfulfill the plans before schedule, etc. have also been very successful.

In rural areas too, the movement of "a thousand kilos of manure" (known as the Nguyen Thi Hoan movement) in Hanoi suburbs was initially launched among youths. From that movement, the Youth corps, by following the policy of the party committee in various phases, has aimed at weak sectors of agricultural production, such as water conservancy, fertilizer, collective

animal raising and tool improvement to launch various emulation movements with the purpose of encouraging its members to study, catch up with and surpass the progress made by advanced youth groups such as those of Vietnamese, Korean friendship cooperative and of Bon Bac village (Dong Anh), etc.

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To make the youth labor corps the real right hand and reliable rear organization of the Party, it is necessary to give permanent attention to building the corps. In recent years, the Hanoi party committee pointed out that the course for the development of the corps in Hanoi is to concentrate on young workers, young peasants and young revolutionary intellectuals, and at the same time to recruit progressive youths from other classes, attach importance to both development and consolidation aspects and always try to improve political and ideological contents of the corps' activities. Through the building of "four-good cells and branches," youth members have clearly been improved. In many base level establishments there is almost no weak member. The party committee has also concentrated on the education of the youths and actively developed the party in the youth rank. Generally speaking, the number of Hanoi youth members admitted to the party is relatively high. In industrial areas, the percentage is over 50 percent as compared with the total new membership of the party, and in rural suburbs it is from 68 to 75 percent. At the side of old cadres full of struggling experiences, is the growing force of young cadres working in industry, agriculture, science-technology... In many industrial production cells and groups, major technical divisions and advanced cooperatives in suburban areas, there are more and more young cadres and party members appointed to key positions.

It is important to build up and consolidate the youth corps to ensure its key role in the general movement. At the same time, full attention must be given to the work of mobilizing non-member youths. Only through this, can the role of the youth be fully developed. Over the past few years, based on broad organizational forms, mass cultural activities, physical fitness and sports, the task of uniting the capital youth has been successfully carried out. The task of establishing youth front has been given attention ever since the capital was liberated. To bring youths together on a broad basis, we have used such effective and attractive forms of activity as: sightseeing tours, travels, talks, sport festivals, art performances, group singing sessions, August chorus movements, social gatherings under the theme "Ly Tu Trong," youth parades, conventions of united youth for the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation, etc. And recently, the "three readiness" movement has attracted great numbers of youths, including mentally retarded ones. Meetings of various youth groups, such as catholic youth, overseas youth, youths of bourgeois families, etc., have had a great effect in uniting all the youth for the purpose of fulfilling the revolutionary task. Various courses on the policy of reforming private capitalist industrial and commercial enterprise organized for youths of bourgeois families and special courses on the party religious policy held for catholic youths, or lectures on the revolution and resistance war held for overseas youths and the mobilization of

individual youths at the base level, all this has been very effective in consolidating the united youth front. The ever growing youth corps has really become the backbone of the youth front.

The cadre problem is of great importance to the development of the youth movement. At present, the corps still lacks a strong cadre rank. Most of its cadres were students, still lacking an understanding of the party policy and lacking experience in economic and technical management and in youth mobilizing work. Though more than 2,000 base level cadres were trained in Hanoi in 1965, this was not enough to meet the great need of the movement. Therefore, the Hanoi party committee recently decided to let the youth corps organize cadre training course and select the trainees from worker and peasant families who are outstanding in production in order to meet the needs of the movement.

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In organizing youth education, the Hanoi party committee has scored good results but it still has certain shortcomings. First of all, party cadres and corps cadres have not fully realized that the key problem of the present socialist revolution in the North is to carry out the technological revolution; as a result, they have failed to create among the youth a strong revolutionary atmosphere to attack science and technology. The fight against imperialist culture has not been carried out regularly. To strengthen youth educating work in the immediate future, the Hanoi party committee is urgently preparing youths of all political, economic, cultural and military branches for a more bitter war situation, so that they will be more persistent and courageous in combat and ready to sacrifice for the revolution, using their hatred for the enemy, patriotism and love for socialism as the motive to step up production, at the same time create a new atmosphere in cultural, scientific-technical and military training, and constantly move in front in all three fields: combat, production and study. In their corps building work, the party committee and the corps itself still have such shortcomings as lack of regular supervision by the corps in the development aspect. There are places where the corps development is slower than the party development, with rural youths accounting for only 28 percent and third level students about 25 percent of its total membership, which is a very low percentage. Nearly half of young teachers of popular schools have not been admitted to the corps. This shortcoming is partly due to the fact that members of the party committee and leaders of the corps have not fully realized the importance of the corps development. But on the other hand, it is also due to a wrong viewpoint on the "involvement" problem and on the problem of "class elements," which led to narrow and shallow thinking. Youth front work still has weaknesses; a number of non-member youths, particularly the retarded ones, have not been given full attention; the corps general activities have not had much effect on them; in certain places, non-member youths are completely ignored. And even young women with children are no longer considered youths.(1). Recently, the Hanoi standing committee decided

to expand the building of anti-U.S.-fight-for-national-salvation youth assault groups at the rural base level as one field of youth activity, to assemble young men and women, with ages ranging from 16 to 30, in the suburbs for the purpose of attaining an annual average rice yield of 5 tons per hectare in the coming years, and at the same time to further the corps development through concrete action. As regards non-member youths in the city, it is necessary to educate, organize and mobilize them to participate actively in production, combat and study in order to fulfill the task of fighting the U.S. for national salvation. Youths remaining in the city must be re-organized into anti-U.S.-fight-for-national-salvation youth assault groups. Regarding young men and women who before had not much chance to attend youth meetings or study, it is imperative that they must have a chance to study the new situation and task so that they can use all their strength and ability to serve the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation.

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Through the Hanoi party committee leadership in youth education over the past 10 years, we found that: in providing leadership to the youth, the party should first of all attach great importance to youth training and education, show the youth corps the correct ideological work direction, hold regular sessions for the youth to study the party policy and firmly grasp the formula of putting youths into the realities of class struggle and production work in order to train and educate them. At the same time, the party should work out educational and propaganda forms suitable to youth nature and always stick to the purpose of training a generation of youths full of ideals, communist virtues, a relatively high cultural, scientific-technical and military level, good health and determination to carry out production and combat for the victory of communism. To this end, it is essential that all party levels, from the city down to the base level, have confidence in the youths, love them, look at them with a revolutionary viewpoint, recognize their great ability and encourage them to work harder for the revolution, to defy difficulties and hardships, to dare make sacrifices and to be determined to attain victory.

To fight the U.S. for national salvation, to build and defend the socialist North, to liberate the South and to move toward national reunification, all this is really a great task. The mobilization and education of more than 200,000 youths of the capital and 4 million youths in the North have a decisive meaning to our victory.

In the face of the current new situation and task, our Hanoi party committee still has to devote more attention to educating our youth and fully equipping them with a sacrificing spirit, a readiness to overcome difficulties and to face a more bitter war situation; and in any circumstance, youth should always be the leading force in production and combat, the most active

force in the application of science and technology, ceaselessly striving to build and defend the capital, build and defend the socialist North, contribute to the liberation of the South and move toward national reunification. With all the achievements that have been made and with the revolutionary spirit of the whole nation, we have every reason to believe that the youth in the capital will successfully develop their revolutionary tradition and fulfill their historic task.

6485

CSO: 3520-D

PERFECT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE DISTRICT COMMITTEES

[Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 5, May 1966, pages 59-62.]

During the recent period the district committees have, generally speaking, made many great efforts and advances in their leadership of production, combat, and other work. Many district echelons have grasped firmly, and achieved well, the lines and policies of the Party, and have given close leadership at the base level, thereby fulfilling their responsibilities. Many district committees, however, have not kept abreast of the needs of the mission of leading production and combat. A number of district committees have failed to promote the mass movement. The reason for this is that some district committees have not had a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and lack essential knowledge regarding economic management, science, and technology. Many district committees and district-level organs have not paid attention to perfecting their organization and improving their working methods, so that they may be appropriate to the leadership position of the district echelon. Many provincial committees and provincial-level organs have not done a good job of leading and assisting the district committees and district-level organs. The position of the district echelon and the responsibilities of the district echelons have not been clearly defined and unified.

During the coming period the missions of fighting and preparing to fight, and especially the mission of developing agriculture under the new conditions, will make many new demands of the district echelon. The role of the district echelon with regard to agricultural production leadership has become more important

because of the American bandits' war of destruction. Agricultural production will be characterized more and more by agricultural production, the use of small machines will be developed in many villages and cooperatives, and the mission of building material and technical bases for agriculture must be given closer leadership. The responsibility of the district echelon in the leadership of agricultural production has, therefore, become greater. The new situation and missions require that we perfect the leadership of the district committees. This task is the basic element of the present endeavor to perfect the district echelon.

In order to perfect the district committees' leadership and guidance, we must first of all clearly define the position and missions of the district echelon and the leadership responsibility of the district committees.

In the organizational network of the Party and State, the district echelon plays an important role in giving concrete guidance to the achievement by the villages and cooperatives of all lines and stands of the Party and State in the countryside, and especially in guiding the achievement of the mission of agricultural development.

At present, the two central missions of the district echelon are production leadership and combat leadership. As regards production, the principal role of the district echelon lies in its agricultural guidance, although it also guides other aspects of production. As regards combat, the district echelon educates and organizes the peasant masses to participate in the army and in the militia forces, to participate in fighting and preparing to fight, to maintain security, to defend production, to assure communications and transportation, and to provide manpower and material wealth in the service of national defense. The district echelon also plays an important role in assuring the democratic rights, and organizing the lives, of the peasants, and in assuring the meeting of obligations toward the State in the countryside.

The district echelon, the next echelon above the base level, has the mission of creatively applying the lines and policies of the Party and State, as well as the plans, stands, and methods of the province, to the concrete circumstances of the localities, in order to give concrete guidance to the villages and agricultural cooperatives. By doing so they will help the provincial echelon to do a better job of guiding agriculture.

If it is to guide agricultural production and be of good service to the villages, the district echelon must enter deeply into the agricultural cooperatives and make guidance of the cooperatives' production the principal content of its agricultural guidance. When entering deeply into cooperatives, the district

echelon must not replace the village echelon, but must cooperate closely with it in guiding production and the cooperatives, and help it to develop its role in concrete, direct, and constant guidance, inspection, and supervision with regard to each cooperative in the cooperatives in the village.

The district committee is the highest leadership organ of the district Party unit (between sessions of the district conferences), and has the responsibility of leading all aspects of work which falls within the sphere of local responsibility.

The district committee has the following basic responsibilities:

First, to do a good job of leading and guiding production and combat. With regard to production, it must clearly understand the Party's lines of economic development, especially the line of agricultural development through intensive cultivation, in order to have concrete stands and methods, and to help the bases to develop their latent capabilities. It must lead all three aspects: drawing up and achieving production plans; building material and technical bases and improving technology; and improving the management work, especially labor management, strengthening and perfecting the production relationships, and constantly increasing the productivity and production of crops and domestic animals, in order to develop agriculture strongly, comprehensively, and stably. Although agricultural leadership is its principal concern, the district committee also pays attention to leading local industry and handicrafts. Districts with important fishing, salt, and forestry industries pay attention to leading them.

As regards combat, it must fully understand the Party's line of people's war, and do a good job of leading all aspects of the work: preparing to fight, building armed and semi-armed forces, avoiding and fighting the enemy, maintaining security, assuring communications and transportation, and mobilizing the governmental sectors and mass organizations to serve production, the fighting, and national defense.

Second, to do a good job of leading the assuring of the democratic rights of the people, to educate and activate the masses to fulfill all obligations toward the State, and to execute well all policies of the Party and laws of the State.

Third, to be concerned with the spiritual and material lives of the masses, to be concerned with building up the mass organizations, especially the Labor Youth League, and to activate, organize, and educate the masses to unite around the Party and enthusiastically fulfill all missions brought forth by the Party.

Fourth, to do a good job of leading the work of building Party bases, the organizational work, and the cadre work. The district committees must strengthen their unity and unanimity with regard to the Party's organizational lines, policies, and principles, on the basis of criticism and self-criticism, and must endeavor to heighten their stands, ideologies, and all-over levels, strengthen their capabilities to organize the guidance of plan and policy achievement, assure that the leadership of the district is concentrated, unified, comprehensive, collective, and profound, in addition to heightening the responsibility of each committee member. They must, in the course of the actualities of the mass movement, guide the comprehensive strengthening of each of the Party's basic organizations, and in the immediate future do a good job of guiding the campaign to build "four goods" cells and Party bases. They must strengthen and make good use of the sub-committees of the district committees, the various organs, and the various organizations. They must improve the working methods of those organizations and organs, do a good job of managing cadres, strengthen their training work, correctly promote and utilize cadres, and pay attention to strengthening and organizing the "backbone" leadership forces at the base level and in the district organs.

In the leadership work, the district committee must pay attention to developing the roles of the administrative committees and mass organizations.

In order to develop the initiative and creativity of the administrative committees with regard to the work not included in the central missions, the district committees must discuss major stands and methods, and investigate their achievement at the base level, in order to help the administrative committees and the Party committees, but should not discuss and resolve specific matters of an administrative nature. As regards the central production and combat missions and the most important unplanned tasks, the district committees must carefully discuss specific stands and methods, and must grasp the situation and give concrete supervision, in order to guide the work of the Party's bases and of the district committees and organizations, according to the position of each organization.

As regards working methods, the district committees should not, generally speaking, habitually work directly with sectors under the direct authority of the administrative committee. The district committees, however, must strengthen their direct relationships with the agricultural organs, and give direct guidance to the military and security police organs in all important and confidential matters. And as regards the other sectors, the district committee should work with them directly only when it is deemed necessary to do so.

As regards such mass organizations as the Labor Youth League, the Women's Association, and the district Front and labor organizations, the district committees must give direct leadership.

In order to strengthen the leadership and guidance of the district committees, we must achieve the following policies and methods:

1. Raising the level of the district committee members and cadres with regard both to ideology and to their ability to perform their work, and especially, increasing their knowledge of economic management, science, and technology. Under the present conditions, all district committee members must, in addition to studying and grasping the work of the sector or unit for which they are responsible, be strengthened with regard to economic management leadership, agricultural technology, leadership of people's war, and the work of party building, for only then can they contribute effectively to the collective leadership of the district committee.

With the assistance of upper echelons, therefore, the district committees must organize many forms of study for their members, especially the recapitulation of work and the study of advanced models. The district committee members must endeavor to study, go all out to advance, steel themselves ideologically, and carry out criticism and self-criticism. The various sectors must also strengthen the district cadres professionally.

2. Correctly selecting cadres and promoting them to the district committees, and arranging well the standing committees of the district committees, especially the secretaries and vice-secretaries. In the selection of district committee members, we must grasp the Party's mass line with regard to the cadre work and the qualifications of a district committee member. Generally speaking, those qualifications amount to sufficient virtue and ability to guide the work of the villages and cooperatives for which the person is responsible. Specifically, the qualifications are revolutionary enthusiasm, class consciousness, a spirit of complete devotion, capability to undertake tasks, awareness of organization and discipline, the strict and correct carrying out of the policies of the Party and Government and the resolutions of the district committees and upper echelons. They must have a spirit of serving the masses; respect, keep close to, and study the masses; have good working methods; and have the confidence of cadres and Party members. They must have an awareness of studying to advance to the grasping of science, technology, and professional matters. And they must steel themselves and pay attention to internal unity and the work of Party building. We must select outstanding young cadres and female cadres who show

promise, in order to strengthen and supplement the district committees. We must end the promotion of cadres according to seniority.

During this year we must perfect the district committees' standing committees and assure that the members of the standing committees, and especially their secretaries and vice-secretaries, are comrades with good revolutionary qualities who are capable of guiding the achievement of the district committees' missions. We must avoid the use of force.

3. Organizing distribution of responsibility among district committee members, and perfecting the organization and improving the working methods of district committees and district-level organs.

The composition and distribution of labor of district committees must assure that there are sufficient people to deal with the principal sectors and for some principal tasks. Except for a number of comrades responsible for Party work, all cadres are responsible for the work of the political administrations. In the event that villages encounter difficulties in production or combat, one or two members of the standing committee may be assigned to assist them, if this is deemed necessary.

We must improve the working methods of district committees and organs, in accordance with the principles of assuring collective, concentrated, unified, and comprehensive leadership, and of having plans for the district committees and their standing committees. We must increase our concrete, on-the-spot guidance of villages and cooperatives, and achieve over-all leadership through individual guidance. We must resolutely build and utilize organizations and avoid "requesting" individual cadres to engage constantly in unplanned tasks.

We must strengthen, and develop the roles of, the district committees' sub-committees, the administrative committees, and the mass organizations.

Finally, we must carry out a campaign to build "skilfull" district committees, in accordance with the four basic requirements brought forth by the Central Party Secretariat, and strengthen the guidance of the provincial and municipal echelons with regard to the district echelon. The provincial and municipal committees and sectors must give close and concrete guidance to each district and, by examining the work at the base level, give concrete assistance to the district committees and organs.

With the assistance of the various echelons and sectors, and with the direct guidance of the municipal and provincial committees, the district committees must struggle to win the appellation of "skilfull" district committees, in order to contribute worthily to the enterprise of building up the socialist countryside, and to our entire population's enterprise of resisting America and saving the nation.

5616

CSO: 3520-D

IMPROVING THE WORKING METHODS OF THE VINH TUONG DISTRICT COMMITTEE

[Following is a translation of an article by
Le Van Tri in the Vietnamese-language period-
ical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 5, May 1966,
pages 63-66.]

In 1964, Vinh Tuong District was recognized by the Executive Committee of the Party branch of Vinh Phuc Province as being the province's model district. With regard to agricultural production, our district increased its average fall rice productivity to 2.853 kilograms per hectare on its entire acreage. Rice sold to meet obligations toward the State, and that sold at incentive prices, increased four times over that of the fall season of 1963 and surpassed the plan by 2,000 tons. The fall harvests of other agricultural crops also increased: peanuts increased by 13.6 tons, and the production of pork was twice that of 1963. Material bases, such as drying courts, warehouses, collective pig pens, public manure sheds, seed beds, etc., and the savings of cooperatives, increased over those of 1963. Vinh Tuong District contributed more and more to the great work of building socialism and the enterprise of resisting America and saving the nation. The incomes of cooperatives increased and the living standards of cooperative members in the district improved clearly: in monetary terms, the average per capita increased 2.20 dong over 1963, and in terms of food, it increased by 42 kilograms of rice. Due to its good production and improved living standards, and because of its accomplishments in its work of activating youths and women, in its military work, in its maintenance of security, in its commercial work, in its cultural and social work, etc., the district was recognized as the province's best unit, and was awarded a flag. Many results were also attained in its Party-building work. In 1964 there were essentially no deficient Party bases in our

district, and we had created a relatively stable army of cadres, including many young cadres. At present, our district is undergoing good transformations in all ways, and has a strong spirit of advance. These accomplishments were achieved principally because of the timely guidance of the Vinh Phuc provincial committee and the efforts of all cadres, Party members, and people in the district. Another important reason was the transformation in the Vinh Tuong district committee's working methods and practices.

In the process of improving the district's leadership methods, we paid attention to doing a good job of the following:

1. Firmly grasping the central missions and concentrating on the resolution of the most important elements in each period.

Because we knew that the principal mission of the district echelon is to give concrete leadership to agricultural production, we not only paid attention to applying the lines and policies of the Party to the circumstances of our district, but also to coming forth with concrete goals and methods for guiding agricultural production and agricultural cooperatives. We caused each committee member to clearly realize his responsibility of entering deeply into the guidance of production and cooperatives. Furthermore, we made the production and cooperative work the most important element. Therefore, the principal direction of our district committee in achieving a distribution of labor among the leadership forces was to strengthen the bases. During 1962 and 1963 we concentrated many committee members in this work; of them, four members were responsible for four areas, and four other members served as secretaries for village Party units. The various district sectors also made service to agricultural production and cooperatives their central mission. During the past two years, the district committee members who head sector offices in the district have taken charge of villages and cooperatives for periods of from six months to one year. The standing committee of the district committee, in addition to performing its ordinary work, has been responsible for guiding the work of the district's specialized committees. As regards unplanned missions, furthermore, we have sent capable cadres of the training, organization, agricultural, and other sectors to work at the base level. With such a division of labor we have grasped the base-level situation more firmly, especially the production and cooperative situation, and have therefore given timely resolution to problems, reduced paperwork, and reduced unnecessary meetings.

With regard to the village echelon, our district committee has taken the stand of making some Party committee members directors of cooperatives, and of making other Party committee members and cell committee members team leaders or assistant team leaders of production teams, technical teams, etc. The cells are in charge

of cooperatives, the Party teams are in charge of production units and fields, and Party members and Labor Youth League members are in charge of segments of the cooperatives' land. At present, of 123 cooperative managers in the district, 95 are Party committee members and 28 are cell committee members. Of 759 production units, 457 have Party members as leaders or assistant leaders, of whom 45 are Party committee members or cell committee members. Furthermore, thousands of Party members and Labor Youth League members are in charge of fields.

After two years of struggle in our district, we essentially have no deficient villages, and in each village there are relatively stable "backbone" cadres. At present we are, in the distribution of labor within the district committee, making the grasping of bases and production the central mission; and the district committee members in charge of district sectors make their sector their principal concern, but each of them is also responsible for a village and gives direct guidance to the building of a highly productive cooperative in the village.

2. Paying attention to creating and developing advanced models, and strengthening the work of inspecting fields and cooperatives.

We know that in order to advance the movement strongly we must, in addition to coming forth with appropriate methods and providing agricultural cooperatives with capable cadres, pay attention to creating advanced models and recapitulating their experiences, and regard that as the best leadership method and the best method of influencing the masses. In the work of creating advanced models, therefore, we have paid attention to enabling regions with identical conditions to have model forms, although they are not the common model forms of the entire district. Only thereby can we resolve all conflicts caused by fear of difficulty, conservatism, etc. During the past several years we have carried out the creation of such advanced models as the Hoa Loan Cooperative (a model in all ways), the Phu Lap Cooperative (a model with regard to fertilizer production), the Lac Trung Cooperative (a model with regard to planting), the Phu Yen Cooperative (a model with regard to the raising of breeding cattle), the Cao Binh Cooperative (a model with regard to "the liberation of shoulders"), the cooperatives of the hamlets of Trung and Thuong (models with regard to high productivity), the Yen Tru Cooperative (a model with regard to soil improvement and planting stock replacement), etc. On the basis of those good models we organized visits, held on-the-spot specialized conferences for each sector and each aspect of the work, and used those experiences to guide and stimulate the general movement, thus creating a spirit of seething competition throughout the district.

In addition to guiding the creation of models, our district committee strengthened its inspections of fields and cooperatives, and was therefore able to give timely correction to the deficiencies of each locality. Our district has built up a system of field and cooperative inspection. With regard to the district, every 15 days the standing committee of the district committee inspects the fields, and during the production seasons it inspects them every five days. Because we have carried out that system of inspection well, we have been able to overcome practices which interfere with the production seasons. After the lunar new year, for example, the local custom was for people to rest until the fifth or seventh of the month; the weeds grew tall, and since labor could not be mobilized to weed the fields, the rice crop was harmed and productivity was lowered. Therefore, we sent cadres to each village to activate a movement to resume production the day after the new year. This has now become a permanent feature of the district. Furthermore, we divided the district into four areas, on the basis of villages and cooperatives which have similar production conditions, favorable terrain, etc., and had a system for constantly inspecting each area. On the village level, we created a working method of observing the fields closely by assigning Party committee members to be responsible for fields and cooperatives. Furthermore, in each period we have organized cooperatives and villages to inspect the fields of other cooperatives and villages. We have, therefore, been able to uncover and resolve difficulties in production, while creating conditions for cooperatives and villages to exchange and study experiences on the spot, and to stimulate one another.

3. Closely uniting the Party-building work with the strengthening of cooperatives and the development of production.

The Party's base-level organizations form its foundation and are the units which struggle directly to achieve the Party's missions. The Party-building work, therefore, must serve the Party's political missions. We must, furthermore, carry out the Party-building work by achieving the political missions. The principal missions of the village Party units are production leadership and cooperative leadership. In the course of the production movements, positive elements will appear within the Party and among the masses; but negative elements will appear as well. Because we combined the achievement of the production missions and the building of cooperatives with the work of strengthening and developing the Party, the Party-building work had profound ideological and political education contents, and the level of economic and technical leadership of cadres and Party members was raised. Within our Party unit, however, there are still some cadres and Party members who regard the Party-building work lightly, or separate it from the production and cooperative-building work. This deficiency becomes manifest when some cadres who have been

assigned to strengthen cooperatives grasp only the situation in the cooperative, and not the situation of the cells and Party members, etc. In 1962 and 1963, seven villages in our district were deficient, and they amounted to 25% of the district's villages. In those deficient villages, both Party members and the masses lacked enthusiasm in their work and production. The production and cooperative-building work was also deficient, so crop productivity declined, thus adversely influencing the district's over-all productivity. Faced with that situation, our district committee held specialized conferences to discuss plans and methods to push the deficient villages forward, and regarded that as the most important task for that period. After unanimously deciding on plans and methods to strengthen the villages, we decided to concentrate good cadres in them. In the strengthening of deficient villages, we made the resolution of ideological problems the principal concern; therefore, we stressed ideological activation within the Party, then among the masses, while reorganizing our Party members so that they could be appropriate to the organization of cooperatives, and resolutely avoiding the situation of Party members running helter-skelter around cooperatives. In addition to strengthening the Party's organization, we also paid attention to strengthening cooperatives and promoting production, and resolutely increased crop production in a number of areas. We believe that only by promoting production and increasing the incomes of cooperative members can we have a real basis for causing Party members and the masses to believe in, and be resolved to follow, the collective way of livelihood. By the end of 1964 there were no deficient villages or base-level Party organizations. Some 73% of the district's cells and Party units were "four goods" cells and Party units, and the remaining 27% were average cells and Party units.

In recapitulation, the many-faceted movement of the Vinh Tuong Party unit has undergone many good transformations, and is now advancing strongly. Those actual results have further strengthened our district committee's awareness of the importance of the improvement of working methods and practices. We have come to see more clearly that we must continue to overcome the remaining difficulties in our working methods, and resolutely and stably advance the movement.

5616

CSO: 3520-D

TINH GIA DISTRICT COMMITTEE LEADS
THE MILITIA WORK IN THE NEW SITUATION

[Following is a translation of an article by
Le Trong Thao in the Vietnamese-language
periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 5,
May 1966, pages 66-70.]

Tinh Gia is a district which is regarded as the "buffer against waves and wind" of Thanh Hoa Province. The district is 400 square kilometers in area. It has nearly 40 kilometers of seacoast and large areas of jungle and mountains. Its population is 100,000, most of whom are concentrated along the seacoast. Nearly one-third of its people are fishermen or salt producers. National Route No. 1 and a railroad pass through the district. Because Tinh Gia plays an important role defensively and economically, the American imperialists, when waging their war of destruction against the North, constantly reconnoiter and attack it. For more than a year the American imperialists have sent more than 3,000 sorties to violate Tinh Gia's territory; they have launched nearly 500 attacks (including nearly 90 night attacks) on more than 100 targets, and have dropped thousands of bombs on bridges, schools, churches, and villages in the district. The enemy has attacked some targets more than 40 times, and have dropped more than 200 bombs on them. On some days the enemy has sent as many as 45 sorties to violate Tinh Gia's territory; they have attacked from night to dawn, and have dropped flares from one end of the district to another, in hopes of weakening our people's spirit. On one village the enemy has dropped an average of one bomb for every 1.5 people.

Faced with those extremely cruel plots and tricks of the American imperialists, the Party unit, the soldiers, and the people in our province have not only not been shaken, but are seething with vengeance; they are united, hold a plow in one hand and a

weapon in the other, produce while fighting, and have won great victories. It may be said that in 1965 Tinh Gia District had successful harvests in its Party work, its production and, everywhere, in its fighting. During nine months of opposing the war of destruction, indeed, the soldiers and people of Tinh Gia fought more than 500 battles with the enemy, and shot down 10 American jets and damaged many others; and the soldiers and people of the district shot down the 100th American airplane downed in Thanh Hoa. Furthermore, our district has also assured communications and has done a relatively good job of the people's air defense work, so it has limited the damage inflicted by the enemy. Not only have production and combat been promoted, but all other activities in the district have also been assured. Fighting combined with production has become an every-day occurrence in Tinh Gia. Not one plot of land has been abandoned. Not one salt field has gone unworked. There are twice as many irrigation works as there were last year. Schools for nearly 20,000 pupils have remained open. Hai Nhan School of Tinh Gia District has been chosen the advanced flag of the "resist America and save the nation" schools.

These are the principal accomplishments of our district. From them, our Party unit has extracted the following experiences of its work of leading the militia forces in the new situation:

1. We must strengthen the Party's direct, comprehensive, and complete leadership of the militia unit.

In the past, our Party unit did not pay adequate attention to the work of leading militia units, so its ideological education, its forging of a fighting spirit, and its building up of the militia units did accomplish much. The proportion of Party members participating in militia units was very low; some Party members joined militia units improperly, some Party members shirked their military duties in the villages, etc. After clearly realizing the new situation and missions, and the position and responsibilities of the district, and after fully realizing the importance of the leadership of the building up of militia forces in order to oppose the enemy's war of destruction, the District Party Congress of Representatives, which met at the end of 1964, decided to make the secretaries of base-level Party units political officers in the militia units, and to bring 100% of the qualified Party members, League members, and service troops into the militia units. The Congress also determined that the village unit commanders and the political officers in the village units must be Party members who are experienced cadres capable of performing the militia work. Later, because of the urgent situation, the district committee took the stand of specializing military cadres. Therefore, the "backbone" forces of the militia units have been stabilized and the fighting capabilities of the militia units have increased. The district committee also paid a great deal of attention to strength-

ening the cell secretaries and military cadres with regard to the Party's military line. Every time the enemy attacks, every time there is a preliminary recapitulation or final recapitulation of such great campaigns as the campaign to build "four goods" cells, the spring training movement, etc., the district committee constantly pays attention to enabling the Party echelons in the district to grasp firmly, and do a good job of combining, the production and combat missions in the new situation. Discussion and decision-making with regard to the militia work has become a permanent feature of the various Party echelons. The cells' management of the militia units' operational plans has become tighter. The participation of Party members in combat has become an indispensable standard, and is often brought forth when reviewing the ten missions of Party members and determining whether Party members, cells, or Party branches deserve the appellation "four goods." That is also a standard for "four goods" Labor Youth League units, "five goods" Women's Association units, and advanced cooperatives. Our district committee pays a great deal of attention to investigations and supervision, and is very much concerned with requests for instructions regarding the military work. When the situation is most critical, the members of the district committee go to the places being most fiercely attacked by the enemy, in order to inspect the militia work, examine each sentry post and shelter, and live with the militiamen, in order to grasp the situation and contribute opinions for improving the combat plans. Those comrades also help the Party committees to resolve the difficulties they encounter during and after the fighting. Because upper and lower echelons cooperate closely and constantly, because of the clear delineation of authority and responsibility, and, especially, because of the close leadership and guidance of the Party echelons, the military organs have firmly grasped the stands and thoughts of the Party echelons, which in turn firmly grasp the military organs' capabilities to carry out the Party's stands and thoughts.

2. We must understand more fully the Party's line of people's war.

It may be said that the victories won by Tinh Gia during the past year have been victories of the strict carrying out of the instructions and decisions regarding the Party's line of people's war. When the enemy launches a fierce attack, and when there are manifestations of pessimism and agitation among the masses, the district committee stresses our inevitable victory and the American imperialists' inevitable defeat, and teaches the Party cells to make the militia units the "backbone" in activating the people's spirit of opposing the enemy's war of destruction. At first, some militiamen did not believe that infantry weapons could shoot down enemy airplanes. The district committee taught everyone to realize that only the elements of man and ideology are decisive, and to heighten their spirit of self-strengthening and their spirit

of daring to fight and defeat America with the militia units' infantry weapons. It also organized model battles in order to increase everyone's confidence, and inaugurated a district-wide movement to shoot down enemy airplanes. When it had gained experience and grasped the laws of the enemy's activities, the district committee took the stand of training and strengthening the militia by sending, in turn, many militia units to defend the targets hit often by the enemy. This is not only a way to resolve some of the difficulties in the lives and production of the local people, but is also a very practical method for testing, training, and steeling the militia forces. During the recent period, many units have asked to be allowed to participate directly in the defense of targets, and one unit, although distant from the target, came to participate in more than 30 battles. When the militiamen shoot down American jets with infantry weapons, the people become more confident and enthusiastic, and even old people and young pupils enthusiastically serve the fighting.

3. We must pay our utmost attention to the political education work, and to ideological leadership, among the militia.

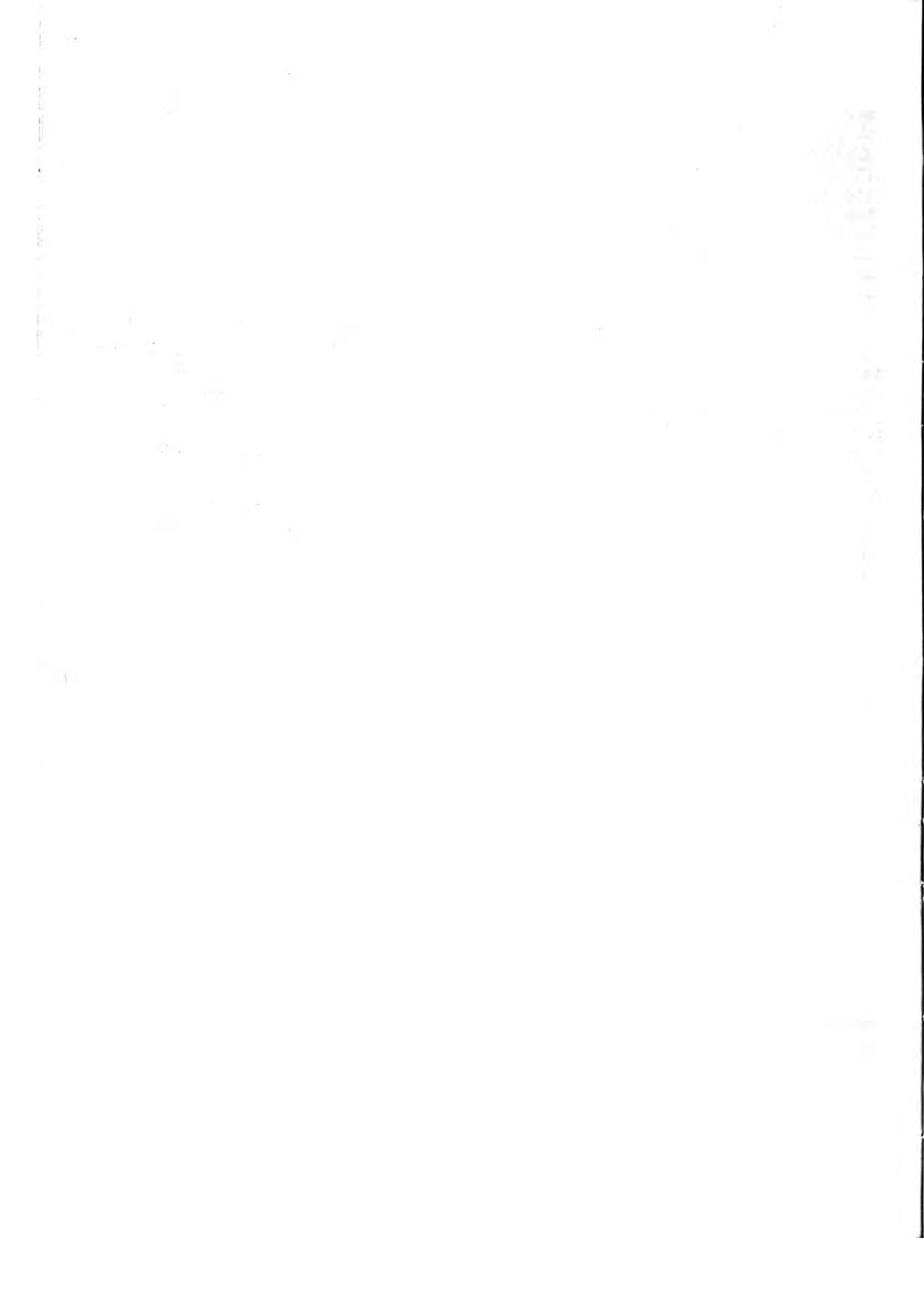
During the period in which the enemy aircraft were most active and were attacking Tinh Gia most fiercely, our district committee activated throughout the district a campaign to teach the class nature and the fighting tradition of the militia, under the leadership of the Party. This was a very profound ideological activation among the Party and the militia units. Some places used that educational content to organize study for the workers. Reviewing past hardships, remembering old enemies, and comparing the life of today with that of yesterday, are the liveliest forms for the ideological activation of the masses. Many Party branches regard that as a very basic practical form of education which is useful not only with regard to the militia and the Party, but also with regard to the mass organizations. In the course of this campaign, the leadership of many cells with regard to the militia units, as well as the activities of militia units all over the district, improved considerably. When activating the masses to build fighting villages, the district committee took the stand of making the fighting traditions of the district's people models of the stubborn, unyielding fighting of heroes in both North and South, in order to educate the soldiers and people in the district while arranging for the militia members to study and discuss the standards and missions of militia members. After battles with enemy airplanes, the Party branches organizes conferences to extract experiences, while publicizing and promoting good examples and extensively propagandizing them among the people in the form of songs, short stories, dramas, dancing, etc. In places attacked fiercely by the enemy, and in which the people have suffered losses, the district committee takes the stand of transforming funeral processions into meetings to condemn the crimes of the American imperialists, in order to deepen the people's hatred for the

American devils and strengthen the fighting will of the soldiers and people of our province. With regard to the militiamen who achieve outstanding accomplishments in combat, the district committee's policy is to examine their qualifications and bring them into the Party or the Labor Youth League; in very special cases, they may be brought into the Party or League, or transferred from the militia to a guerrilla unit, on the battlefield (if, of course, standards and principles are met). Therefore, everyone is more enthusiastic and determined to defeat the American aggressors. Furthermore, shortcomings can be given timely criticism.

During more than a year of leading and guiding the building of militia units in a situation of opposing the American imperialists' war of aggression, our Tinh Gia district committee has achieved a number of initial accomplishments, and has gained a good deal of valuable experience. At present, the movement in our province is still beset with a number of weak points and deficiencies. Faced with the enemy's new plots and tricks, the Party unit of Tinh Gia must make much greater efforts in the work of building militia units, and guide them in fulfilling their role as backbones in production, combat, and service to the fighting, in order, along with the people in the district, contribute worthily to the enterprise of resisting America and saving the nation of our entire Party and our entire population.

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THE STRUGGLE MOVEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

Following is a translation of an article by Hong Chuong in the Vietnamese-language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 5, May 1966, pages 71-80.7

Every year, on the occasion of May Day, 1 May, the working class in various countries throughout the world reviews its ranks, confirms the achievements it has performed, sets forth the immediate and future objectives of its struggle, and expresses its determination to achieve new victories.

The ranks of the working class throughout the world have ceaselessly grown. Now there are over 500,000,000 workers in the world, representing about 16% of the world population--which is about 3,000,000,000 inhabitants. As far as the distribution of the working class throughout the world is concerned, there are over 150,000,000 workers in socialist countries, representing about 15% of their population which is over 1,000,000,000 inhabitants; 150,000,000 workers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, representing 11% of their population, which is 1,350,000,000 inhabitants; and 200,000,000 workers in developed capitalist countries--West Europe, North America, Japan, and Oceania--representing 30% of their population, which is about 650,000,000 inhabitants.

Some 200,000,000 workers have joined trade unions, representing 40% of the total working population. The World Trade Union Federation, with 120,000,000 members is the largest trade union organization in the world at present. (In addition there are The International Free Trade Union Federation with 57,000,000 members, The International Christian Trade Union Federation with 6,000,000 members, and other Free Trade Unions

with 17,000,000 members.) Trade unions in socialist countries have been joined by 110,000,000 members. The rest are members of trade unions in capitalist countries.

Now the working class in socialist countries is leading the struggle to achieve proletarian dictatorship and construct socialism and communism. Workers in colonies and dependent countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are marching in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism and new and old colonialism to achieve national independence. Workers in capitalist countries are struggling against monopolist state capitalism to achieve peace, democracy, and socialism.

In this article, we are going to deal only with the workers' movement in capitalist countries.

While in the socialist countries the working class has seized power and is the master of the country, and its living conditions are being improved daily, in capitalist countries, under the cruel rule of the bourgeoisie, the working class has to sell its working strength to support itself and its families. Workers become increasingly poor and live a miserable life.

In capitalist countries, the application of technological achievements to production, the rapid transformation of monopolist capitalism into monopolist state capitalism, the establishment of the international organizations of monopolist capitalism, the arms race and the preparations for a new world war, the militarization of the national economy, the increase in taxes, inflation, the violations of the people's democratic freedoms, and so forth have daily deepened the contradictions between the social character of production and the capitalist ownership system.

Under the rule of monopolist state capitalism, workers become increasingly poor. They are constantly threatened with losing their jobs. The following statistical table gives us some characteristics of the unemployment situation in a number of main capitalist countries during the years when they faced economic crises--1958 for the capitalist world and 1961 for the United States and Canada--as well as during the year when their economy developed normally, 1964:

COUNTRY	UNEMPLOYED WORKERS		
	1958	1961	1964
United States	4,681,000	4,800,000	4,600,000
Canada	432,000	469,000	336,000
Britain	501,000	377,000	480,000
France	93,000	112,000	94,000
Italy	1,322,000	710,000	507,000
West Germany	683,000	161,000	184,000
Japan	630,000	440,000	417,000

These figures represent only those who are completely unemployed. They will be much bigger if they include those who are half unemployed. Let us take as an example the situation in the United States. According to the official statistics of the U.S. Administration, in 1964 in the United States there were 4,600,000 persons who were completely unemployed, 8,000,000 persons who were half unemployed, and 4,000,000 persons who worked less than 14 hours each week. Thus, the total of totally and partially unemployed workers in the United States in 1964 was 16,600,000 persons, or 26% of the persons who had reached working age: 70,000,000 persons. If each family had four persons, the total of those who suffered from unemployment in the United States in 1964 reached 66,000,000 persons, representing one-third of the U.S. population of that year: 180,000,000 inhabitants.

While in socialist countries the application of new technological results to production improves the living and working conditions of workers, conversely, in capitalist countries, this application causes the workers to be exploited more ruthlessly and be threatened seriously by unemployment. In the United States, due to the achievement of automation in production, 2,000,000 workers are discharged each year and replaced by machines. That is why in the United States, which is known as the richest country of the capitalist world, the number of poor and miserable people is very large. According to President Johnson's report to the U.S. Congress on 20 January 1964, in the United States 35,000,000 persons--that is, one fifth of the total population, had a standard of living lower than the minimum standard and lived from hand to mouth. At the same time, the profits falling into the U.S. capitalists' pockets increased daily. In 1962 alone, the U.S. capitalists' profits amounted to \$55,000,000,000.00.

The ruling classes in capitalist countries use the arms race policies and preparations for a new world war as the primary means for--they hope--avoiding economic crises and restricting unemployment. In the United States, the total of workers working for the national defense branches--which produce all categories of deadly weapons--amounts to 8,000,000. Many youths--sons and brothers of U.S. workers--are sent to the southern part of our country to serve as cannonfodder. The entire load of the arms race and the preparations and undertaking of the war of aggression falls on the back of the working class in capitalist countries.

In capitalist countries, contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie--especially monopolist capitalism--are becoming increasingly fierce. The struggle movement against the war-seeking and aggressive policies and for an end to the arms race, for a better life, and for achieving and enlarging the democratic freedoms, and developing

strongly and uninterruptedly both in depth and width.

Comparing the strike movements of the working class in capitalist countries before and after World War II, we can clearly realize the enormous growth of the workers' movement in the capitalist world:

Between 1919 and 1939, there were 177,000 strikes with 80,800,000 persons participating.

Between 1946 and 1963, there were 247,400 strikes with 222,600,000 persons participating.

Between 1919 and 1939, 3,550,000 persons went on strike each year on an average, causing a loss of 53,320,000 working days to the capitalists.

Between 1946 and 1960, 12,830,000 persons went on strike each year on an average, causing a loss of 67,090,000 working days to the capitalists.

Generally speaking, the yearly number of strikes in the recent past in capitalists countries has continuously increased: 11,482 in 1958; 11,317 in 1959; 12,798 in 1960; 13,986 in 1961; and 15,000 in 1962. The yearly number of persons participating in strikes in developed capitalist countries, in particular, and in the capitalist world, in general, has continuously increased. The following statistical table supports this view (each unit represents 1,000,000 persons):

ZONE	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Developed capitalist countries	13.5	16	43 to 46	41 to 43	42 to 44
Latin America	9 to 10	18 to 20	9 to 10	7 to 8	13 to 17
Asia (except Japan)	2	1	1.5	1	1
Africa	0.4	0.3	0.4	1	0.3
Total number of strikers	25 to 27	35 to 37	54 to 58	50 to 53	56 to 62
Total in political strikes	11 to 12	16 to 18	41 to 45	30 to 33	35 to 40

In 1965, the struggle movement of the working class in capitalist countries continued to develop strongly.

In the United States, in 1965 many workers' major struggle broke out and caused serious damage to the U.S. capitalists, such as the two-month strike by 60,000 dockers on the eastern coast of the United States (January 1965), the strike by 30,000 workers of 60 U.S. canneries (March 1965), and so forth. In the United States, in 1965 there were many big strikes by workers working for the national defense branches, including workers working at missile bases. These strikes caused difficulties to the U.S. imperialists in their arms race for preparing for a new world war and in undertaking their

war of aggression in Vietnam. Five thousand workers at the Nevada Nuclear Base went on strike in February; 12,000 workers of General Motors in the state of Connecticut, one of the largest companies producing atomic submarines in the United States, went on strike in July; 10,000 mechanics at the shipyards of Seattle, San Francisco, Portland, Oregon, and Richmond on the west coast of the United States went on strike in July, paralyzing the repairs of 30 warships, a number of which were used in the war of aggression against Vietnam; mechanics on the east coast of the United States in July went on strike continually for 65 days, paralyzing over 100 ships of eight international sea navigation companies in the Atlantic and exerting great effects upon the transport of war materials to South Vietnam, and so forth. These struggles of the U.S. working class dealt strong blows at the U.S. imperialists' plan to prepare for and undertake their war of aggression. An important characteristic of the U.S. workers' movement in 1965 was that U.S. negro workers rose up and struggled strongly against the white capitalists despite the savage terrorist measures of the U.S. authorities.

In West Europe, in 1965 the working class also struggled strongly. For instance: the 48-hour strike by 2,500,000 French workers in January to struggle against tax increase and high cost of living; the 24-hour strike by 1,500,000 Italian industrial workers in January to protest against the pauperization policy; the February strikes of 1,000,000 construction workers and 2,000,000 metallurgists and mechanics in Italy; the March strike of 230,000 metallurgists in the Ruhr, West Germany, to demand a salary increase, and so forth.

In Japan, in 1965 the working class heroically struggled against the Sato Government for its collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and to demand for a better life and for national independence. Almost 7,000,000 Japanese workers participated in the spring struggle movement. In late 1965 millions of Japanese workers participated in the struggle for wage increase, against the Japan-South Korea Treaty, against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and so forth.

In Latin America, in 1965 workers struggled fiercely against the pro-U.S. dictators and for better life. For instance: the October strike by 2,500,000 workers in Argentina; the August strike by 100,000 workers in Uruguay; the November strike by 50,000 miners in Chili; the December strike by 100,000 workers in the Dominican Republic, and so forth.

In 1965 workers in almost all capitalist countries were in the vanguard of the struggle against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam and for supporting the Vietnamese people's resistance against U.S. imperialism. Meetings and demonstrations against U.S. aggression in Vietnam were held in

many capitalist countries.

The workers' movement in capitalist countries in particular and in the capitalist world in general has the following characteristics: the size of the strike movement becomes increasingly large; the political character of the movement becomes increasingly obvious; the role and influence of communist parties in many countries are continuously heightened.

Now in almost all capitalist countries in particular and countries belonging to the capitalist system in general, the working class has its vanguard team. The communist and workers parties in the capitalist world and the number of their members have continuously increased. Against 60 communist parties and 785,000 members in 1935, now there are in the capitalist network about 80 communist and workers parties and over 6,000,000 members. (If parties in socialist countries are included, the total number of communist and workers parties and of party members reach 90 and 50,000,000 respectively.) Some of the above parties have been outlawed by the ruling classes in their countries and have had to carry out their activities under very difficult conditions. However, these parties continue to develop. Their prestige is increased daily among the masses.

The following statistical table gives us a general idea about the situation of the development of communist and workers parties in the capitalist world:

Zone	1939 (excluding the countries now belonging to the socialist camp)	1957	1963
Europe	500,000	2,500,000	3,000,000
Asia	20,000	1,700,000	2,500,000
America	1,800,000	215,000	250,000
Africa	5,000	20,000	50,000
Oceania	5,000	6,500	7,500

In a number of capitalist countries, with the slogan of peace and democracy (and national independence in countries under U.S. control), the working class and its vanguard team have united the majority of workers, the intermediary strata, and the democracy, fatherland, and peace-loving forces in a united front and focused the spearheads of their struggles on the monopolist capitalists in order to protect world peace, achieve democracy and social progress, and prepare conditions for carrying out the socialist revolution.

Faced with the struggle movement of the working class in capitalist countries, monopolist capitalists in these countries, on the one hand, engage in ruthless oppression and terror and, on the other, resort to cunning measures to deceive workers; partially satisfying workers' demand for a better life and

bribing the aristocratic worker by using the "People's Capitalism" label to, they hope, lull the working masses to sleep, encourage the spreading of the reformist line of the right-wing opportunists and of revisionism inside the communist movement, and urge the latter to sow discord among workers. Monopolist capitalists use these wicked measures, hoping to cause the working class to fall into trade-unionism and legalism and move away from the goals of the struggle for socialism. But their reactionary and warlike policies have helped the majority of workers realize increasingly clearly that only through engaging in revolutionary struggle aimed at driving back the monopolist capitalists, restricting their activities, and advancing toward overthrowing the capitalist rule, can they escape from oppression and exploitation and basically improve their living conditions.

Disregarding the monopolist capitalists' oppression, terror, and bribery, workers in capitalist countries continue to patiently engage in revolutionary struggle in order to drive back the monopolist capitalists, restrict their activities, and advance toward overthrowing the capitalist rule for self-liberation. The struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress by the working class in capitalist countries has the effect of preventing the imperialists from carrying out their war-seeking and aggressive plans. This struggle is a great support to the socialist camp and the national liberation movement. The struggle movement of the working class in developed capitalist countries develops continuously. It is regrettable that the influence of the right-wing opportunists has partially hindered the development of this movement. If led by a revolutionary party of the working class which closely follows Marxism-Leninism, this movement will develop more strongly.

The struggle of the working class in capitalist countries against monopolist state capitalism for achieving peace and democracy is an integral part of the struggle for socialism by the working class throughout the world. This struggle has united the majority of the people into a large united front to oppose monopolist state capitalism, to demand satisfaction of immediate demands, and to advance toward overthrowing its rule. In capitalist countries, the struggle for peace and democracy is part of the struggle for socialism, is a step of this struggle. However, it is wrong to believe that to struggle for peace and democracy is already to struggle for socialism and that the path to socialism does not necessarily pass through proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. In capitalist countries, the struggle against monopolist capitalists in order to achieve immediate goals is a step toward socialist revolution and toward creating favorable conditions for achieving socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship when the opportunity presents itself. Therefore, the revolutionary struggle of the working class in capitalist countries cannot be limited within

the scope of the struggle for peace and democracy. Nor must one confuse proletarian democracy with bourgeois democracy and believe that the democratic achievements under a capitalist regime are socialist factors. This is the boundary separating revolution from reform, and Marxism-Leninism from revisionism and right-wing opportunism.

The statement of the 1960 Moscow Conference of Delegates of Communist and Workers Parties pointed out: "Communists regard the struggle for democracy as an integral part of the struggle for socialism. During the process of this struggle, communists have continuously consolidated their relations with the masses, heightened the political enlightenment of the masses, and helped the masses clearly recognize the tasks of the socialist revolution and the necessity of carrying out this revolution. This is the fundamental difference between the Marxist-Leninist parties and the reformists who regard reforms under the capitalist regime as final goals and deny the necessary character of the socialist revolution."

The historic experiences of the world revolutionary movement prove that exploiting classes never voluntarily abandon power and withdraw from the political scene. Marx and Engels said: "The proletariat establishes its rule by using violence to overthrow the bourgeoisie." The proletariat can liberate itself only by using revolutionary violence to smash the bourgeois state machinery and build a new society--a socialist and communist society. Revolutionary violence is precisely the midwife who assists the birth of the new society. Meanwhile the exploiting classes always use counterrevolutionary violence to check the development of the revolutionary movement of the working class.

Nowadays, although the socialist camp is stronger than the imperialist camp, the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries is not yet so weak as to be incapable of using violence to oppose the proletariat. The monopolist state capitalists in many capitalist countries are following the path of militarization and fascistization. They are using the most brazen violence to suppress the working class in their countries. Under present conditions, the use of revolutionary violence to crush the state machinery of the bourgeoisie and establish the proletarian dictatorial state continues to be the universal rule for the revolutionary struggle of the working class in capitalist countries.

The revolutionary violence of the working class in each country manifests itself in different forms, depending on the characteristics and concrete conditions of each country. This violence can manifest itself in the form of protracted peaceful political struggle leading to armed uprisings for seizing power (The 1917 Russian Revolution) or under the form of protracted armed struggle (The 1927-1949 Chinese Revolution) or under the

form of association between political struggle and armed struggle, between general uprisings of the masses and the military attacks of the people's armed forces (The August 1945 Vietnamese Revolution). Throughout its long revolutionary struggle, the party of the working class in each country has changed its struggle methods in accordance with the situation at each moment, combining organization methods with legal, semi-legal, and illegal struggle. When there was the possibility of joining the bourgeois parliament, the party took advantage of this possibility to undertake the struggle--using the platform of the bourgeois parliament to unmask the rottenness of the capitalist regime, heighten the political enlightenment of the masses, and urge the masses to carry out the proletarian revolution and overthrow the capitalist regime. The party has associated the struggle inside the parliament with the struggle outside it and regarded the struggle by the masses outside the parliament as having a decisive character. Even if the party of the working class gains a majority in the bourgeois parliament, this majority exerts its revolutionary influence only when it faithfully reflects the will of the masses and when the masses are ready to use revolutionary violence to support it. The party of the working class must never cultivate the illusion of seizing power through the "parliamentary way". The view that the working class may seize state power and construct socialism through the "parliamentary way" or "structural reforms" within the framework of the bourgeois constitution is erroneous and harmful.

Communists never reject the possibility of seizing power through peaceful means whenever this possibility appears, for communists, this possibility is very valuable, because the achievement of this possibility saves the flesh and blood of the masses. But this possibility is very rare. While carrying out the revolution, communists make preparations to welcome both possibilities: peaceful or non-peaceful transition to socialism. Especially, they make preparations to achieve the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism, because since they have made preparations to carry out the revolution through violence, the working class and its vanguard team can capture the initiative under any circumstances. Under present conditions, since in many capitalist countries the ruling classes are implementing the policies of militarization and fascistization, it is necessary to stress the necessity of carrying out violent revolution. Under present conditions, it is a harmful error to put too much emphasis on the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism or on the tendency to regard it as the sole possibility.

Currently, the world contains the strong and powerful socialist system. This is an advantageous objective condition for the development and success of the proletarian revolution

of the working class in capitalist countries. However, the revolution in each country is carried out by the working class and people of this country. In the revolution for overthrowing the bourgeoisie, the working class in capitalist countries mainly relies on its own strength. The influence of the example and aid of socialist countries cannot replace the revolutionary activities of the working class in capitalist countries for overthrowing the bourgeois rule in these countries. The view which says that since there is the strong and powerful socialist system in the world, the working class in capitalist countries can achieve a "peaceful transition" to socialism without having to undertake a violent revolution to crush the bourgeoisie's state machinery and establish a dictatorial proletarian state is erroneous and harmful. In the struggle for peace and democracy and for achieving the socialist revolution, the task of uniting the working class in capitalist countries is of special significance. Only after uniting the working class is it possible to muster the majority of the people in a large united front for struggling against the monopolist capitalists. The collaboration between the communist party and the social democratic party is one of the important tasks to unite the working class and create a people's united front for struggling against the monopolist capitalists in capitalist countries. However, this collaboration is the one which is based on principles and which is profitable to the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism.

Facts prove that almost all leaders of the social democratic party are opportunists who have betrayed the working class and served as lackeys to the bourgeoisie. While collaborating with the social democratic parties, communists pay special attention to collaborating with the ordinary members and low-ranking cadres of these parties and urge the working class to put themselves under the influence of these parties. As for the leaders of these parties, communists maintain the independence of their political and organizational line and maintain the freedom to criticize the erroneous views, policies, and actions of these leaders. Communists cannot tail after the leaders of the social democratic parties. Without being based on principles, this collaboration with the leaders of the social democratic parties is only harmful to the revolutionary task of the working class.

Guided by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, the working class in capitalist countries will surely undertake the revolutionary struggle to the end, crush the bourgeois state, achieve proletarian dictatorship, and use revolutionary violence to achieve the transition from capitalism to socialism. The working class in capitalist countries will fulfill its historic mission, as Marx and Lenin said. We firmly believe in this point, because we have absolute confidence in the

revolutionary nature of the working class in these countries.

Vietnamese communists so far have paid keen attention to following the movement of struggle for democracy and socialism by the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries. We regard this struggle movement as an active support of the revolutionary task of our people, because this struggle movement hits the imperialists and the monopolist capitalists directly in their own lairs. We advocate the necessity of uniting and collaborating with the working class in capitalist countries in order to struggle against the common enemy--international imperialism.

Our party--headed by President Ho--has continuously inculcated the spirit of proletarian internationalism in our people. As early as 1925 President Ho said: "Capitalism is a leech, one sucker of which sticks fast to the proletariat in the metropolis and the other sucker of which sticks fast to the proletariat in the colony. To kill it, one must cut off both suckers at one time. If one cuts only one sucker, the other sucker will continue to bleed the proletariat, the leech will continue to live, and the sucker cut off will grow again."

The close unity and mutual support between the peoples in socialist countries, and the oppressed peoples and the working class in capitalist countries is a guarantee of the success of the anti-imperialist struggle of an international scale. We follow the policy of supporting the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries against imperialism and monopolist capitalism for peace, democracy, and socialism. We are grateful to the working class and people in capitalist countries for their active support of the revolutionary task of our people.

In the struggle against imperialism to achieve national independence, our party has shown our people the differences between the imperialist rulers, who sent their troops to invade our country, and the working class and laboring people in these imperialist countries. In the past, under French domination, in the resistance against the French we succeeded in achieving cooperation and mutual assistance between our people and the French working class and laboring people for struggling against the common enemy, the French imperialists. Nowadays, in the resistance against the Americans we are also achieving cooperation and mutual assistance between our people and the U.S. working class and laboring people for struggling against the common enemy, the U.S. imperialists.

In the current struggle against the U.S. imperialists, our people are being actively supported by world peoples--including the peoples in capitalist countries and the U.S. people. We are deeply grateful to them for this precious support. The creation of the International Trade-Union Committee of Solidarity with Vietnam is a manifestation of the

support of the international working class--including the working class in capitalist countries--of our people's anti-U.S. national salvation struggle. Through our tenacious and heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism--the number one enemy of world peoples--we are actively supporting the revolutionary task of world peoples, including the working class and peoples in capitalist countries. This unity in struggle between the peoples in socialist countries and the oppressed peoples and working class in capitalist countries will surely defeat imperialism--headed by U.S. imperialism--and successfully complete the struggle for peace, national liberation, democracy, and socialism on a world scale.

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BEST WISHES TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE
IN THEIR NEW 5-YEAR PLAN (1966-1970)

Following is a translation of
an article by Hai Binh in the
Vietnamese-language periodical
Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 5,
1966, pages 81-85

The people of the Soviet Union completed their 7-year (1959-1965) plan in 1965. Over the past seven years in the Soviet Union, the gross industrial output has increased by 84 percent, agricultural output 14 percent and national income 53 percent.

On the basis of the achieved results, the 23rd Soviet Party Congress, held from 23 March to April 8 1966, adopted a new 5-year (1966-1970) plan for national economic development. This is the eighth 5-year plan since the people of the Soviet Union began to build socialism. As the directive of the 23rd Party Congress pointed out "the task of the 5-year plan is designed to push the Soviet Union forward on the road of building communism, further develop material-technical bases and increase military and economic strength." The Congress directive also stated that "the primary economic task of the new plan is to take full advantage of scientific and technical achievements to industrialize the whole production system, increase production efficiency and labor productivity, ensure a stronger industrial growth and a faster and steadier agricultural development, and on that basis constantly raise the people's living standards and further meet the cultural and material needs of the entire Soviet people." The new plan is designed to fulfill the following requirements: increasing the national income by 38-41 percent, increasing net per-capita income by about 30 percent, narrowing the economic gap between people in cities and those in rural areas, strengthening the worker-farmer alliance and the unity of the people, raising the people's cultural and technical level, eliminating the basic distinction between intellectual and manual labor, using rationally labor reserves, and fully developing the economy of the Republics in the Union.

In the next five years, the main task of the Soviet industry is to increase production efficiency, raise the technical level in production, improve production structure and apply systematically new production techniques with the purpose of supplying various economic branches with better production materials such as highly-efficient machinery and equipment, and good quality raw materials and materials, and at the same time further meeting the people's demands for consumer goods. To fulfill these tasks in

industry, the new 5-year plan will put emphasis on the implementation of these measures: improving the structure of industrial production on the basis of developing heavy industry, manufacturing products that would meet the highest technical and quality requirements, revising and applying highly efficient technological standards, strengthening the specialization of and cooperation among factories, especially in the mechanical branch, using raw materials, materials and fuel in a more effective way, increasing labor productivity by 33-35 percent, etc.

The plan envisages an increase of 47-50 percent (1 percent = 2.4 billion rubles) in gross industrial output by 1970, with group "A" increasing by 49-52 percent and group "B" increasing by 43-46 percent. Heavy industry will play an important part in the technical re-equipment of all economic branches. Priority will be given to the development of such major heavy industries as electricity, machinery and chemistry. The total electric output will increase by about 70 percent. The amount of electricity used by the people in cities will be increased by 60 percent, while that used by the people in rural areas will be increased by 300 percent. The total output in machinery and metallurgy will increase by 60-70 percent, with priority given to the manufacture of equipment for such branches as metallurgy, power, chemistry, coal, oil and gas, farm machinery, electronic and radio equipment, precision instruments, high level metal processing equipment... In non-ferrous metallurgy, priority will be given to the development of copper and light rare metal production. The new 5-year plan also calls for a faster rate of development in chemistry: by 1970 the total output in chemistry will double.

The following comparative table indicates the planned increase in major heavy industries in the next five years:

PRODUCTS	1965	1970
Electricity (billion kilowatt-hours)	507	840-850
Petroleum (million tons)	243	345-355
Gas (billion cubic meters)	129.2	225-240
Coal (million tons)	578	665-675
Cast-iron (million tons)	66.2	94-97
Steel (million tons)	91	124-129
Laminated steel (million tons)	70.9	95-99
Chemical fertilizer (million tons of formula units)	31.3	62-65
Plastic and synthetic rubber (thousand tons)	821	2,100-2,300
Synthetic fiber (thousand tons)	407	780-830
Steel-rolling equipment (thousand tons)	111	190-210
Chemical equipment (in money: million rubles)	384	780-830
Machine tools (thousand units)	185	220-230
Cars (thousand units)	616.4	1,360-1,510
Tractors (thousand units)	355	600-625

PRODUCTS	1965	1970
Farm machinery (in money: million rubles)	1,466	2,500
Automation equipment and materials and spare parts (in money: million rubles)	2,078	3,570-3,670
Lumber (million cubic meters)	337	350-365
Cement (million tons)	72.4	100-105
etc.		

In the new 5-year plan, light industry will be strongly developed and will increase by 40 percent in an attempt to bring the rate of growth in capital goods production close to that in consumer goods production. Such favorite goods of the people as cotton narrow fabrics, synthetic fabrics, artificial leather articles...will be developed most rapidly. Production of children's articles will be given special attention. Food industry will increase by 40 percent, with emphasis on nutrition, tastiness as well as variety and form. Light industry should manufacture durable and beautiful products to serve life and cultural requirements of the people; in this connection, local industrial factories of all the Republics in the Union should strive to satisfy the demands of the people.

Following is a comparative table indicating the planned increases in a number of essential consumer goods in the next five years:

PRODUCTS	1965	1970
Fabrics (billion square meters)	7.5	9.5-9.8
Leather shoes (million pairs)	486	610-630
Paper (million tons)	3.23	5-5.3
Meat (million tons)	4.8	5.9-6.2
Fish and sea products (million tons)	5.8	8.5-9
Milk products (million tons)	11.5	16-17
Cheese (thousand tons)	308	625-675
Sugar (million tons)	8.9	9.8-10
Radio sets (million units)	5.2	7.5-8
Television sets (million units)	3.7	7.5-7.7
Refrigerators (million units)	1.7	5.3-5.6
Motor vehicles and motorcycles (thousand units)	721	1,000-1,100
etc.		

The principal task of agriculture in the new 5-year plan is to increase substantially crop products and livestock, and ensure a fast and stabilized rate of growth in all farm production branches. In agriculture, special attention should be devoted to increasing grain yields, which are of decisive significance to the improvement of living standards and to the development

of all other agricultural branches, especially livestock breeding. The average annual agricultural output in the new 5-year plan will increase 25 percent over that in the last five years, with yield of grains increasing by 30 percent (an yearly average of 167 million tons as against 130 million tons during the period from 1961 to 1965).

The essential measure to increase agricultural production is to carry out intensive cultivation, with the purpose of increasing the yield of all crops. It is necessary to improve crops, select high-yield strains, use land rationally and pay attention to soil improvement, use organic fertilizer in a better way, protect the soil by reforestation, etc.

To ensure grain production, vast grain growing regions such as the Republic of Russia, Kazakstan, Ukraine (producing 9/10 of the total grain output in the entire Union) will be given more attention. At the same time, the plan emphasizes the development of agriculture in non-black-soil regions which have great potentialities to increase the yield of grains, potato, vegetable and livestock.

Animal husbandry will be fully developed so as to produce more meat, eggs and milk. The main thing is that collective and state farms should strive to insure sufficient stocks of fodder so as to increase the number of cattle and their productivity.

In the new 5-year plan, material-technical bases of agriculture will be further strengthened and the rate of growth of agricultural production will be stepped up so that it can approach the rate of industrial growth. To achieve this goal, the state investment in agriculture in the new 5-year plan will nearly double the investment made in the last five years. Agriculture will have an additional 1.8 million tractors (an increase of 60 percent over the past five years), 1.1 million trucks, and 550,000 combined grain harvesting machines. The amount of fertilizer supplied to agriculture is increasing every year and by 1970 it will reach the level of 55 million tons; in addition to this, agriculture will be supplied with more insecticides and herbicides. Electrification of collective and state farms will especially be strengthened. On the basis of more technical equipment, intensive cultivation, improved labor organization...labor productivity of collective and state farms will increase by 40-45 percent in the next five years.

The main tasks of communication-transportation in the new 5-year plan are: to insure more adequate transportation of materials, goods and people, to continue to re-equip communication-transportation, develop and perfect a unified transportation network and a unified communication network. The transportation-communication branch will be equipped with modern facilities; highway and waterway systems will be consolidated and developed so as to increase goods circulation.

In basic construction, total investment during the period from 1966 to 1970 will reach about 310 billion rubles, an increase of 47 percent over the 1961-1965 period. Basic investment will primarily be used for technical re-equipment of factories already in operation, mechanization, automation and strengthened specialization of production, perfection of technology...At the same time, priority will be given to the use of capital for completing unfinished works and those which are ready to be put into operation.

To increase the efficiency of socialist production, the new 5-year plan calls for a more rational distribution of production forces, an overall development and specialization of the economy of the Republics and in various economic regions, a fuller use of laborers in production, and a proper combination of regional planning with the principle of economic management according to branch. Based on this formula, the production force will be distributed as follows:

In the eastern part of the Soviet Union, where tremendous sources of fuel, energy and materials are available and inexpensive, development will be carried out at a high rate in such branches as fuels, electricity, ferrous metallurgy and chemistry which require great amounts of energy, and wood processing. By 1970, areas east of the Urals will supply 45 percent of coal, 35 percent of natural gas, 16 percent of oil, 28 percent of electricity and 65 percent of aluminum produced in the entire Soviet Union. At the same time, appropriate measures will be taken to insure stabilization of living and working conditions for cadres and people in these areas.

Regarding economic areas in the European part of the Soviet Union and in the Ural region, where labor and production forces are abundant, the plan calls for a continued development of the major production force through a better regulation and use of existing production capacity, especially through the full use of equipment. At the same time, new factories will be built for industries that require more labor. In general, new factories requiring great amounts of energy are not planned for these areas.

On the basis of increasing labor productivity, social wealth and national income, the well-being of the Soviet people will continue to be improved in the new 5-year plan. Wages and salaries in the 1966-1970 period will be increased at least by 20 percent, and the income in cash and material things of all farms brought in by the collective economy will increase by 25 to 40 percent. On the other hand, social funds will be increased by 40 percent and will be used for such purposes as: social security, scholarships, free medical care, kindergarten...To satisfy the greatly increased purchasing power of the people, more food and industrial products will be supplied. In addition to this, house building will also be stepped up in both cities and rural areas.

The new 5-year plan also calls for continued development of the people's education, increased cultural level and better high education. In the next five years the extension of high school education to all youth will be basically completed. The number of college and high school level technicians trained

in the next five years will reach about 7 millions, an increase of 65 percent over the 1961-1965 period.

Public health services in cities and rural areas will continue to be improved. More hospitals equipped with modern facilities will be built. At the same time, more drugs will be made available to the people.

To meet the cultural needs in the next five years, the Soviet people will have more theaters, movie houses, libraries, public clubs, film projectors, television and radio sets, and books.

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Greatly impressed with the tremendous economic achievements made by the Soviet people, the Vietnamese people sincerely wish that the fraternal people of the Soviet Union will achieve greater successes in their national development and make worthy contributions to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the world-wide struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

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SOCIALIST CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S INDUSTRY
CONTINUES TO DEVELOP

[Following is a translation of an
article by Duong Hai in the
Vietnamese-language periodical
Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 5,
1966, pages 86-89]

The growth of socialist Czechoslovakia has proved the superiority of socialism over capitalism. When Czechoslovakia began on the road of socialism, it already had a relatively highly developed industry that provided 58 percent of the gross national income. Over 60 percent of the total population were workers, employees and their families. In 1937, the year before Sudetenland was annexed by the German fascists, capitalist Czechoslovakia produced 16.7 million tons of anthracite, 18 million tons of bituminous coal and 4 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity. However, its economy at that time was still unevenly developed. Although a number of heavy industries had already been in existence, Czechoslovakia's main industrial products were consumer goods, such as enamelware, glassware, fabrics, shoes, etc. Its farm production was almost nil and Czechoslovakia had to rely mainly on imports for its food. Moreover, the rate of economic growth in many regions like Slovakia was very slow. In addition to this, many of Czechoslovakia's industrial and economic establishments were destroyed under the German occupation. As a result, when Czechoslovakia was liberated in 1945, its gross industrial output was only about 50 percent of that in the pre-war period.

Only after restoring the economy and crushing the resistance of the capitalist class in 1948 did the Czechoslovak people's government carry out nationalization and socialist industrialization. Since then, through three long-range national economic development plans and under the leadership of the working class, the Czechoslovak people have completely changed their country's face. Today, Czechoslovakia has a highly developed industry employing 2.5 million people and providing 68 percent of the gross national income. The most important industries of socialist Czechoslovakia today are machinery, metallurgy and chemistry. The machinery industry has been strongly developed since the people's government took power. Its output has been increasing steadily every year and it has now become a major industry in the country. One out of every 22 people is working in this industry. Its output accounts for 36 percent of the gross industrial output. It has manufactured such products as earth plows, diesel locomotives, electric locomotives, aircraft, and equipment used in chemical and coal industries...The development of the machinery industry has created favorable conditions for the establishment of many major industrial centers. Prague and its vicinity accounts for up to 1/7 of the total output of the machinery industry and manufactures

such heavy equipment as turbines, power generators, transportation equipment, cars, electrical appliances, precision instruments, optical and medical instruments...Brno and its vicinity constitute the second major center, with metallurgic establishments concentrating in Ostrava and Bohemia. The center's main products are heavy equipment: steam boilers, turbines, metallurgic equipment, tractors, machine tools, electrical appliances...Machinery products manufactured in Central Bohemia, Brno and Pilsen account for half of the total output of the machinery industry.

In Slovakia, where the rate of growth is still slow, the machinery industry is also developing most rapidly as compared with the pre-war period, particularly in Northeast Slovakia where up to 2/5 of the total heavy industrial output is concentrated. New plants have been built and old ones have been expanded.

To meet the needs of various national economic branches, especially the development needs by the machinery industry, the Czechoslovak mining and metallurgic industries continue to be developed rapidly. At present, workers in Czechoslovakia's cast-iron and steel industries each year produce nearly 5.87 million tons of iron and 8.6 million tons of steel. Compared with the pre-war period, Czechoslovakia's steel production has increased by more than 7 times. But every year, Czechoslovakia still has to import a great quantity of iron and steel to meet the needs of the processing industry. At present, Czechoslovakia is building the Eastern Slovakia cast-iron and steel complex. When this complex is completed and put into operation, Czechoslovakia will be able not only to meet its ever increasing needs for sheet steel, but also produce enough steel for export as well.

To meet the development requirements of the metallurgic and metal processing industries as well as other requirements of the national economy, Czechoslovakia's power industry is also ceaselessly developed. In 1965, the Czechoslovak coal industry produced 27.75 million tons of anthracite (as against 16.6 million tons in 1948) and 68.15 million tons of bituminous coal (as against 18 million tons in 1948); in electricity, 34.2 billion of kilowatt-hours were produced in 1965 (as against 7.5 billion kwh. in 1948). Coal mines in Czechoslovakia today are equipped with modern facilities both in extraction and in transportation, and the annual quantity of coal extracted by modern equipment has reached 30 million tons. By building new hydroelectric and thermo-electric stations and supplying them with modern equipment (such as 200 megawatt turbines), Czechoslovakia will increase rapidly its electric output. Czechoslovakia's power plants are scheduled to generate a total of 50-55 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity by 1970. To meet more fully the increasing demands for electricity by the national economy, Czechoslovakia is planning to build nuclear power plants. The first nuclear power plant "A-1", built a few years ago, will be completed in 1968. The second plant "A-2" is now in a planning stage.

Chemistry is another traditional industry of Czechoslovakia, producing organic and inorganic chemicals, fertilizers, synthetic fuels, dye, syn-

thetic raw materials and fiber, drugs, synthetic rubber, cellulose and paper. The first major chemistry center of Czechoslovakia is located in the middle and lower part of the Elbe river, Northern Bohemia. The second is in the Slovakia region and the third in Ostrava. Czechoslovakia also has many chemical plants scattered all over the country.

While giving priority to the development of industries that manufacture capital equipment, Czechoslovakia also advocates the development of consumer goods industries. As a result, substantial progress has been made in these industries. Development of industries that use domestic materials, such as the glass, pottery and processing industries, has always been given most attention. The glass and pottery industry has always been one of the most important light industrial branch in Czechoslovakia. It has successfully produced glasswares used in chemistry, food, television, weaving and power industries and in public health services. The Czechoslovak timber and wood processing industry has also developed rapidly and has expanded by 3.5 times over 1948. It is supplying materials to the construction branch (including factory building and house building), furniture industry, communication-transportation and other economic branches. In addition to this, Czechoslovakia also has other important industries such as weaving, shoes manufacturing... which produce enough for both domestic use and export.

Czechoslovakia's developed industry has completely changed the country's face and brought a new life to the people in all areas in the country. If before, industry concentrated only in Bohemia with Prague as capital and in Moravia with Brno as capital, today Czechoslovakia's industry is developing as strongly in Slovakia, a once backward region, where 2.5 million persons of the total population of 4 millions had left for abroad. Thanks to three long-range development plans and the party and government policy of industrializing Slovakia, this region now has 250 new industrial plants and has either expanded or rebuilt 200 old plants. Today, the Slovakian region has many metallurgic plants with a total average annual production of 3 to 4 million tons of sheet steel. At the same time, the Czechoslovak communist party and government are planning to transform Slovakia into a chemistry base of the nation, because it is located near material, water and human power sources. By 1970, Slovakia will refine 70 percent of petroleum, and produced 38 percent of chemical fertilizers, 65 percent of synthetic materials and 42 percent of synthetic fiber in the whole country. Slovakia's output in chemistry will account for 50 percent of the total chemistry output.

The Czechoslovakia's industry is developing constantly. This is an important victory for the Czechoslovak people in building material-technical bases of socialism. Today, the Czechoslovak industry has been able to meet up to 85 percent of the needs for machinery and equipment for new projects, supply agriculture with tens of thousands of farming equipment and machines and provide lots of equipment and facilities to other economic branches as well as consumer goods to the people. Not only this, the Czechoslovak industry, particularly the machinery industry, is also an important source of export goods. Czechoslovakia has provided tens of thousands of machine tools,

tractors, farming machines, generators and other machinery and equipment to 80 countries in the world. Hundreds of factories of all kinds, entirely equipped by Czechoslovakia, have been built in Asian, African and Latin American countries.

With these great achievements, the industry of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia is not only the pride of the working people of Czechoslovakia but also the pride of all the people of the socialist camp.

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