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TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 558

Hoc Tap, No 4, 1969



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This publication comprises the complete translation of the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap, No 4, April 1969, published in Hanoi.

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## PARTY ADMITS PRESENCE OF DECADENT, WASTEFUL MEMBERS

[Editorial: "Strive to Develop the Revolutionary Ethics of Communist Party Members"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1969, pp 1-7]

Our party is very great. During the nearly 40 years of difficult and arduous struggle since its birth, the party has always stood firm with the viewpoint of the working class, been absolutely loyal to the interests of the class and of the people, creatively applied the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the Vietnamese situation, set forth correct revolutionary lines, and led our people in struggling to achieve very proud victories. One of the factors making our party great is that it trained a corps of cadres and party members equipped with knowledge about revolutionary science and with revolutionary qualities.

During 15 years of struggle prior to the August Revolution, innumerable outstanding party members and revolutionary masses made glorious sacrifices because of their total dedication to the people and to the party. The bright example of the heroes Tran Phu, Ngo Gia Tu, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Van Cu, Hoang Van Thu, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, and many others are dazzling manifestations of the qualities of communist party members. During the resistance war against the French colonialists, our party was honored to have such party members as La Van Cau who asked a buddy to cut off his wounded arm so that he would not be hindered from continuing to fight, Phan Dinh Gioi who covered up a rifle muzzle with his own body, Be Van Dan who used his own body as a human rack, and Cu Chinh Lan who used grenades to wipe out enemy tanks. In the resistance war against the United States for national salvation and in the work of building socialism, revolutionary heroism has become the fighting and working way of life for millions of people of all ages and from every strata of the population. Party members

have eagerly taken the lead in every sector. Many have charged forward to fight on far-off battlefields, to shoulder the most difficult burdens, and to work in the most dangerous places. Outstanding party members have appeared in every facet of activity (military, political, economic, cultural, educational, scientific, public health, and so on). They have taken hardships first and left pleasures to later, and they have fought very valiantly. They have scored very many proud achievements. These are the heroes of this era, the emulation fighters who imitate Ho Chi Minh and who are constantly "loyal to the party, faithful to the people, completing every task, overcoming every difficulty, and vanquishing every enemy."

We can affirmatively state from the struggle experience of the party that the quality of our cadres and party members is basically good. During an arduous and complex struggle, our cadres and party members have displayed a spirit of combat valor and of readiness to sacrifice their lives for the interests of the revolution. They have selflessly carried out the lines and policies of the party, maintained a sense of organization and discipline, and adhered to an industrious and simple way of life. Our people would not be able to achieve the great victories of the present time without a corps of cadres and party members educated in Marxism-Leninism and equipped with such revolutionary qualities.

However, in point of fact, not everyone correctly and fully understands that the quality of our cadres and party members is basically good. There are some comrades who stress the shortcomings and fail to see the good points and who see weaknesses as principal traits and who universalize individual things. As a result, they are suspicious about the proletarian quality of the cadres and party members. These comrades, using deviate ideological methods, are unable to see that although there are traces of non-proletarian thinking among cadres and party members the basic characteristic is proletarian thinking. These two aspects are always struggling against one another. Although the non-proletarian thinking sometimes temporarily prevails in the course of the struggle among a particular element of cadres, generally speaking, proletarian thinking is still the guiding force among the cadres and party members.

To affirm that the qualities of cadres and party members is basically good does not mean that we can disregard the shortcomings and mistakes. At present, there are still some manifestations of individualism among the cadres and party members and there are a few cadres and party members who have refused to improve themselves and who have become decadent and degenerate and who have changed character. In the article, "Elevating Revolutionary Ethics and Sweeping Out Individualism," Comrade T.L. outlined the manifestations of individualism: always thinking about one's personal gain before anything else, not concerning oneself with the idea of "one for all" but instead seeking only to have "all for one," shirking difficulties and hardships,

falling into corruption, decadence, waste, and extravagance, coveting fame and chasing profits, coveting position and power, being boastful and haughty, disdaining the group, having contempt for the masses, separating oneself from reality, becoming bureaucratic and commandistic, lacking a spirit of attempting to move ahead, refusing to study in order to progress, lacking solidarity, lacking a sense of organization and discipline, lacking a sense of responsibility, failing to execute the lines and policies of the party and state, and harming the interests of the revolution and of the people.

If you examine the nature and origin of the manifestations of individualism mentioned above, you see essentially the ideological vestiges of small producers and also the influence of feudal thinking and bourgeois thinking. Many comrades have endeavored to cultivate proletarian thinking and to overcome non-proletarian thinking since their entry into the party with the help of the education provided by the party and through the training in revolutionary struggle. However, old ideological vestiges are not something which can vanish completely over night. With our party in power, some cadres and party members in positions of economic and political authority, have, because of the lack of revolutionary ethics, committed serious sins of individualism and, consequently, abused the prestige of the party and the power of the state in order to cause trouble. Some comrades have become bureaucratic, do not understand the requirements and aspirations of the masses, are not concerned with the life of the masses, and act like mandarins. Another situation which should receive attention is that the present work conditions of our cadres are different from before. The party and state established procedures concerning food, living accommodations, travel, protection of health, and supplying of work materials in order to assure that the cadres could serve the revolution more effectively. However, as a matter of fact not everyone understands the significance of the procedures mentioned above. Some see them as special rights and special interests, as the motivating force propelling them in their work, and as something which they have the right to demand. When they are not allowed to enjoy themselves in accordance with their individual desires, they become discontent, negative, upset about wages, position, and money, and prisoners of individualism. In North Vietnamese society at the present time, the system of public ownership of the materials of production has replaced the system of private ownership and collective thinking is prevailing more and more. However, ideological vestiges of the old society are still fairly widespread in society. They still have an impact within the party, affecting unstable party members.

Individualism is the product of the system of private ownership of the materials of production. It corresponds to the social relationships begotten by the system of private ownership in which each person sees the other as a target for exploitation in order to achieve his own goals. The small producer only knows how to look after his own interests, behaving

in accordance with the precept of taking care of his own house but watching indifferently while his neighbor's house burns. On the other hand, collectivism is the product of the system of public ownership of the materials of production in which the relationship between men is a comradely relationship, a cooperative relationship of "one for all and all for one." It is clear that the opposition between collectivism and individualism is irreconcilable. Therefore, the job of combating individualism and building collectivism is a very important part of the ideological aspect of socialist revolution. In the Manifesto of the Communist Party, Marx and Engels wrote: "Communist revolution is the most radical departure from the traditional system of ownership. There is nothing unusual if, in the course of its development, it makes the most radical departure from traditional ideas." (1) President Ho said: "You must have socialists in order to move ahead to socialism. You must have socialist thinking in order to have socialists. You must expurgate individualistic ideas in order to have socialist ideas." (2)

At a time when the resistance war against the United States for national salvation has entered the decisive phase and when all our party, people and army are displaying the will and determination to fight and to win and are mobilizing every force to defeat the U.S. aggressors, the task of developing revolutionary qualities and of overcoming individualism is increasingly necessary.

For our party, individualism under any form is always contrary to the qualities and ethics of communist party members and is always injurious to the revolution and there must be a resolute struggle to overcome it. However, the struggle against individualism and the task of elevating the revolutionary ethics of cadres and party members must be closely tied in to the specific requirements of the political mission of the party during each particular stage of the revolution and must have the effect of promoting the implementation of specific daily tasks and of promoting the struggle to attain the ultimate objectives of the party. Lenin taught: "...Our ethics are completely dependent upon the class struggle interests of the proletarian class. Our ethics come from the class struggle interests of the proletarian class." (3) If the job of cultivating the ethics of cadres and party members is separated from the political mission of the party, it will fall into the idealistic method of education of the earlier Confucian scholars and will not produce practical results.

With this in mind, in the present situation the task of developing revolutionary ethics and combating individualism must seek to help step up the fight against the United States for national salvation and to help promote the three revolutions, develop the local economy, improve economic management, increase labor productivity, and develop the ownership spirit of the people. We must develop in cadres and party members communist ideals, the will and determination to fight and to defeat the U.S. aggressors, and the spirit of revolutionary attack. We must combat manifestations of decline in revolutionary enthusiasm and shirking sacrifice, difficulty, and hardship. We must develop the collective spirit and an industrious,



simple, and clean way of life. We must combat abuses of power, coveting of position, seeking of profit, corruption, decadence, and waste. We must elevate the awareness of organization and discipline and combat liberal and self-serving attitudes and failure to strictly execute the lines and policies of the party and the laws of the state. We must foster the concept of serving the people, of closely mingling with the people, and of respecting the right of the masses to be owners. We must combat bureaucracy and commandism. We must elevate the spirit of love of learning and the concept of marching into science. We must combat subjectivity, complacency, laziness about studying, and so on.

The guidelines mentioned above must be adapted and tailored to each sector, each echelon, and each type of cadre and party member. Party committees at all levels must delve deeply into each target, analyze the good and bad aspects and the causes and nature of the manifestations of individualism, and set forth a program on what to foster and what to combat for each particular target, avoiding the tendency to fight individualism in a generalized way using the same methods everywhere.

We should not confuse individualism with the legitimate interests of each person in conducting the struggle against individualism and in fostering revolutionary ethics. We know that the group is the organic union of many individuals. It is legitimate for each person to look after his own living conditions, health, and studies in order to progress and serve the revolution properly. Our party has the responsibility of seeing to it that each person is able to develop, as long as that development is consistent with the development of the group and in keeping with the requirements of the revolution. Moreover, each cadre and party member and the revolutionary masses, in addition to the revolutionary life within the party organization and within other revolutionary organizations, has a family life and the responsibility to look after the living conditions of children and parents and so on. The basic organizations of the party and government must correctly understand that responsibility of theirs and help them to correctly and properly resolve those problems. The basic organizations of the party and government should not view legitimate individual interests as individualism. Another thing which must receive attention is that in combatting individualism we should not harp on its manifestations in daily life such as extravagance, waste, decadence, and corruption while skirting over manifestations of individualism in the implementation of the lines and policies of the party and in the setting forth of programs and plans in the localities, sectors, and units. For example, making wrong decisions because of individual motives, executing the lines of the party and the economic management system of the state in a deviant way, failing to reflect situations in a genuine way, blowing up achievements, covering up shortcomings, and refusing to correct errors even though they are recognized. These manifestations of individualism are causing great damage to the revolution.

In order to overcome individualism and elevate the revolutionary ethics of cadres and party members, we must have practical and concrete measures. In his article "Elevating Revolutionary Ethics and Eliminating Individualism," Comrade T. L. outlined very important measures.

In order to help each person clearly define his struggle goals, action guidelines, and *raison d'être*, we must strive to increase the teaching of communist ideals, of the lines and policies of the party, and of the duties and ethics of party members throughout the party. This is the foundation for clearly differentiating between right and wrong in the struggle against individualism. The form used in teaching must be vivid and rich. Above all else, we must try to discover and use examples of good people and good things within the party and among the people, especially the achievements of heroes, fighters, and advanced models in combat, production, and other facets of activity in teaching party members. We must give attention to the matter of teaching party traditions, especially to the new members. The combat, production, and operational reality must be seen as the main school for instilling the qualities of cadres and party members. We must coordinate the daily education with the major political activity phases.

In order to raise the political and ideological level of party members, the system of activities of the party chapters must be strict and the activities must be improved. Each party chapter must regularly evaluate its members in regard to ethics, check to see whether they are carrying out the duties of party members promulgated in the bylaws of the party, and bear responsibility for all behavior of party members. Each party member must look on his party chapter as a larger family for him, the family of those with whom he shares an ideal. Each person in this larger family, because of his devotion to the interests of the party and his desire to progress, sincerely criticizes others and himself, makes his feelings and ideas known, and accepts suggestions and assistance from the group. The party chapter is the most important organization in ensuring that party members develop good qualities.

In order to further strengthen the relationship between the party and the masses and help the party members to develop and elevate their qualities and make our party increasingly stronger, we must welcome and encourage sincere criticism by the masses of cadres and party members. The masses are very much concerned about the training of party members. Party organizations must enable the masses to do this work effectively. To this end, it is necessary to establish specific systems such as systems for recommending people to the party, systems for recommending party members to the party chapter committees, systems for the masses to criticize cadres and party members and so on. We must make the criticism by the masses of party members and cadres become a way of life because it is a firm guarantee of the strength of our party, a party in power, and it helps to strengthen the relationship between the party and the masses.

For the same purpose of elevating the quality of party members, party discipline must be strict and party controls must be tight. Party committees at all levels must really devote attention to control activities and promptly spot mistakes and deficiencies among cadres and party members in order to help them correct them. At the same time, they must commend and encourage strong points. There must be appropriate measures of discipline for those few people who commit serious mistakes in regard to ethical matters to the point of becoming degenerate.

At present, more than ever before, the fight of our people against the United States for national salvation and the cause of socialist construction demand that our cadres and party members constantly elevate their political level and their level of knowledge about economic management, science, technology, and jobs and that they also actively develop revolutionary qualities and ethics and zealously combat individualism.

Let each cadre and party member, because of his devotion to the interests of the revolution, strive to cultivate ethics, always protect the title of communist party member, and elevate his soul and level of competency to meet the requirements of the revolutionary task and of the revolutionary struggle of the people and of the time.

We must always remember that "only when we are strong can we shoulder heavy burdens long distances. Revolutionaries must possess revolutionary ethics as a foundation if they are to complete the proud revolutionary mission." (4)

- (1) Karl Marx and F. Engels: "The Manifesto of the Communist Party," Vietnamese language-edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, p. 66.
- (2) Speech by President Ho at the An Khanh Army State Farm.
- (3) Lenin: "The Task of the Youth Group," Selected Works, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume II, Part II, p. 445.
- (4) Tran Luc: Dao Duc Cach Mang (Revolutionary Ethics), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, p. 5.

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## HO COMBATS INDIVIDUALISM WITH COMMUNIST ETHICS

[Article: "President Ho Discusses Revolutionary Ethics"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1969, pp 8-17]

### I. Major Ethical Faults of Party Members Analyzed<sup>(1)</sup>

We have scored many victories. But the revolutionary road is still long. The building of socialism in the north and the struggle for peaceful reunification of the country still face many difficulties and complexities. We have set up a new production relation, and have made initial steps toward developing industry and agriculture. However, our economy is still poor. Our country is still partitioned; U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are still trampling on our beloved South. This situation requires that our people in the north exert efforts in stepping up production and in building the material and technical foundation of socialism, constantly heighten vigilance, strengthen our national defense, and be ready to deal with the enemy's plots. Every citizen must be both an enthusiastic worker and a courageous fighter who builds his country while defending it.

In the past, our people had been showing a high spirit of self-sufficiency in our protracted resistance; today, we must heighten even further this spirit, and practice thrift to build our country. Everybody must raise his spirit of being a collective master, with no fear for difficulties and hardships, and must be determined to struggle to fulfill his duty.

Cadres, party members, and youth group members must further maintain their position regarding class, raise their spirit of responsibility, nurture revolutionary virtues, and be ready to fulfill the tasks entrusted to them by the party and state.

The strength of the party lies in its unity and singlemindedness. Every cadre and party member must further raise his concepts of organization and discipline, correctly implement party line and policies, and respect the principles of organization laid down by the party.

Every party chapter must be a nucleus of leadership at the base level, closely unite with the people, and develop the latter's intelligence and great strength. Every party echelon must be a firm local leadership unit acting in accordance with the Central Committee's guidelines and policies.

The great victory of the Vietnamese revolution obtained in the past 33 years under our party's leadership proves that our people are very patriotic and full of revolutionary spirit. Our people greatly trust and love our party, for the latter has led them from one victory to another.

The reason behind such victories is that our party has always been faithful to the interests of the class and the people, has known how to apply creatively Marxism-Leninism to the actual situation of our country, and has always followed correctly the people's way.

Our cadres and party members are in general good. Many comrades show a high spirit of serving the people and good concepts of organization and discipline, maintain revolutionary virtues, live simply, act democratically, and fully deserve the confidence of the party and people.

However, our party is developing every day, its membership is growing, its work is becoming more bulky and complicated; therefore, it is likely to have some cadres and party members who still show shortcomings and commit mistakes which must be severely criticized and sincerely corrected.

Individualism: Thinking little of the common interests of the revolution and of the people, but being mainly concerned with one's own interests. Being greedy for fame and profit, and jealous. Boasting and feeling arrogant about one's small achievements, and causing trouble within party ranks. Because of individualism the following diseases come into being:

Liberalism: Failing to study seriously and to implement correctly party guidelines and policies, and failing to abide by state laws and regulations. Considering oneself to be right, acting and speaking according to one's own will, not reporting to and asking for instructions from one's superiors, and disdaining organization and discipline. Thinking only of oneself, considering the unit or area one is in charge of as one's own empire, lacking in socialist cooperative spirit, thus finally harming both common and personal causes.

Bureaucratism and dogmatism: Not staying close to the movement, failing to see the concrete situation of one's branch or local area, not strengthening enough one's close relations with the people and paying little attention to their experiences. Preferring remaining at one's office to going to local units to see what is going on, to supervise the execution of policies, and to listen carefully to the people's suggestions.

Preferring issuing orders to patiently and lovingly educating the people. Because of all this, sometimes the correct line and policies of the party and government fail to reach the people, or are incorrectly carried out; consequently, tasks fail, and people become disheartened.

**Corruption and waste:** With a lack of revolutionary ethics and spirit of responsibility, indulging in embezzlement and unnecessary waste of state properties and materials, thus doing much harm to economic and cultural development aimed at raising our people's living standards.

**Laziness:** Refusing to devote oneself to studying and experimenting, aimed at further raising one's political, cultural, and professional standards; consequently, knowing little about domestic and foreign situations, and lacking practical experience; as a result, one easily becomes optimistic when everything goes well, and pessimistic and disturbed when faced with adverse happenings; one lacks a firm position and independence of thinking and creativity. Consequently, one faces difficulties in his tasks, and finds his leadership much restricted.

Such are, in brief, some major shortcomings that our party, at all levels, must firmly try to overcome.

Nobody can say he is perfect; however, being determined to correct oneself helps to make one a good person.

We are convinced that, with our party's fine tradition, with our being determined to correct shortcomings and to improve our cadres and party members, our party will gather more strength to succeed in its new tasks.

## II. Bureaucracy Breeds Corruption, Waste(2)

In order to have good rice, one must pull out all weeds. Otherwise, even though plowing is done carefully and a great deal of fertilizer is spread, the rice will still be poor because it will be choked out by weeds. In order to have success in increasing production and practicing thrift, one must also pull out all weeds. This means that one must wipe out corruption, waste, and bureaucracy. Otherwise, they will harm our work.

What is corruption?

Stand before the cadres and declare that corruption is: stealing public property, chiseling the people, squeezing the troops, spending little yet declaring a lot. Utilizing common property or government property as private fund for your own locality or unit is also corruption.

Stand before the people and declare that corruption is: robbing the people and making fraudulent group declarations.

What is waste?

There are many types of waste:

Wasting manpower: because of a lack of a sense of responsibility or because of poor organization and arrangements, many people are used where a few would do.

This shortcoming exists in the army, in agencies, and in enterprises. A fair amount of civilian labor is wasted in road and bridge repair work or in serving in campaigns because of poor organization. For example,

Wasting time: some things can be done in a day or half a day, but actually take several days. For instance: meetings which should take one day for discussions and solutions, but last for several because the person in charge did not adequately prepare the agenda or participants have not prepared their ideas.

Wasting public property: there are many forms. Here are a few examples:

Installations using materials wastefully;

Enterprises using machinery and raw materials improperly;

The Directorate of Transportation not carefully maintaining vehicles and saving oil;

The Granary Service not building graneries carefully, and those in charge lacking a sense of responsibility and allowing the paddy to get wet, stale, or spoiled;

The state stores not making intelligent calculations and arrangements thereby allowing goods to deplete and deficits to occur;

Troops not knowing how to respect and maintain military equipment, gear, and military booty;

Banks not using currency properly so that it can be used for increasing production;

Economic installations making plans which are impractical and not tailored to the situation thereby harming the revolution;

People allowing land to lie fallow, burning sacrificial articles, pawning water buffalo, selling land for weddings, funerals, etc.

Corruption is theft. Even though waste is not taking public property to put it in your own pocket, it is still very harmful to the people and the government. At times, it is more harmful than corruption.

Corruption and waste exist because of bureaucracy. They result because leaders and leadership organs, from top to bottom do not keep in close touch with actual conditions, do not keep close track of and educate the cadres, and do not keep in close touch with the masses. The main form they take with respect to work is that inspections are not made everywhere and problems are not deeply explored. The cadres only know how to hold meetings, write directives, look at reports on paper. They do not check things out from beginning to end.

In short, because leaders and leadership organs have contracted the disease of bureaucracy, they have eyes which cannot see and ears which cannot hear. They have systems which are not properly maintained and discipline which is not firmly controlled. The result is that bad people and mediocre cadres engage in corruption and waste as they please.

This is the disease of bureaucracy that has brewed, permitted, and protected corruption and waste. Consequently, we must first of all wipe out the disease of bureaucracy in order to get rid of corruption and waste completely.

Corruption and waste are the enemy of the people

A. Corruption, waste, and bureaucracy are the enemy of the people, troops, and government.

They are a dangerous enemy. They do not carry swords or guns, but they lie in our organizations where they can damage our work. Corruption, waste, and bureaucracy, intentionally or not, are also the ally of colonialism and feudalism because they delay our war of resistance and national reconstruction. They ruin our cadres' clean spirit and determination to overcome difficulties. They destroy our revolutionary ethics -- diligence and frugality and righteousness.

If the war of resistance is to be successful and the country is to be built, combatants must sacrifice life and limb and compatriots must sacrifice sweat and tears. Yet corruption, waste and bureaucracy destroy the spirit, waste the strength, and squander the property of the government and people. This crime is just as serious as that of a traitor or spy. For these reasons, combating corruption, waste, and bureaucracy is just as important and necessary as fighting the aggressors on the front! This is the ideological and political front. Just as in all other fronts, in order to be successful on this one there must inevitably be preparation of plans and organization, and leadership and loyalty.



B. Combating corruption, waste, and bureaucracy is revolutionary.

The revolution is the eradication of things which are bad and building of things which are good. We are engaged in a revolution to wipe out the colonial and feudal system and build a new democracy. Even though colonialism and feudalism are wiped out, the revolution will still not be completely successful as long as the former vices (corruption, waste, and bureaucracy) still exist. This is because these vices secretly impede and destroy the building of the revolution.

There are people who are enthusiastic, loyal, and not afraid of danger, adversity, or the enemy while they are engaged in struggle. This means that they have accomplished deeds for the revolution. But when there is not a great deal of power at their disposal, they become arrogant and extravagant and become involved in corruption, waste, and bureaucracy unconsciously. Consequently, they turn into people who commit crimes against the revolution. We must save them and help them to restore their revolutionary ethics. There are those who say: serve the Fatherland and serve the people, but concerning material, they readily engage in corruption and waste thereby causing damage to the Fatherland and the people. We must educate them and lead them to the revolutionary path.

Corruption, waste, and bureaucracy are the evils of the old society. They come from being selfish and benefitting oneself at the expense of others. They come from the system of "man exploiting man." We want to build a new society, a free and equal society, and a thrifty, uncorrupt and righteous society. Therefore, we must wipe out all of the bad habits of the old society.

C. Combating corruption and waste is democratic.

Troops who are not afraid to sacrifice life and limb for the war of resistance to save the nation; compatriots who are not afraid to sacrifice sweat and tears to save the nation; combatants who give their life and compatriots who give their labor and property to the government and groups for the war of resistance and national reconstruction -- these also constitute a form of democratic centralism.

The government and groups give the cadres the authority to direct troops and use property in the war of resistance and national reconstruction. The task of the cadres is to look after and love each and every combatant and respect and save each and every dong, bowl of rice, and hour of work of the compatriots. At the same time, combatants and compatriots have the right to demand that the cadres fulfill these tasks. They have the right to criticize and reprimand any cadre who is not doing so.

Democracy is relying on the masses and precisely following the mass line. Therefore, the movement to combat corruption, waste, and bureaucracy must inevitably rely on the masses to be successful.

The masses are, in other words, all the combatants in the army, all the workers in factories, all the personnel in installations, etc., down to all the people. Just as in all other work, this "combating" must mobilize the masses, must practice democracy, and must make the masses understand clearly and enthusiastically participate. Only then will it be successful for sure. The more the masses take part, the more complete and rapid the success will be.

The task of the masses is to enthusiastically take part in the movement to combat corruption, waste, and bureaucracy. Combatants should provide deeds and the people should provide property to fight the aggressors to save our nation. Corruption, waste, and bureaucracy are a kind of "aggressor in the heart." If the combatants and people endeavor to combat foreign aggression but forget to combat domestic aggression, they are not fulfilling their task. Consequently, combatants and people must enthusiastically take part in this movement.

### III. Production Success Dependent on Workers Behaving Like Owners<sup>(3)</sup>

Have a sense of being the master of the state, a socialist collective spirit, and the idea of "one for all and all for one"

Our state today belongs to all working people. Thus workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals must clearly recognize that at the present time our working people are the owners of our country and are not hired workers of the exploiting class as was the case formerly. We have the right and sufficient capability to build on our own a life of freedom and happiness. The working people are the collective owners of all the material and cultural possessions and they are all equal in regard to rights and duties. Consequently, everyone must profoundly absorb the idea of "one for all and all for one."

Individualism, taking care of one's self to the detriment of others, liberalism, lack of organization and discipline, and other maladies are dangerous enemies of socialism.

As the owners of the state, they must worry about the work of the state in the same way that they concern themselves with affairs of their own families. Workers must love their machines like their own children and peasants must love the cattle belonging to the cooperatives like their own friends and relatives. Everyone must learn how to maintain public property and give the same consideration to collective tasks as to family affairs.

As owners, they must learn how to worry about things on their own and to shoulder burdens and not defer to others and wait for others. Each person must try to contribute his energies and money to the development of the country and not seek pleasure first and worry about work later. Each person must be a valiant fighter struggling to build socialism.

Cadres and party members must increasingly elevate their spirit of responsibility to the party and to the masses and wholeheartedly and unreservedly serve the people. They must love and respect the people. They must genuinely respect the rights of the people to collective ownership. They must absolutely not put on airs of "revolutionary officials" and issue orders and be pompous. They must firmly adhere to the class outlook, correctly follow the mass line, sincerely seek to learn from the masses, resolutely rely on the masses, and teach and motivate the masses to implement every program and policy of the party and state. They must be honest and straightforward; they must not hide their ignorance or hide their shortcomings and mistakes. They must be modest and stay close to the masses; they must not be boastful. They must truly seek to serve and not be subjective. They must constantly concern themselves with the lives of the masses. They must be "just and impartial" and have the spirit of "worrying before the world does and enjoying themselves after the world does." These are the ethical qualities of a communist.

The invincible power of the party lies in the voluntary spirit of discipline and the solemn sense of organization of the cadres and members.

We must correctly carry out the teaching of the great Lenin about maintaining the unity of the party as if it were the apple of our eye. We must wholeheartedly respect the collective and develop internal democracy. There absolutely must not be individual arbitrariness with people placing themselves above the organization and allowing themselves to stand outside discipline. The more we achieve, the more modest we must be. We must not contract the disease of vaingloriousness, jealousy, and craving for status because of our many or few achievements. We must remember that all success results from the struggle and sacrifice of the entire party and all the people and not from any individual hero. We have a proud obligation to the party and the people to remain loyal sons of the party and dedicated servants of the people throughout our lives.

Toward the enemy, the communist must constantly be alert, maintain a firm stance, and resolutely avoid a loss of vigilance because of a peaceful environment. The communist must constantly be ready to smash every pernicious scheme of the enemy, to protect the fruits of the revolution, and to protect the peaceful labor of the people. In order to defeat the external enemy, the communist must first defeat the internal enemy which is individualism.

All of us, regardless of our position or field of endeavor must help develop production. We must struggle to develop agriculture all-around, vigorously, and steadily, especially to guarantee abundant food. We must struggle to make industry grow rapidly and to bring about the success of socialist industrialization as called for in the resolution of the Third Congress of the Party.



Each worker, peasant, intellectual, cadre, and government employee must clearly understand his proud obligation to serve production.

We must measure our revolutionary will by the actual results of our contributions to production and our leadership of production. We must be sure to combat empty talk, ostentation, formalism, and methods of operation not designed to elevate production.

In order to develop production power, we must first raise labor efficiency and, in order to raise labor efficiency, we must effectively organize labor.

We must struggle to consolidate and develop the agricultural cooperative; we must continue to improve the management of the enterprises and constantly improve techniques in all sectors of the economy. We must use labor rationally. We must try to study how to use new techniques, build new technical bases, and resolutely abandon backward practices. These things will not be completed in one or two days, but they can be done with determination and organization.

The thing of decisive importance here is for the cadres and party members to clearly understand that the new requirement of the revolution is to develop production and to clearly understand that the upgrading of labor efficiency is the greatest source of wealth. Consequently, cadres and party members must organize the new production apparatus in a practical way and actively study how to manage the economy and to improve techniques. Today, the party requires that cadres and members not only have political expertise but also have expertise in specialized fields rather than providing generalized leadership. They must know how to achieve solidarity with the people outside the party, learn how to rely on the masses, develop the creative power of the working masses, study the experiences of the masses, create every condition which would enable the working people to comprehend scientific and technical matters, and strive to train the very many technical cadre and managerial cadres necessary for the development of production. This is the only way we can successfully build socialism.

#### Be Frugal in Building Up the Country

Our country is still poor. To achieve happiness, we must have a spirit of self-reliance and work industriously. Work is our sacred obligation, our source of life, and our source of happiness. There is no inferior occupation in our society; the only people who need be ashamed are those who are lazy and let others do their work. Cooks and sweepers, teachers and engineers all have the same glory as long as they fulfill their duties. The only people who are inferior are those who fear difficulties and hardships and who want to "sit and enjoy the harvest without working" because they are not socialists.

Each person must voluntarily maintain labor discipline.

Young people must increasingly be in the vanguard and be enthusiastic and they must implement the slogan: "Young people go wherever they are needed and carry out the difficult tasks wherever they are."

Each type of thing we produce requires an expenditure of a certain amount of sweat and labor. The only way we can develop socialism is to increase production and practice thrift. Production without thrift is just like wind blowing into an empty house. Therefore we must learn how to maintain public property. Corruption and waste of state, collective, or people's property are acts of robbery which everyone must hate and eliminate. We must learn how to respect manpower as our most precious capital. We must wholeheartedly look after the health of our people and rationally employ the labor of our people.

Cadres and party members must continue to increase their sense of responsibility, set an example of "thrift and industry and honest administration"; they must not steal one cent or one kernel of paddy belonging to the state or to the people. They must combat authoritarianism and bureaucracy which are sources of corruption and waste. They must calculate and weigh carefully in every task. "Time is money." They must resolutely combat the habit of excessive meetings which waste time and impair health without any practical results.

#### Move Forward Rapidly, Briskly, and Steadily to Socialism

Rapid and vigorous progress is the law of socialism. In order to produce large quantities, rapidly, effectively, and inexpensively, there must be revolutionary enthusiasm. But there must also be scientific knowledge.

Each worker must have a spirit of daring to think and to act, of striving ahead to the front rank, and of becoming a progressive worker. Our workers and peasants and intellectuals must believe that we have sufficient strength, courage, and intelligence to build our new life. We can do anything as long as we have an adequate awareness of being the owners, a collective spirit, and discipline, strive to study, raise our cultural and technical level, have a spirit of creativity, develop and study new things, support new things, and implement new things.

Cadres and party members also must have this spirit and must get rid of mistaken attitudes such as satisfaction with initial achievements, conservatism, complacency about past experiences, arrogance about intellectual attainments, contempt for the masses, skepticism about ordinary suggestions from the masses, laziness, failure to actively study new things, and so forth.

Our working people are very rich in experience and creativity and our country has very considerable wealth. With our determination and

with assistance from fraternal countries, we are definitely completely capable of making our country rich and strong, making our people happy, and catching up with fraternal countries.

Let us move ahead and progress rapidly, vigorously, and steadily to socialism! Progress rapidly and vigorously but not in an adventurous or careless manner. We must take practical steps forward and move steadily ahead. We must firmly understand the law of development of the revolution. We must carefully calculate the specific conditions and specific measures. Planning must be definite and balanced. We must not replace actual conditions with our subjective ideas. We must combat subjectivism, bureaucratic behavior, and generalism. We must develop habits of scrutiny and careful consideration in all activities as well as in determining every party and state policy....

FOOTNOTES:

1. Reprinted from the February 1963 issue of Hoc Tap. Originally entitled: "United, Move Forward to New Victories."
2. Speech by President Ho in 1952, Selected Works. Originally entitled: "Effect Economies and Combat Corruption, Waste, Disease of Bureaucracy."
3. Reprinted from the April 1961 issue of Hoc Tap. Originally entitled: "Developing the People of Socialism."

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#### OLD ARTICLE QUOTED AS SACRIFICE SEEN LAGGING

[Article: "Comrade Le Duan Talks About Developing the Idea of Collective Ownership"; an excerpt from an article entitled "Let Us Build the Collective Ownership Concept Upon the Proletarian Standpoint" appearing in the June 1965 issue of Hoc Tap; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, 1969, pp 18-23]

We are in a situation of sizzling revolutionary development and of great and very decisive and urgent victories. While in the north the building of socialism continues to progress fast, in the south our compatriots now take the initiative in their liberation struggle, with continual attacks and more and more victories. The more our compatriots and the liberation army of the south fight and win, the more restless the American imperialists and their lackeys become. Being on the defensive, they are trying to drive the "special war" in the south to a climax. The war in the south thus becomes more and more violent, bitter, and difficult. In order to save his deteriorating situation in the south, the enemy has brazenly attacked the north, and now fights the war of destruction in the north on a larger and larger scale. As a result, all our country is facing an extremely grave situation, the situation of war in all the country.

That is the situation we are facing. What does that situation require us to do? It is evident that the people of all our country must be ready to sacrifice in the fight against the Americans for national salvation. We cadres and party members must all be ready to sacrifice more for the country, for the people, for socialism. During the war of resistance, regarding ideological education, we were against the tendency to seek personal security and to save one's life. It was correct on our part to do so, for we could fully mobilize the spirit of sacrifice for national salvation only by doing so. After ten years of peace, the spirit of daring to sacrifice for victory has somewhat diminished among some cadres and party members. Nowadays, when we say that sacrificing is the noblest virtue of a communist, some people seem to consider our saying old-fashioned; people seem to hesitate when coming to talk about sacrificing and being ready to die for the country. That is not right. At present, because the situation in both the north and the south is very serious and complicated,

it is even more necessary to stress the sacrificing quality of cadres and party members, or else the revolution will possibly become difficult and the situation dangerous. We must again talk about, remind ourselves of, and improve the quality of sacrificing and daring to die for the revolution. This is an urgent aspect of the immediate need for ideological education. Instead of being due to the reckless living of some spoiled people, the need for raising moral qualities actually comes from the revolutionary situation throughout the country. Moreover, as our party is the ruling one, the need for further building up the communist party members' revolutionary qualities is even greater. In his book, "The Leftist Immaturity in the Communist Movement," Lenin said that if the party did not have the strictest discipline, a true iron discipline, the Bolsheviks could not stay in power even three days! Three conditions, under which -- according to Lenin -- party discipline could be consolidated and put under control are:

First, the sense of understanding, loyalty to the revolution, firmness, spirit of total sacrifice, and courage of party members;

Second, the close relationship and state of oneness between the party and the proletarian masses and also the non-proletarian working people;

Third, the correct political leadership line, strategy and formula of the party.

Thus the first condition for consolidating the party iron discipline is the spirit of sacrificing and daring to die, and the loyalty to the revolution on the part of party members. In the past, during the period of underground activities and later during the resistance, in the activities of party chapters, we had often talked about sacrificing and dying for the revolution and taught communist ethics. Had we not talked that way, the tasks of party members would not have been fulfilled properly. Lately we have not talked about those things enough. That is a big shortcoming which needs to be overcome.

The current situation of our country and its revolutionary task require that we talk a great deal about the quality and ethics of the communists. They are not only the things that constitute a current urgent problem dictated by the situation, but also those that must be taught and talked about time and again from now until (we achieve) communism. Furthermore, although the north is not yet required to make as much sacrifice as the south, but because the American imperialists have already launched destructive attacks against us, the question of making courageous sacrifices is to be raised to all our cadres, party members, army, and people.

There is a question which is rather old, but contains something new, namely, what is the force that drives the working people toward participating in the building of socialism? It is well understood that to



build socialism first requires that some problems of contradictions in society be solved; however, to study the driving force behind the working people's enthusiastic building of socialism is also a necessity. In the capitalist system, that driving force is profit. Profit is the driving force of technical revolutions, seizure of colonies, enlargement of market, expansion of large-scale mass production, and so on under the capitalist system. Profit is the strongest stimulant and also the only reason for the development of the productive force in the capitalist society, and is what the capitalists keep thinking about every hour and every minute. In the book, "The Capital," Marx drew a very lively picture of the greedy capitalists' blind pursuit of profit: "If the profit is appropriate, the capital becomes courageous; if 10 percent of the profit is secured, they can use capital everywhere; if 20 percent is secured, it will be furious; if 50 percent is secured, it will be very daring and fearless; if 100 percent is secured, it will trample upon all mankind's rules; if 300 percent is secured, it will not hesitate to commit any crime, even if it will be hanged." How about in our society? Do we consider material interests as the driving force, or what? The aim of the socialist economy is of course to satisfy the material and cultural needs of all members of society. To do so, we must produce a lot of material wealth. All working people must measure their contribution to the production of society by the quantity of material wealth they themselves produce; therefore, we must apply the principle of distribution in accordance with labor. This principle is a driving force behind socialist production, but the most permanent factor, and the most powerful one, that encourages workers and farmers to do productive work enthusiastically is the sense of understanding of socialism and the spirit of collective ownership on their part. As for us communists, the leaders of the socialist production, we cannot resemble those leaders of the production under the capitalist system. The communists are absorbed in their ideals just like the capitalists being crazy about profit. For the communists, a monthly salary of 30 or 50 piasters is not the ideal, nor the motivation of their work. What they are absorbed in is building socialism and communism, building a glorious Vietnam of well-off people, building a society of happy men. To do so, they must have the communist quality and ethics, know how to sacrifice for the communist ideal, and persuade the masses to struggle for that ideal. The Communist Party members are owners of the collectivity on the basis of their communist ideal; the masses are owners of the collectivity also for material interests.

Is the building of socialism hard and complicated? Very hard and complicated, particularly when we build socialism while all our country is in a state of war. For instance, how do we come to the production of a kind of coke usable in Vietnam with the biggest advantage? To find an answer requires that we make some sacrifice and forget to eat and sleep, or else we certainly cannot find a solution. Or if the north is to obtain 3-4 tons of rice per hectare per crop, the party echelons must also forget to eat and sleep, think all the time, and do research; this productivity is by no means achieved too easily. Doing things the administrative way does not bring about any good results. We must recognize that this is a bitter

decisive struggle against nature and the whole of production habits of the old society; therefore, we must have strong revolutionary spirit, forget to eat and sleep, and think passionately. However, we actually do not do so now. To some extent we are rather formalistic and just want to do what we are responsible to our superiors. As for the ideal of building a new society, and our hatred for poverty and the masses' sufferings, they have not yet been converted into our daily actions. Consequently, not only the struggle for destruction of the enemy and salvation of the country, but also the building of socialism require a high spirit of sacrificing and daring to die. In the history of mankind, so many scientists had a high degree of sacrificing and hardship-bearing virtues. They burned their own beds to replace firewood in experiments. Only by doing so could they get new ideas. The latter did not come by themselves. I say this to indicate that to raise the question of improving the communists' qualities at this moment is something very necessary and urgent.

After ten years of peace, the revolutionary quality of not too small a number of cadres and party members has somewhat diminished. Many comrades who see women wear patched-up clothes and pull vehicles in the streets do not seem to care. The revolutionary quality in those comrades has certainly diminished. Do you feel sad or angry, or remain indifferent, when you see women wear patched-up clothes and pull vehicles? We have not taught our cadres and party members enough to have such a spirit. In the period of underground activities, we had a lot of sadness and anger. It was exactly because of such feelings that we carried on the revolutionary work. What made us clearheaded was that spirit and those feelings of sadness and anger. We must let those feelings strongly arouse ourselves to action. For they are the revolutionaries' healthy feelings. However, they are not always there in our mind; we must know how to cultivate them, to build them up. Generally speaking, we revolutionaries do have those feelings, but sometimes the latter are diminished or become dull without our knowing it. Therefore, we must sharpen them, cultivate them, make them shine.

In short, when the Central Committee talks about building up the qualities and ethics of the revolutionaries, it is dealing with a realistic matter for the situation in the north, for every cadre and party member.

Cultivating the revolutionary quality and morality is aiming at building up the spirit of collective ownership. In order to build up the spirit of collective ownership, we must fight individualism. What is our greatest source of moral strength at the present time? It is the problem of building collectivism and fighting individualism. Individualistic or collective, individuals or society -- that is the most basic problem of the new morality in society today. Individuals here are not meant to be how we as individuals live, but rather the concept of individualists in the question of the revolution, in each revolutionary standpoint, in revolutionary action. That is the basic question. From the standpoint of being individuals in society, we never prohibit the concept of progress



and the desire to make life better and more glorious. The problem of individuals mentioned here is actually the relationship between individuals and collectivity, i.e., whether your standpoint, working, and way of living are for society, for the collectivity, or for individuals.

In his article, entitled "The Task of the Youth Union," Lenin said: "The communist ethic is what is used to destroy the old society of the exploiters and to unite all the working people around the proletariat, who are creating the new society, the communist society. The communist ethic is the one that serves this struggle and unites the working people against all exploitation and petty ownership, for petty ownership puts in the hand of a person what the labor of society as a whole has created."

The communists are thus different from the masses in that their thinking, action, and way of living are first of all for the collectivity, for the common. To fight individualism is to fight what is contrary to that, rather than to see if you have pity for your wife, and how much pity. This feeling of pity is also related to the quality of men, but it is within the framework of the family only. Party members are the masses' leaders and the holders of the nation's achievements; consequently, their individualism is very harmful, particularly when it is interfering with the party standpoint and line. Therefore, raising the question of fighting individualism and building the proletarian morality is based on that fact. Fighting individualism is a realistic matter that must be dealt with in a long time. Because individualism had been existing for thousands of years and already became the reason for living of members of the old society, to overcome it would be very hard and not so simple. In life, we have seen many regrettable and dreadful things about individualism. Some comrades were not afraid of being executed, but could not bear not being a leader. Other comrades were not afraid of the imperialists, but were too individualistic to be corrected. They would not like to listen to reason offered by other comrades, for they thought that they would lose their individual position if they had to submit themselves to other comrades' reasoning. For them, to give up the truth would mean nothing, but to give up individual position would be intolerable! The present lack of unity among some party echelons has been due to individualism, rather than to conflicting standpoints or lack of mutual understanding. In such cases, individualism evidently overshadowed revolutionary feelings; it did great harm to the revolution. In our party, there are many comrades who came from the petty bourgeois class and whose standpoint is not steady and leans sometimes to the right, sometimes to the "left," but disguise themselves under the most revolutionary words and the most enthusiastic expressions so as to hold their position and to hide their unsteady character. That is another manifestation of individualism.

Fighting individualism is not new, but rather a struggle that has been going on through the entire history of our party. That is very understandable because individualism in our country originated from the small production and was under the influence of feudal ideas,

Confucianism, and bourgeois ideas. At present, talking about fighting the cult of personality is also talking about fighting individualism and stressing the collective spirit. There were great comrades whose last years of revolutionary activities were trapped in individualism. And when one is so trapped one's revolutionary feelings will automatically diminish and the individual will rise; and if one's standpoint is the result of individualistic thinking, it cannot be correct.

Fighting individualism and building up the proletarian morality is dictated not only by the needs of the entire country and the needs for fighting the Americans for national salvation, but also by the urgent need for economic construction and the need of the north for combat readiness at this moment. The economic foundation of the north is facing two alternatives, individualistic and collective. Ethics, the superstructure, reflect the foundation, but while the foundation is not strong enough, the superstructure must be used to bear effect on and to strengthen the foundation. The communists must use their ideals to work on the foundation, and must use the collective spirit to encourage economic development and to attract the masses to the collective road. Furthermore, we are both building and combating. Both tasks require great sacrifices. Therefore, we must understand the problem even better to defeat individualism.

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#### HAD HOPED GREATER 1968 GAINS AS 1969 AIMS FALTER

[Article by Hoang Quoc Viet: "Vigorously Motivate the Collective Ownership Spirit of the Masses in Order to Achieve More Brilliant Victories During 1969"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No. 4, April 1969, pp 24-29, 58]

During 1968, our people, under the leadership of the party, won great, all-around, and strategically important victories. The general offensive and spontaneous uprising of early spring 1968 and the succeeding victories throughout 1968 of the Liberation Army and of our South Vietnamese people dealt a very heavy blow to the strategic schemes of the enemy and drove them deeper into a defensive and passive position throughout the South Vietnamese theater. Concomitant with the spectacular and repeated victories of the Liberation Army and the people of South Vietnam, our North Vietnamese army and people defeated the American war of destruction and also constantly strengthened North Vietnam in every way.

The proud victories of 1968 created a new and extremely beautiful situation and extremely advantageous conditions for propelling the resistance war against the United States for national salvation to total victory and for further intensifying socialist construction in North Vietnam.

These victories bespoke the revolutionary heroism of the working class and our people and further embellished the name of our country, a country which symbolizes the bold spirit and determined will to combat foreign aggression in order to preserve the independence and freedom of the fatherland.

The main determinant of these victories was the independent, autonomous, correct, and creative line of our party, led by the beloved President Ho, increasingly permeating the masses and being implemented by them with increasing fervor. This was the positive and fundamental characteristic of the situation in 1968.

The victories of 1968 would surely have been larger if some installations and localities had not had shortcomings such as laxity in economic management, failing to respect labor discipline, failure to give attention to the protection of public property, allowing labor productivity to decline, and so on. The chief cause of that situation was the failure to strictly execute party policies and state regulations and systems and the poor management of labor, materials, techniques, and finances. Many cadres and party members, including some cadres in positions of responsibility, did not have a firm understanding of the systems and regulations within their sectors and units and had an unsatisfactory concept about struggling to strictly execute party lines and policies and state laws. Moreover, party policies and state laws were not regularly disseminated and taught to the masses of workers and farmers and to other strata of working people and there was no bold struggle to combat violations of state regulations and policies. These problems of 1968 still remain.

For the sake of victory in the fight against the United States for national salvation and for the sake of protecting and building socialism in North Vietnam, we must resolutely and quickly overcome negative phenomena in production and in social life.

The year 1969 plays an extremely important role in our people's fight against the United States for national salvation. North Vietnam, in its position as the great rear for the entire country, faces very heavy tasks. No matter what the situation, North Vietnam must become stronger in every way in order to fully and promptly meet the needs of the front in keeping with the slogan: "Everything in order to defeat the U.S. aggressors." The chief element in strengthening North Vietnam is rapidly bolstering the economic and defense forces so that they are strong enough to support the front, to assure the living conditions of the people, and to create the necessary conditions for economic restoration and development in succeeding years. These are also the major tasks in the 1969 state plan and the immediate struggle goals of our people.

In order to successfully carry out these tasks, all our party and people must make extraordinary efforts to rapidly rectify economic management and state management and must vigorously motivate the masses' sense of being collective owners in production and distribution, especially the masses of workers, government employees, and farmers. These are

effective ways to rapidly eliminate negative phenomena in production and social life, to create a new enthusiasm among the people, and to make everyone more enthusiastic and determined about accelerating production and combat and achieving increasingly greater victories. Rectifying and improving economic management and state management and motivating the masses' sense of being collective owners are two closely interrelated and interacting problems. The only way to vigorously motivate the masses' sense of being collective owners is to rapidly rectify management. Conversely, elevating the concept of collective ownership among the masses will help to overcome laxity in economic management and state management and to restore and strictly implement the principles, systems, and regulations on management promulgated by the state. Only when there is real understanding of the importance and relationship between these two problems will it be possible to have high determination in carrying out the guidelines and tasks set forth.

The problem of economic management and state management is a major problem which concerns the survival and growth of our system. Our working class, through its vanguard party, has led the party to firmly maintain political power for nearly 25 years and used that political power to organize and mobilize all the people to defeat the French colonialist aggressors, completely liberating and bringing socialism to one half of the country. Our working class has used that political power to defeat the U.S. war of destruction in North Vietnam. This proves that our working class is not only skilled in combat leadership but also knows how to manage the economy and manage the state. However, this does not mean that we do not have shortcomings in management. These shortcomings are chiefly the result of our subjectivity. However, there are also objective causes for these shortcomings which are found in the backward economic situation and in the unique historical conditions of our country. Everyone knows that our country was for a long time a colonial and semi-feudal country with a backward agricultural economy. Since the time our people seized political power, they have had to contend with repeated natural calamities and enemy destruction and they have had little leisure time for economic development. As a result, shortcomings in economic management have been unavoidable. The level of economic organization and management reflects the level of development of the economy and the educational level of the people. Moreover, the management of a socialist economy requires that all of us, particularly the economic management cadres, not only have a strong working class viewpoint and outlook but also have a certain understanding of science and technology and know how to utilize the new discoveries of science and technology in production and in management with a view to serving the political goals. Therefore, the only way to properly resolve the management problem is through time and through untiring efforts by the management cadres to study and train and also through rapidly elevating the educational, technical, and occupational levels and through vigorously developing our workers' and people's concept of and capability for collective ownership.



Our people are very heroic and our working class is an advanced class, the class leading the revolution. However, as Lenin stated: "The art of management does not fall down from heaven and it is not a natural endowment from the Deity. A working class does not become capable of management merely by virtue of being an advanced class..." (1) Therefore our workers must strive to study and to train in every way and we must also actively train and develop a corps of skilled managers from among the workers and working people. First of all, each of our workers and government employees must increase his sense of responsibility, assure the number of work days and work hours called for by the system, observe labor discipline, work regulations, and technical rules, increase labor productivity and operational efficiency, and actively participate in the management of the enterprises, the economy, and the state. At present, we must combat two erroneous tendencies which are very damaging to the implementation of the 1969 state plan, particularly in the basic installations. One is the tendency to blame the objective environment and not try to overcome the present management laxity and not try to restore and to strictly carry out the principles, systems, and regulations on management which have been violated during the recent past. The second is a tendency to fail to see the objective causes of mistakes and shortcomings with the consequent development of an impatient and angry attitude in regard to those in charge of management in the basic installations. This attitude does not help rectify management and it does not help to strengthen the internal solidarity of the workers and people with a view to accelerating production. The only way we can rapidly overcome the present laxity in management and the only way that management can be brought back up to its previous levels and further improved is to raise the concept of responsibility and the spirit of socialist cooperation between state agencies and mass organizations and between the cadres in charge and the masses in the installations under the unified and centralized leadership of the party committees at each level.

The question of collective ownership is also a major issue. The only way we can make the concept of collective ownership become a habit is through a long and continuing period of training. This requires very great efforts by all our party and people. In the present revolutionary task and in the future, we must fully understand the concept of revolution as the work of the masses. The agencies responsible must really respect the masses right of ownership and genuinely enable them to be the owners. Mass organizations must teach and elevate the concept of and capability for collective ownership among the masses, struggle against violations of the ownership rights of the masses, and combat the attitude of being hired help found among the masses who are slow to progress. The masses themselves must make more vigorous strides ahead in the use of the right of ownership and they must endeavor to study and inquire in order to develop their ownership role. Only when these three matters are properly carried out, will the masses really be able to act as owners. This is the long range goal which we must strive very arduously to attain.

Our collective worker and farmer masses are very good. The vast majority of those directly engaged in production and combat at the present time are young people who have an above-average educational and technical level and who are rich in enthusiasm but lack experience. North Vietnam has changed fundamentally and profoundly in every way in the course of more than 20 years of socialist construction. However, it has not been able to fully expurgate the ideas and habits of small-scale production, which have existed for a long time. To say nothing of the other strata, the impact of the ideas and habits of small producers is still significant right within the working class. During the past few years, the ranks of workers and government employees have developed extremely rapidly because of the requirements of the task of both fighting the United States to save the nation and building up and protecting the socialist North. Nearly half a million people were drawn into the enterprises, work camps, agencies, hospitals, and so on during the four years of the fight against the United States for national salvation. The vast majority of these people are children of farmers and workers, small-scale producers from the cities, students, and so on. In general, they are of good character but they are still under the influence of the ideas and habits of their social background and, as a result, their concept of collective ownership is weak. Besides the achievements and great efforts of the working class and our people, there are negative phenomena in production and life. This is easy to understand. Negative phenomena among some workers and staff employees, especially among the young, have a tendency to develop under lax management. A very long and arduous process of struggling against the old ideas and customs of the small-scale producers is required in order to eliminate this situation.

Party organizations, political administrations, and mass organizations, especially in the basic installations, must have a thorough understanding of the lines and policies of the party and the laws of the state and they must really understand their own masses and clearly understand each target so that they can develop concrete plans and practical measures for elevating the concept of and capability for ownership among the masses.

We have had many large political campaigns in the enterprises, agencies, and rural areas since the August Revolution, especially since the complete liberation of North Vietnam. These political campaigns were designed to motivate the masses' spirit of ownership. However, the results have not been very significant because of the failure to keep up the campaigns, the lack of determination, and the failure to recapitulate the experiences in them. We have not fully recognized our responsibility and we have not had a regular and steadfast attitude about developing the masses' role of ownership. We must make the concept of ownership become a habit among the collective workers, government employees, and farmers and we must make them learn how to be economic, political, and social owners. This is an important part of the job of

building up the corps of workers and of developing new, socialist people. Therefore, the problem of motivating the spirit of ownership among the masses is not simply a matter of holding conferences of workers and government employees and congresses of cooperative members or of launching political mobilization phases from time to time. It is a continuous process to educate and organize the masses to act. In the process, experience is gained which is later used in educating and organizing the masses to act.

In order to vigorously motivate the concept of collective ownership among the masses of workers, government employees, and cooperative members, it is essential to strengthen the leadership exercised by party committees at all levels, particularly the basic party committees. Proper concern by the state agencies and by the mass organizations for the installations, for production, and for the masses also plays a very great role. State agencies and mass organizations must endeavor to get close to the installations, must orientate all of their activities toward the installations, and must use the installations as the target for supervision and as the target for service. A bright example of this occurred with the face-to-face meetings between the leadership comrades of the party and state and the representatives of the workers and government employees of the coal sector in Quang Ninh Province in late 1968. The dispatch of numerous national-level and province-level cadres of the Labor Union down to the installations for long periods of service in 1968 in keeping with the directive of the first secretary of the Party Central Committee has begun to produce good results. The concern shown by the party, government, and General Trade Union for the installations last year had a positive impact in helping to elevate the working class concept and viewpoint and to develop the ownership role of cadres and masses. It was also one of the important factors helping to elevate the spirit of patriotism and of love of socialism of our people and helping our people to overcome many difficulties in order to achieve outstanding records in 1968.

The strongest support for the effort to motivate the masses' spirit of collective ownership is the line and policy of the party and the current systems and regulations of the state. In order to motivate the collective ownership spirit of the masses with a view to stepping up the work in every way, all organs of management must fully understand the lines and policies of the party so that they can correctly adapt them to the work of their respective sectors and they must also strictly and steadfastly implement the lines and policies of the party in a spirit of revolutionary attack. The cadres in charge in installations, no matter what sector, must be well versed in the work of their sector, and, above all else, they must have a very firm understanding of the state regulations concerning the responsibilities and powers of their installations and of themselves. The mass organizations in the installations must regularly teach the masses to understand the systems and



regulations of the state and must motivate everyone to properly execute and oversee the implementation of the systems and regulations of the state and of the regulations and standards of their respective sectors and installations. In order to accomplish this, the important thing is for cadres and party members in the enterprises, agencies, and cooperatives to set the example in executing the lines and policies of the party and the systems and regulations of the state. However, party committees in the installations have a very important and decisive role because they are the entities which directly lead and organize and supervise the implementation of the policies of the party and of the regulations and systems of the state. Party committees in the installations not only must lead every facet of the work in the installations but also must arrange for cadres and party members to really engage in mass proselyting efforts. They must also actively develop mass organizations such as the Labor Union, the Lao Dong Youth Group, the Women's Federation, and so on so that they will be strong enough to carry out their functions and duties. This is the only way that the party organizations in the installations can intensely propagandize, proselytize, and educate the masses in order to transform party lines and policies into spontaneous actions of the masses. It is also the only way they can acquire practical measures to guide the management organs and the mass organizations in teaching and elevating the concept of collective ownership by the masses, making it possible to develop the ownership role of the masses in production and in distribution.

In actively engaging in mass proselyting work, cadres and party members develop the viewpoint and concept of the working class and the concept of the masses. This is a necessary precondition to their being recognized as "four good" party members. This is the only way the party organizations can really mature in production and in the mass movement and the only way they can really become the nucleus of leadership in the production installations.

Only by having the party organizations mature and having the cadres and party members develop like this, will we be able to rapidly overcome laxity in management, eliminate the negative phenomena in production and in social life, elevate the collective ownership role of the masses, and really direct the revolutionary movement of the working and farming masses and of all other strata of working people toward the achievement of the three revolutions: the revolution in the production relationship, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution in order to achieve more spectacular victories in 1969. The correct present path which seeks to develop increasingly stronger party organizations is a continuation of the effort to strictly execute Resolution 167 of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee on "Strengthening the Work of Motivating the Workers and the Activities of the Labor Union in the New Situation" and it is an intensification of the democratic campaign in the countryside and of the effort to formulate bylaws for the cooperatives in close coordination with the campaign to develop "four good" party

chapters and basic party organizations. It is a path of constantly strengthening the working class viewpoint and outlook of all cadres and party members, making each cadre and party member profoundly and proudly realize that he is an outstanding fighter of the working class responsible for helping his class to grow ever stronger and to live up to the role and position of the vanguard class leading the revolution. In the process, each cadre and party member actively works at proselytizing the workers and masses, endeavors to build up the Labor Union organization, and tries to train himself in production and in the revolutionary movement of the masses. We can see from this that the job of developing the party at the present time cannot be separated from the task of rectifying economic management and the task of elevating the collective ownership role of the masses. We have some experience in this matter and presently have extremely advantageous conditions. The Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers profoundly reviewed all aspects of the situation during the years of fighting the Americans to save the nation and building socialism. They have also set forth specific tasks and struggle goals for the entire party and all the people during 1969. Party committees at all levels and all state agencies are, on the basis of the spirit and content of the meetings of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and of the Council of Ministers, reviewing the work of their respective echelons and sectors and also setting forth concrete and practical measures for overcoming deficiencies in management in order to assure the successful completion of the 1969 state plan. Mass organizations are also conducting a thorough review of their work and, on the basis of this, outlining specific goals and tasks for the future in order to help the state agencies motivate all strata of people to enthusiastically move ahead to complete their duties to the highest degree.

By resolutely motivating the concept of collective ownership among the masses, we surely will transform the great determination of the party and state into positive action by all the people, making everyone feverishly participate in economic development with the excited zeal of fighting the Americans and making everyone strive to complete and to overfulfil the 1969 state plan, working shoulder to shoulder with the kith-and-kin compatriots of South Vietnam to advance the fight against the Americans for national salvation to complete victory.

- (1) Lenin: Selected Works, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Volume II, Part II, pp. 306 and 307.

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## LENIN QUOTED IN SUPPORT OF VIETNAM SITUATION

[Article by Hong Chuong: "Lenin, Our Great Master"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, April 1969, pp 30-42]

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### I. Lenin, His Life And Career.

The communists, the working class, and the people of our country, along with communists, working classes, and working peoples throughout the world, are solemnly commemorating the 99th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, the inheritor of the great work of Marx and Engels, the founder of the Soviet Communist Party and of the first socialist state, and the great master and leader of the working class and working people throughout the world.

Lenin was born on 22 April 1870 in Simbirsk, today called Ulyanovsk. His father was a director of schools for the Simbirsk Elementary Schools. Lenin and his father were imprisoned in 1887 because of their participation in a plot to assassinate the Czar.

After he graduated from high school in 1887, Lenin went to law school in Kazan but it was not long until he was imprisoned for his active participation in the student revolutionary movement. He was expelled from college and banished to Kokushkino. He was permitted to return to Kazan in the fall of 1888. It was during this time that he studied Marx's Das Capital and joined a Marxist group. He went to Samara in the fall of 1889, continued to study the works of Marx and Engels, and prepared for his law exams. In 1891, he graduated from the College of Law in Petersburg as an external student.

Lenin organized the first Marxist group in Samara. From the very beginning, he showed a profound understanding of Marx. Lenin arrived in Petersburg on 12 September 1893 and became the obvious leader of the Marxists in the capital. In 1894, he wrote his first major work, "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats. This

work was really a manifesto of the Russian communists. In 1895, Lenin gathered together all of the Petersburg Marxists workers groups and founded the "Union for the Struggle of the Liberation of the Working Class." This union was the embryo of the future Russian revolutionary proletarian party.

Lenin's revolutionary activities made the secret police of the Czar fearful. They arrested and incarcerated Lenin at the end of 1895. In 1897, he was banished to Siberia. There he wrote the works: The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats, and The Development of Capitalism in Russia. He returned from Siberia in early 1900. He went abroad in July of that year. Abroad, Lenin published the newspaper Iskra (The Spark), the first revolutionary Marxist political newspaper for all Russia.

Lenin struggled tirelessly for the establishment of a revolutionary party of the Russian proletarian class. Lenin won a victory for revolutionary Marxism and defeated opportunism at the second congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Party in July 1903. Immediately prior to the revolution of 1905, Lenin published the newspaper Forward to prepare for the party's leadership of the then imminent revolution. Lenin returned to Russia in November 1905 to continue to lead the revolution. After the revolution failed, Lenin once again in late 1907 had to go abroad. During the difficult years following the failure of the 1905 revolution, Lenin struggled against the "liquidators" who sought to dissolve the clandestine revolutionary party and also against the "Octobrists" who opposed the use of legal capabilities in the struggle. His efforts to establish a new style party of the working class resulted in the rejection of the Mensheviks and the grouping of the Bolsheviks into an independent party at the Prague Conference of 1912. Lenin went from Paris to live in Cracow, closer to Russia, to lead the revolutionary movement at home. When World War I broke out, the Austrian police jailed Lenin. When he was released, he went to live in Switzerland.

Following the overthrow of the Czarist system in February 1917, Lenin returned to Russia. The day after he arrived in Petrograd, Lenin published the famous April Outline, enunciating a struggle program for transforming bourgeois democratic revolution into socialist revolution using the slogan "all political power to the soviets." The provisional government, terrified by his activities, ordered his arrest. Lenin was forced to go underground. Although he was forced to live in a semi-legal capacity, Lenin continued to lead the party. In a series of articles and letters sent to the Petrograd and Moscow commissars, Lenin called for an armed uprising and outlined a specific plan for an uprising to seize political power.

On 19 October 1917, Lenin secretly went from Finland to Petrograd. On 22 October 1917, acting upon a recommendation of Lenin, the Party Central Committee approved a resolution concerning armed uprising. On the night of 7 November 1917, Lenin went to Smolny Palace to command the armed uprising. Because of his talented leadership, the first socialist revolution in human history achieved a proud victory. The second soviet congress

began on 8 November 1917. Lenin introduced before the congress bills for historic peace and land decrees. He assumed the function of Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, the first worker-peasant government elected by the congress. Lenin sought to build the first proletarian dictatorial state in the world.

The success of the October Revolution led by Lenin shook the world. It severed the shackles of imperialism in one-fifth of the earth and dealt a mortal blow to imperialism. It awakened the oppressed peoples of colonial and vassal countries and inaugurated before their eyes a new period filled with the beautiful expectations of the struggle against imperialism and for independence and democracy.

The overthrown exploiting elements did not resign themselves to defeat. They often schemed to murder Lenin. Lenin was seriously wounded in an attempted murder on 30 August 1918 organized by counterrevolutionary elements. He rapidly regained strength and continued to lead the communist party, the working class, and the Russian people past every difficulty and hardship, protecting the young soviet republic against reactionary forces at home and abroad. Under Lenin's leadership, the Red Army defeated foreign interventionists and the White Guards. After the end of the civil war, Lenin led economic restoration and outlined a plan for the electrification of Russia. He set forth a program of economic reorientation from wartime communist policy to a new economic policy.

Lenin's efforts in uniting the revolutionary forces of the world proletarian class led to the founding of the Communist International in 1919. The Communist International founded by Lenin and led by him during the initial years had a major impact in propelling the revolutionary movement of the proletarian class and of the oppressed peoples throughout the world.

The arduous life under the Czarist system, the hectic course of events both in theory and practice, and particularly the effects of the serious wounds during the attempted murder by the counterrevolutionaries harmed Lenin's health. Following a period of serious illness, Lenin breathed his last breath at Gorki near Moscow at 1850 hours on 21 January 1924. More than six years after the success of the Russian October Revolution, Lenin, the great master of the Russian Revolution and of world revolution passed away at the age of 54.

Lenin's career was extremely great. His theory was like a dazzling sun lighting the path for the working class and working people of all countries. Lenin creatively developed Marxism in the new historic conditions.

In his work, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, published in 1916, Lenin profoundly analyzed imperialism, i.e., monopolistic capitalism, the new stage of capitalism. He pointed out the uneven law of development of capitalism during the period of imperialism. He demonstrated



that imperialism is decadent and dying capitalism, the eve of socialism. In his works, Concerning the Slogan of the European Union, and Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution, Lenin concluded that socialism is capable of winning first in a single country and that socialism is not capable of winning simultaneously in all countries or in a majority of the capitalist countries. Lenin formulated a complete theory on imperialism and on the strategy and strategem of proletarian revolution in general and of the proletarian dictatorship in particular during the period of imperialism.

Adapting Marxism to new historical conditions, Lenin brought forth a new concept about the relationship between bourgeois revolution and socialist revolution. In his work, Two Tactics for Social Democracy in A Democratic Revolution, Lenin outlined the revolutionary strategem of the communist party, affirmed the leadership rights of the proletarian class in bourgeois democratic revolution, and set forth a program for transforming bourgeois democratic revolution into socialist revolution. Lenin brought forth a new theory on socialist revolution, pointing out that socialist revolution cannot be carried out by the proletarian class on its own against the entire bourgeois class, that socialist revolution must be carried out through a broad alliance encompassing the proletarian class, farmers and workers, and semi-proletarian and other worker strata under the leadership of the proletarian class.

In his work, The State and Revolution, Lenin developed the theory of Marx and Engels on proletarian dictatorship and pointed out the necessity of smashing the bourgeois state apparatus. He discovered that the soviet government was the first state form of the victorious proletarian dictatorship. He explained that the formula of proletarian dictatorship is related to the question of the alliance of the proletarian class by defining proletarian dictatorship as a special form of class alliance of the proletarian class, the leadership class, with the farmers and other exploited masses. He emphasized that in a society which is divided into classes, proletarian dictatorship is the highest model of democracy, the form of proletarian democracy representing the interest of the majority (the exploited people), contrary to bourgeois democracy which represents the interests of the minority (the exploiters).

Lenin was the first person to lead the task of building a new society in accordance with the principles of scientific socialism, transforming the beautiful ideal of Marxism into living reality. Lenin illuminated the forms and methods for successfully building socialism in a proletarian dictatorial state encircled by capitalistic countries. In his work, The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government published in 1918, Lenin outlined the path for socialist construction. In his work, Economics and Politics During the Period of Proletarian Dictatorship published in 1919, Lenin cast light on problems during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. In his article, Great Innovations published in 1919, Lenin identified the key features of socialism and communism, brought to the surface a new attitude

toward labor and socialist ownership, and perceived the buds of the "first practical steps of communism." In numerous speeches, Lenin outlined the foreign and domestic policies of the proletarian dictatorial state. In his articles, "Pages from the Diary," "Discussions About the System of Co-operation," "Concerning Our Country's Revolution," "How To Reorganize the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate," and "Better Few But Good," Lenin reviewed the first few years of the young soviet state, affirmed that the soviet state had all of the essentials for building socialism completely, and outlined a scientifically-based program for socialist construction that included socialist industrialization of the country, socialist reform of agriculture, and the cultural revolution.

Lenin developed further, on the basis of the new struggle conditions of the proletarian class during the period of imperialism, the theory of Marx and Engels on developing the party of the proletarian class. In his works, What Is To Be Done? and One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward, Lenin demolished economism and the worship of spontaneity, unmasked opportunism world-wide, and identified the organizational principles of the new-styled party of the proletarian class. The book, The Leftist Immaturity in the Communist Movement, is an outstanding work concerning the strategy and strategem of the communist party. In all of his works, Lenin made it clear that the party is the highest organizational form of the proletarian class as compared to the other organizations (such as the Labor Union, the cooperative, and the state apparatus) which the proletarian class has the task of reconciling and leading. He pointed out in this work that the proletarian dictatorship can only be realized under the leadership of the party, that party leadership over the proletarian dictatorial state is absolute, that the party cannot divide its leadership right with other parties, and that the party must have iron discipline in order to assure unanimity of will and action within the party -- that the party cannot, without iron discipline, carry out the task of the proletarian dictatorship in crushing the exploiters and reforming class society into socialism.

Developing Marxism in every way in light of the new historical conditions, Lenin brought Marxism into a new period. Leninism is Marxism during the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Marxism-Leninism is the zenith of human intelligence. It is a great theory capable of reforming society and of vigorously affecting the course of history and the lives of peoples.

## II. Lenin and Colonial Revolution.

Leninism has had a profound influence among the oppressed peoples in the colonial and vassal countries such as the Vietnamese people, primarily because of Lenin's discussions on nationalism and colonialism. Lenin enunciated a system of concepts concerning national and colonial revolution during the imperialist period. He linked the problems of nationalism and colonialism to the problem of toppling imperialism. He declared that the problems of nationalism and colonialism are parts of the

overall problem of international proletarian revolution.

In his work, The Right of Nations To Self-Determination, written in 1914, Lenin concluded with the following lines: "Peoples are completely equal. All peoples have the right of self-determination. Workers of all peoples unite. This is the national program which Marxism teaches to workers and which the experience of all the world and the experience of Russia teaches the workers."(1)

Rejecting the argument that nations only have the right to autonomy in the cultural field, Lenin declared that nations must have the right of self-determination politically: "In the program of Marxists 'the right of self-determination' in its historical-economic sense can have no other meaning except the right of self-determination politically, the right to national independence and to the emergence of an independent nation."(2)

Applying this principle to Russia, Lenin advocated liberation for those peoples oppressed by the Czar. In the "Resolution Concerning The Problem of Nationalism" written in 1917, Lenin made it clear that "It must be recognized that all peoples in Russia have the free right to stand alone and to be organized into independent nations. To deny that right and to refuse to use effective measures to assure the implementation of that right in reality means supporting the policy of aggression and annexation. The only way to assure complete solidarity among the workers of the various countries and to facilitate a genuine spirit of democratic good will among nations is for the proletarian class to recognize the right of national separation."(3)

Lenin always gave attention to the matter of uniting the working people of all nationalities in the struggle against reactionary forces. In his work, Preliminary Draft of the Problems of Nationalism and Colonialism, written for the second congress of the Communist International held in June 1920, Lenin wrote: "The foundation of the policy of the Communist International on the subjects of nationalism and colonialism is to make the proletariat and the working masses of all peoples and of all countries come close together in the common revolutionary struggle to topple the landlords and the bourgeois class. This coming-together is the only guarantee for our victory over capitalism. Without that guarantee, we cannot liquidate national oppression and inequality."(4)

Lenin resolutely struggled against national egoism and always propagandized proletarian internationalism. According to Lenin, proletarian internationalism demanded: 1. The struggle interests of the proletarian class in a country must obey the struggle interests of the proletarian class internationally; 2. Those peoples who have defeated the bourgeois class must be capable of and voluntarily agree to very great sacrifices by their own peoples for the overthrow of international capitalism."(5)

According to Lenin, revolution in the colonial and vassal countries

is a part of world proletarian revolution. Lenin wrote: "The socialist revolution will not merely be and will not mainly be a struggle of the revolutionary proletarian class in a country against the bourgeois class of that country. No, it will be a struggle of all colonies, of all countries oppressed by imperialism, and of all vassal countries against international imperialism."(6)

Lenin admonished the communists among the Oriental peoples: "You must use the bourgeois nationalism which is awakening and unavoidably awakening among the Oriental peoples. That nationalism, in its historical dimension, is legitimate. At the same time, you must mingle with the working masses and oppressed masses of each country and tell them in a way that they can comprehend that the only hope for their liberation is the victory of world revolution and that the international proletarian class is the only ally of hundreds of millions of workers and oppressed peoples of the Orient."(7)

Lenin affirmed that underdeveloped countries, after they are liberated from the yoke of imperialism, can, with assistance from the proletarian class of advanced countries, move forward to socialism without going through the period of capitalistic development. Lenin's arguments on colonialist revolution, on the close relationship between national liberation revolutions in the colonialist and vassal countries and the proletarian revolution in the big power states, on the evolution of bourgeois democratic revolution into socialist revolution, on the potential for victory of socialism in a country, and so on, developed the revolutionary positivism of the working class and people of the colonialist and vassal countries, raising the prospect for moving ahead to socialism in those countries.

Lenin devoted very much attention to the revolutionary movement in the colonialist and vassal countries, particularly in Asia. In 1913, in an article entitled, "Backward Europe and Advanced Asia," Lenin wrote: "In Asia, a powerful democratic movement is developing, spreading, and growing stronger everywhere. The bourgeois class there will surely join forces with the people to combat the reactionary powers. Hundreds of millions of people have awakened to life, to light and freedom. This world movement is generating indescribable high spirits in all of the awakened workers. They know that the only way they can move forward to collectivism is through the democratic system. All genuinely democratic people have an indescribably deep feeling for young Asia!"

"...All young Asia, the hundreds of millions of working people in Asia, have a strong ally in the proletarian class of the civilized countries. There is no force in the world which can prevent the victory of the proletarian class, the victory which will liberate the peoples of Europe as well as the peoples of Asia."(8)

In his work, The Right of Nations To Self-Determination, written by Lenin in 1914, he states: "It is no longer any surprise that a very large part of Asia, the largest part of the world, is either a colony of the 'great powers' or is extremely dependent and oppressed... We are not certain whether Asia can reach the point of establishing a system of indepen-



dent national states, similar to that of Europe, before capitalism is bankrupted. However, one thing that cannot be denied, in awakening Asia. capitalism has generated national movements everywhere and these movements have a tendency to establish national states in Asia."(9)

Lenin placed a very high value on the revolutionary movement in Asia. Lenin saw, as early as 1913, "A new source of great world gales" in Asia. In his article, "The Historical Destiny of Marxist Theory," Lenin wrote: "At a time when opportunistic elements are still eulogizing 'social peace' and eulogizing democratic systems capable of avoiding gales, a new source of great world gales is beginning to develop in Asia... We are at this moment living in the era of these gales and these gales are 'rebounding' on Europe... There is no force in the world which can restore the old feudal system in Asia or which can sweep from the face of the earth the brave democratic spirit of the peoples of Asian and half-Asian countries."(10) In his article, "The Awakening of Asia," written in 1913, Lenin stated: "The awakening of Asia and the beginning of the struggle of the advanced proletarian class of Europe for political power marks a new period in world history beginning with the 20th century."(11)

As Lenin predicted, revolutionary gales rose up with increasing power in the colonial and vassal countries, shaking international imperialism. Since World War II, the colonial system of imperialism has collapsed in large chunks. More than 50 countries in Asia and Africa have won national independence to varying degrees. Following World War I, colonial and vassal countries of imperialism accounted for 77 per cent of the total land area and 69 per cent of the total population of the world. Today, the colonies (old style) of imperialism only account for about four per cent of the total land area and one per cent of the total population of the world.

The peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America have risen up. They are not only demanding independence and democracy but also seek to move ahead to socialism. In general, the revolutions of Asian, African, and Latin American countries at the present time are national democratic revolutions. However, because the general trend during the present time is transition from capitalism to socialism and because the world socialist system plays the decisive role in determining the main course of the historical development of human society, the revolutions in the Asian, African, and Latin American countries, led by the working class and worker parties and assisted by socialist countries, are completely capable of becoming socialist revolutions and these countries can move forward to socialism directly without going through the period of capitalistic development.

In view of the attacks by the socialist revolution and by the national liberation revolution and confronted by the awakening and rising up of the oppressed peoples, the imperialists, led by the United States, have been forced to shift to a new colonialism, using the tactic of giving up and then seizing again another way. The struggle against the new colonialism is the principle feature of the struggle against imperialism in the



world. Today, workers and farmers are increasingly playing the decisive role in the national liberation movement. The national liberation movement today is a vital part of proletarian revolution and of proletarian dictatorship in the world.

During the present era, real national independence must be accompanied by socialism. The former colonies which won their national independence and which are pursuing a path of capitalistic development will ultimately fall into the new colonialist yoke of imperialist countries. Therefore, in order to preserve their national independence, the former colonies which have won their national independence must join the socialist camp and use its assistance to move directly forward on the path of non-capitalist development. Hoisting high the banner of patriotism and socialism, the working class and worker parties in the Asian, African, and Latin American countries are leading the people of their countries in a valiant struggle to win complete victory for the cause of national liberation and for bringing their states forward to socialism. The victories of revolution in Asian, African, and Latin American countries during the past years are eloquent proofs of the correctness of Lenin's ideas on nationalism and colonialism.

### III. Lenin and the Vietnamese Revolution.

Under the good influence of the Russian October Revolution and Leninism, our Vietnamese people found the path to follow to struggle for self-liberation. President Ho -- the first communist of our Vietnamese people -- assimilated Leninism and disseminated it in Vietnam. President Ho described as follows his impressions after reading Lenin's essay on nationalism and colonialism:

"Lenin's essay greatly moved me, fired me with enthusiasm, enlightened me, and aroused my confidence. I wept out of happiness. Alone in my room, I spoke loudly as if I were speaking to a crowd: 'Ill-treated and suffering compatriots, this is what we need. This is the path leading us to liberation.'" (12)

President Ho wrote: "At the outset, it was patriotism, and not communism, that caused me to believe in Lenin, in the third internationale. During the struggle, studying the Marxist-Leninist theory while engaging in concrete activities, I gradually came to the realization that socialism and communism alone can liberate from slavery the oppressed and laborers the world over." (13)

Assessing the influence of Leninism over our people, President Ho wrote: "To us -- the Vietnamese revolutionaries and people -- Leninism is not only a miraculous guidebook or a compass, but also a sun casting light on the path leading us to final victory, to socialism and communism." (14)

The emergence of our party -- the vanguard body of the working class -- on 3 February 1930 marked a turning point in the history of our Vietnamese people's struggle for self-liberation. Applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country, our party set forth a correct line for the Vietnam revolution: It is the line of advancing from the people's national democratic revolution to the socialist revolution in Vietnam.

Our party noted that in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, under the condition that socialist revolution has triumphed in the Soviet Union, the Vietnam revolution is a part of the world revolution. Vietnam was a colonial and semi-feudal country. The Vietnam revolution had to go through two phases. The first phase was the people's national democratic revolution and the second was the socialist revolution. These two revolutions were closely related to each other. The first revolution paved the way for the second revolution, and the second revolution strengthened and developed the successes of the first revolution, thus enabling the country to move steadfastly toward socialism.

Our party has clearly pointed out that in its first phase the Vietnam revolution had two main tasks: anti-imperialist and antifeudalist tasks. These two tasks were closely connected with each other. To drive out the imperialists it was necessary to overthrow the feudalists, and, conversely, to overthrow the feudalists it was necessary to drive out the imperialists. Imperialism and the feudal landlord class were the two main objectives of the revolution. But imperialism was the most important one. The Vietnam revolution's force includes the workers' class, peasants, and other small bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie, but the main force of the revolution is the workers and peasants' class. The class leading the revolution is the workers' class.

Our party has upheld the national democratic banner and correctly solved the peasant problem, which is the main content of the national problem, and the rice paddy problem which is the basic content of the democratic revolution. With its two slogans "National independence" and "Land to tillers," the party's platform has gathered the large majority of national and democratic forces into the united national front based on the worker-peasant alliance and headed by the workers' class.

Thanks to our party's correct leadership, the Vietnam revolution has gained victories, one after another.

In 1945, the August revolution came to a successful close, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was born. This was an historic victory of the Vietnamese people, and at the same time the initial victory of Marxism-Leninism in a colonized country in Southeast Asia.

In 1954, the resistance against the French colonialists became victorious. This was the first time in history that a people of a backward

agricultural and colonized country defeated an imperialist country having great economic and military potential, and a modern regular armed force which was well equipped and had great experience in aggressive war. This was a glorious victory of the Vietnamese people and at the same time a common victory of the oppressed peoples, and the peace-loving and progressive forces worldwide. This was also a glorious victory of Marxism-Leninism in our country.

At present, our people are carrying on a great resistance against the U.S. imperialists, the international gendarmes, and are gaining ever greater victories. In the south, the southern compatriots and combatants, under NFLSV leadership, are heroically struggling and directing deadly blows at the U.S.-puppet clique. The general offensive and uprisings since early 1968 have sunk the U.S. imperialists more deeply into a passive strategic defensive position and made the puppet army and administration weaker and weaker. In North Vietnam, under the leadership of the party led by President Ho, our troops and people have defeated the war of destruction by the air and naval forces of the U.S. aggressors and scored great achievements in socialist construction, resolutely fulfilling their duty to the kith-and-kin South Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people in North and South Vietnam are determined to fight to the end to bring the national liberation undertaking to complete success.

For nearly 15 years now, the northern part of our country has been embarked upon the socialist revolutionary stage. From a backward agricultural country with small production as its mainstay, the northern part of our country has advanced directly to socialism without passing through the capitalist development stage. The northern working class and laborers have recorded great successes in socialist reform vis-a-vis agriculture, handicraft, capitalist trade and industry, and small trade. They have established socialist production relations, eliminated the system of man exploiting man, built socialist material and technical bases, and developed agriculture, industry, communications and transportation education, health, and other branches, thereby improving, step by step, the people's material and cultural living standards. With the people's democratic administration carrying out the historic duty of proletarian dictatorship, the socialist revolution in North Vietnam is a process of combined development of three revolutions: revolution of production relations, technical revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution.

Developing their collective ownership spirit and their love for the country and socialism, the northern people are resolved to make great efforts in production and combat, to build and protect the north, and to fulfill with all their might their obligation to the bloodsealed south.

The Vietnamese people are resolved to fulfill the two present strategic tasks -- build socialism in the north and struggle to liberate the south from the yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and advance toward peacefully reunifying the country.

The evolutions of the Vietnamese revolution over 40 years have proven that our party has been creatively applying Lenin's teachings on the oriental revolution to the practical circumstances of our country. In 1919, in his report read at the all-Russia congress of the Oriental people's communist organizations, Lenin told the oriental communist combatants: "You comrades are carrying out a duty which communists worldwide previously did not have. On the basis of the general communist theory and practice, you must know how to adapt yourselves to the special conditions that are nonexistent in European countries and to study and apply the general communist theory and practice to countries where peasants are the basic masses and the struggles are not directed against capitalism, but against the vestiges of the Middle Ages." (15)

Closely following Lenin's teachings, our party has developed the spirit of independence, self-reliance, and inventiveness and set forth correct revolutionary lines and methods in order to struggle to achieve victories as great as today.

After scientifically analyzing the concrete conditions of our country, our party has expressed the view that the Vietnam revolution has two main forces: the working class, which is not only the leading force, but also a main force of the revolution; and the peasantry which forms also a main force of the revolution under the working class' leadership. Our party is of the opinion that to achieve victory, the Vietnam revolution must concurrently wage two struggles: political and military. Our party is of the opinion that the Vietnam revolution has three strategic areas: the mountain areas, the rural and delta areas, and the urban areas. Each area has its own revolutionary struggle-formula. Keeping a firm hold on the thoroughly revolutionary character of Marxism-Leninism and the traditions of staunchness and unsubmissiveness of our people, our party has developed its revolutionary offensive spirit and revolutionary heroism in order to lead our people in struggling heroically and perseveringly, driving back the enemy step by step, overthrowing the enemy by large chunks, achieving victory after victory, and advancing toward achieving complete victory.

The Vietnam revolution, under the 40-year long leadership of our party, has accumulated many precious experiences. Following are a number of main experiences:

1. Making the party strong and stable so that it can lead the revolution. Our party is an association between Marxism-Leninism and the Vietnamese workers movement and patriotic movement. It is the vanguard body of our working class. Sticking fast to the working class stand, firmly holding the ideological weapons which is Marxism-Leninism, holding high the national banner, our party has led the Vietnam revolution in winning victory after victory. Without our party's leadership, the revolution could not succeed. Building the party ideologically and organizationally and constantly heightening the party's class and vanguard character were the most important tasks insuring the revolution's success.

2. Making the worker-peasant alliance strong and stable. Peasants represented 90 percent of our population. They formed a large revolutionary force in our country. Only through building the worker-peasant alliance was it possible to enforce the leadership of the working class and the party and to insure the revolution's success. To mobilize the great force of peasants to struggle against imperialism and feudalism, it was necessary to have correct land policies and to enforce the "Land to the tillers" slogan. Peasants formed a large force not only in the people's national democratic revolution, but also in the socialist revolution. Only through strengthening and consolidating the worker-peasant alliance was it possible to achieve the socialist transformation of agriculture, in particular, and of the entire economy, in general, and successfully construct socialism.

3. Building a unified national front. In addition to the working class and the peasantry, which form the two main-force armies of the revolution, the petty bourgeoisie in our country represent an important, indispensable revolutionary force. The national bourgeoisie also represents a revolutionary force in the people's democratic national revolution. Only by bringing various classes of the people together in a broad front can an adequate strength be acquired to defeat imperialism and feudalism. The unified national front must be based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the working class.

4. Building the people's armed forces. When the revolution has developed to a certain level and when conditions prevail, we must arm the masses, stage partial uprisings, establish the revolutionary administration in each locality, build the people's armed forces, wage armed struggle coordinated with political struggle, and move toward launching general offensives and staging general uprisings aimed at regaining the control right throughout the country.

5. Building the people's democratic state. Destroying the colonialist and feudal state apparatus and establishing the people's democratic state constitute the basic problems in the Vietnamese revolution. The birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam state following the August 1945 revolution was a result of the protracted, hard, and courageous struggle of the Vietnamese people under our party's leadership. It is a democratic state, the first worker-peasant state in the history of our people. It is the state of the people, by the people, and for the people, which has practiced democracy among the people and dictatorship toward the people's enemy. It is an effective tool used by our working class and people, under party leadership, to fight against the imperialists and feudalists and fulfill the task of carrying out the democratic national revolution, protecting national independence, exercising the people's democratic rights, eliminating every form of feudalist exploitation, implementing the slogan "Land to the tillers," and so forth.

In 1954, the northern part of our country entered the path of socialist revolution. The northern people's democratic state has carried out the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, carrying out socialist



reforms and construction. Today, our people's democratic state represents an effective tool used by our working class and people to fight the Americans for national salvation, build socialism in the north, liberate the south, and proceed toward achieving peaceful reunification of the country. Developing the masses' collective mastership right, opposing bureaucracy, and strenuously building the people's democratic state constitute safe guarantees for the victory of our revolutionary struggle.

6. Building international solidarity. The Vietnamese revolution is part of the world revolution. To successfully carry out their revolution, the Vietnamese people have relied mainly on their own strength while attaching great importance to the support and assistance of the revolutionary forces in other countries. International solidarity has been a factor of success for the Vietnamese revolution. The assistance of the working classes and laborers in the world, primarily of the Soviet and Chinese peoples, has made an important contribution to the success of the Vietnamese revolution. Our party has always educated party members and the masses in proletarian internationalism, resolutely struggling against bourgeois nationalism and big-country or small-country chauvinism. Our party has advocated contributing toward building an international solidarity bloc in conformity with Lenin's great slogan "Proletarians in all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!" Our party has advocated forming a world people's front opposing the U.S. imperialist aggressors, for independence and peace. Our party has also advocated restoring and strengthening the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist and worker movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in order to strengthen the forces opposing international imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism.

These are the main lessons and, at the same time, the factors of success for the Vietnamese revolution.

In 1924, immediately after Lenin had died, President Ho wrote an article, published in the Soviet paper Pravda, expressing the colonial peoples' respect and affection for Lenin. In his article entitled "Lenin and the Colonial People," published in the 27 January 1924 issue of Pravda, President Ho said: "The colonial people have realized that Lenin is the most courageous person of the Russian people who succeeded in toppling the exploiting owners. The colonial peoples regard Lenin as their liberator. They have also realized that this great leader, after liberating the people of his own country, also wanted to liberate other peoples. He had appealed to white peoples to help yellow- and black-skinned people in freeing themselves from the yoke of oppression of all the cliques, the governors general, the delegates, and so forth. To achieve this objective, Lenin had set forth a concrete platform. While alive, he was our father, teacher, and adviser. Today he represents a bright star illuminating the path leading us toward social revolution. Eternal Lenin will live forever in our undertaking." (16)

Our party and people highly value Lenin's role in their revolutionary struggle and are boundlessly grateful to him. Therefore, each year, we commemorate Lenin's birthday. The best way to commemorate Lenin's birthday is to act in conformity with his teachings and strive to fulfill the unaccomplished tasks.

Our people's anti-U.S. national salvation struggle is in a new period of development. Despite their serious defeats, the U.S. imperialists have stubbornly continued their war of aggression, committing many new crimes against our southern compatriots, continuing to encroach upon DRV sovereignty and security, conducting reconnaissance and provocative flights over the north, and bombing and strafing a number of areas in the north. Our armed forces and people must heighten their vigilance, persist in and step up their anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, and devote all their strength to insuring that both the frontline and the rear base become more powerful in order to win complete victory.

Under the leadership of the party and President Ho, let us develop revolutionary heroism, strenuously emulate in insuring that one person works as much as two, step up production, fulfill the 1969 state plan, stand ready to fight self-denyingly, score great achievements in all fields, and adequately prepare for commemorating Lenin's 100th birthday next year.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Lenin: "Concerning the Right of National Self-Determination," Selected Works, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume II, page 361.
2. Ibid., p 302.
3. Lenin: "Resolution on the Subject of Nationalism," Selected Works, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume III, p 55.
4. Lenin: "Preliminary Draft on the Subjects of Nationalism and Colonialism," Selected Works, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume IV, p 428.
5. Lenin: Ibid., p 430.
6. Lenin: "Report at the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Party Organizations of Oriental Peoples," Complete Works, French-language edition, Paris Social and Moscow Progressive Publishing Houses, Volume XXX, pp 157-158.
7. Lenin: Ibid., p 161.

8. Lenin: "Backward Europe and Advanced Asia," Selected Works, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume II, pp 294-295.
9. Lenin: "Concerning the Right of National Self-Determination," OP cit., p 301.
10. Lenin: "The Historic Destiny of Marxist Theory," Selected Works, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume I, p 69.
11. Lenin: "The Awakening of Asia," Complete Works, French-language edition, Paris Social and Moscow Progressive Publishing Houses, Volume XIX, p 79.
12. Ho Chi Minh: "The Road to Leninism," Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 792.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Lenin: "Report Read at the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organizations of the Oriental Peoples," Complete Works, French-language edition, Paris Social and Moscow Progressive Publishing Houses, Volume XXX, p 159.
16. Ho Chi Minh: Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, pp 35-36.

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## MASSES ROLE IN PARTY DEVELOPMENT ANALYZED

[Article by Le Duc Binh: "Rely on the Masses and Mobilize Them to Take Part in Developing the Party"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1969, pp 43-51, 65]

### A Basic Direction on Party Development

Our Party has gained many valuable experiences in the direction Party development should take through the diversified practicalities in Party development work. One of these directions is to rely on the masses and mobilize them to take part in developing the Party. This direction has proven its strength and vitality by undergoing tests in reality, especially during the past several years. It has made an important contribution to improving the effect and quality of Party development.

The direction for relying on the masses and mobilizing them to take part in developing the Party stems from our Party's mass line. It is the vivid manifestation of the Party's mass line in Party development.

Our Party is the vanguard of the worker class. The Party represents the fundamental interests of the worker class, laborers, and people. All of the Party's work is aimed toward serving the people. Our Party has always asserted that the revolution is the task of the masses. The Party must rely on the masses' force and intelligence. It must develop the awareness, positive character, and creative capabilities of the masses. Arising from these viewpoints, the Party advocates relying on the masses and mobilizing them to take part in work, generally speaking, as well as in Party development, in particular.

Lenin himself said: "In order not to become the party of the masses in word only, we must attract the masses in ever-increasing numbers to take part in all of the Party's work."<sup>1</sup> Realities have proven that once the masses are concerned with the Party's affairs and regard them as their very own, the Party's task will surely progress rapidly and vigorously. The Party's lines and policies are formulated on the basis of concentrating the ideas and experiences of the masses. Errors and shortcomings will be avoided by putting

them to the test among the masses. If we know how to rely on the masses in each unit and attentively listen to their opinions, party organizations can precisely outline their policies and guidelines in conjunction with measures and plans for carrying them out. The masses' opinions are also very diversified and correct in evaluating the movement and reviewing the strengths and weaknesses in the leadership of party organizations and each cadre and party member.

The masses fall into many categories. Some are progressive, some are average, and some are laggardly. The mobilization of the masses by the Party cannot be confined to only one category, but must encompass all strata of masses. The Party must be concerned with strengthening its relationship with all of the masses, not just the progressive ones. Naturally, the Party must have a firm picture of the number of progressive masses. It must rely on them and use them as the hard core for carrying out the Party's lines and policies and for attracting and uniting the average and laggardly masses. But because the number of progressive masses usually accounts for a relatively small percentage, generally speaking, the Party will not properly reflect the mood, standards, and aspirations of most of the masses if it relies on the opinions, standards, and aspirations of this former group. The Party would also easily make subjective mistakes when evaluating situations or proposing programs and policies. Consequently, the Party must always keep in close touch with and attentively listen to the opinions of the majority.

Attentively listening to the opinions of the masses and mobilizing them to take part in developing the Party do not mean that the Party's leadership role is slackened or its class character and vanguard character are dimmed or diminished. The Party's mass line is not a bit like tail-ism. The Party's task with regard to the masses' ideas is to select and analyze and, from that, draw correct conclusions and policies.

The Party, on the one hand, is the leader of the masses in the relationship between the Party and masses. On the other hand, the Party places itself under the masses' supervision and inspection. Both of these aspects must be satisfactorily resolved in this relationship. The Party, as the leader of the masses, is responsible for working out lines and directions and for educating, mobilizing, and organizing the masses to act. On the other hand, the Party, as the loyal servant of the masses, must be responsible to the masses and must voluntarily undergo inspection and accept criticism from the masses with respect to the leadership of the Party as well as the activities of each party organization, each cadre, and each party member. The masses' inspection of and supervision over the Party had increasingly important significance when the proletariat party was in power. Lenin said: "The Party must lead, supervise, and inspect all tasks. On the other hand, the communist party must undergo inspection from masses outside the Party."<sup>2</sup> In circumstances where the Party leads the government, cadre and party members have great responsibilities but also great authority. All of their work has a direct effect, whether good or bad, on the lives of the masses. The masses cannot but be profoundly concerned with the activities of party organizations and the personality and quality of each party member and cadre.



They earnestly desire to help our cadre and party members progress. For its part, the Party also should attract the masses to take part in inspecting the work of the Party, each cadre, and each party member with a view toward firmly maintaining the mass character and vanguard character of the Party, firmly maintaining the revolutionary quality of party members, and preventing party members from becoming estranged from the masses, degenerating, or undergoing a change in nature. This should also be done, at the same time, with a view toward preventing opportunist elements from seeking a way to infiltrate the Party in an attempt to seek fame, wealth, and position. Thus, the masses' inspection and supervision of cadre and party members are very essential for strengthening the Party and educating and training party members. At the same time, this is also the masses' wish.

In Party development, using the direction of relying on the masses and mobilizing them to take part in developing the Party has a positive and far-reaching effect in many aspects.

First, the masses have helped the Party correctly evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of each party organization, each cadre, and each party member. They have also contributed to strengthening the management of cadre and party members. Naturally, criticism and self-criticism have existed in the grass-roots party organizations for a long time. But thanks to coordinating this with the masses' opinion, the observations and evaluations of party chapters are more correct and comprehensive. In reality, circumstances exist in which criticism and observations in party chapters and party teams are subjective, one-sided, and blended together to form a private view. There are even circumstances in which good party members are erroneously regarded as deficient. Or, conversely, these party chapters and party teams have promptly rectified their incorrect observations thanks to motivating the masses to contribute ideas toward developing the Party.

Second, the masses have made an important contribution to educating and training cadre and party members. All of the cadre's and party members' strong points and efforts are confirmed and remembered by the masses. The confidence of the masses is the great source of encouragement for cadre and party members. On the other hand, the masses' criticism constitutes valuable assistance to party members and cadre who have shortcomings.

Third, the selection of people for admittance into the Party and the assignment and promotion of cadre are more correct as a result of relying on the masses' opinion. Through realities in many places, the masses have shown themselves to be very concerned with Party development and cadre assignments because they understand that this has a bearing on their vital interests. The impartial and proper observations of the masses have helped organization in many grass-roots party organizations to be carried out more correctly.

Fourth, carrying out the aforementioned direction in Party development also has the positive effect of contributing to strengthening relationships between the Party and masses. Through mobilizing the masses to take part in developing the Party, many grass-roots party organizations and many cadre

and party members more and more thoroughly understand the role of the masses and have more and more confidence in their revolutionary capabilities. The masses, for their part, have more confidence and love for party chapters and party members. While taking part in developing the Party, the masses simultaneously educate themselves and improve their revolutionary zeal. Consequently, they have more and more enthusiasm in production and combat.

Through the masses' ideas for developing the Party, not only grass-roots levels but higher level leadership organs as well can draw many conclusions aimed toward improving their leadership and guidance.

The theory behind and practice in developing our Party provides a sufficient basis for us to affirm the significance of the direction, rely on the masses and mobilize them to take part in developing the Party.

#### New Developments in Mobilizing the Masses to Take Part in Developing the Party

Carrying out the direction of relying on the masses and mobilizing them to take part in developing the Party has gone through a superficial to profound and simple to diversified developmental process.

In actuality, we previously relied on the masses to develop the Party, under one form or another. Party organizations, generally speaking, gather ideas from the masses each time they need to review the background or observe the strengths and weaknesses of cadre and party members. Party chapters rely on the executive committees of Lao Dong Youth group chapters to select and nominate people for the Party. In congresses of cooperative members and congresses of workers and officials, we listen attentively to the opinions and observations of the masses on the activities of cadre and party members. In campaigns to improve the management of agricultural cooperatives, the "three for, three against" campaign, etc., many places have arranged for the masses to criticize the leadership of party organizations. For a long time the army has regularly conducted evaluations of achievements, cadre, command, discipline, etc., after each battle. Through this, the masses have contributed to the development of the Party.

In recent years, implementing the direction, relying on the masses and mobilizing them to take part in the development of the Party, has taken a new step in development with richer forms and more profound content than before. The forms which many localities are carrying out are:

1. Arrange for the masses to criticize party chapters and party members. Party chapters report the review of their leadership to a congress of representatives of the masses biannually after each production season. They also request the masses to criticize past leadership and contribute ideas on forthcoming work programs. Each party member criticizes himself before the production unit and labor team and, after that, the masses give their opinions and observations. In many places, the "four good" struggle program of party chapters and party members has also been submitted to the masses for their ideas.

2. The masses nominate good people for admittance into the Party. Through realities in the production and combat movement, many active and outstanding elements have appeared among the masses. In the daily activities of mass organizations such as youth group chapters, militia units, etc., or in conferences of "two skilled" cooperative members, party chapters disseminate the standards for party members and request the masses to observe and nominate for them the people who could and should be admitted into the Party. These nomination phases are usually conducted during reviews of work, reports and evaluations of achievements, selection of advanced laborers and emulation warriors, etc. Based on the recommendations of the masses, the party chapters consider, review, and make the decision on the basis of standards and procedures for admitting people into the Party which have been stipulated in the Party statutes.

3. The masses give their opinions to the Party on the selection of people to participate in grass-roots chapter committees and party committees. A number of places have arranged for the masses to contribute ideas on drafting the resolutions of grass-roots party chapter congresses and grass-roots party organization conferences (except for the part dealing with internal Party affairs) before these conferences are held. They have also arranged for the masses to contribute ideas on the selection of who will participate in chapter committees and party committees. These ideas are assembled and reported to the congresses. They are considered to be one of the basis of reference for the congresses when holding discussions, issuing resolutions, and voting.

The use of these forms has increased, compared with before, the role of the masses in Party development. The masses do not simply participate in ideas indirectly. They have actively and directly participated in ideas for developing party chapters and party members. The masses' participation in ideas is not only limited to a number of aspects, but has expanded to many aspects of Party development. At the same time, it has been established as a periodic system and has become a permanent procedure.

These new forms do not exist of course by accident. They grew and were produced in definite conditions.

Our Party has been the only leader of our country's revolution since the day it came into being. The Party holds very great prestige among the masses. Educated and led by the Party and trained in long-term revolutionary struggle, our people have high revolutionary spirit, firm political and ideological awareness, and absolute confidence in and solidarity with the Party. They regard the Party's destiny as their own. After basically completing socialist reform in the non-socialized parts of the economy (primarily reform of the ownership system with regard to means of production), the exploitation classes were abolished and, following the start in the development of the task of building socialism, the political unanimity and spirit within our people in North Vietnam increasingly strengthened. These conditions make it possible for our Party to carry out the campaign of mass participation in Party development with high forms and with no fear that an enemy will take advantage of it or that excessive deviation will occur.



The positive results that have been achieved through the criticism of party chapters and party members, the nomination of people for admittance into the Party, etc., by the masses has proven this.

There are also a number of hesitant comrades who feel that the application of such forms and measures for mobilizing the masses to take part in the development of the Party are against the Party's principles. A number of bad or laggardly elements might take advantage of the opportunity to attack and criticize the cadre and party members, causing a tense, confused situation.

Mobilizing the masses to take part in developing the Party is in no way contrary to the Party's principles. On the contrary, it has important significance in Party development. The Party statutes stipulate: "The Party encourages and welcomes the masses' criticism of the Party's work, of cadre, and of party members and sincerely accepts correct criticisms from the masses."<sup>3</sup> The report changing the Party statutes at the Third Party Congress also emphasized that there "must be appropriate forms and measures for attracting masses outside the Party to participate in ideas and criticize the work of the Party and party members."<sup>4</sup>

President Ho instructed us: "The people know which cadres are good, which cadres are bad, which cadres have made mistakes but have corrected them, and who has done something good or something wrong.

Thus, let the people criticize cadres and promote cadres on the basis of their opinions. Don't let bias or prejudice occur. Be rational and fair. At the same time, the cadres and people will progress together as a result of the people's hard work. The cadres and people will be more tightly united as a result.

Have confidence in the people. Bring all matters to the people for discussion and solution. If we have shortcomings, then honestly admit them in front of the people. Let the people recommend changes to any resolution which they feel is unsuitable. Rely on the people's opinion to correct our cadre and organization."

Summarizing the past experiences in the localities' development of the Party, comrade Le Duan pointed out that "letting the masses have the right to take part in developing the Party and to criticize and supervise the work of the Party, cadre, and party members is not only consistent with their legitimate aspirations, but is also a measure that binds the Party and masses even more closely and keeps cadre and party members from entering the path of corruption."<sup>5</sup>

There is no reason whatsoever to worry about the mobilization of the masses to take part in developing the Party leading to a situation in which bad elements take advantage of the opportunity to attack and criticize party chapters, cadre, and party members. This is because our party chapters, cadre, and party members are basically good and because the masses trust and

support them. Naturally, a small number of laggardly people still exist in the masses. However, since most of the masses have a good level of political and ideological awareness and since our cadre and party members sincerely criticize themselves with the idea in mind of serving the interests of the masses, the masses can be persuaded and educated. Realities in many places have shown that when party members criticize themselves in front of the masses, laggardly people are educated, undergo distinct changes, and progress. Bad elements also exist in the masses. But since the overwhelming majority of the masses believe in and are wholeheartedly united around the Party, they will protest if a bad element in some place decides to take advantage of the opportunity to attack and criticize the Party organization and resist the Party's leadership. The bad element will be isolated and it will not be able to cause any noteworthy obstacles.

Realities in Party development over the past several years has clearly shown that mobilizing the masses to take part in developing the Party with the foregoing forms does not reduce, but instead only strengthens the relationship between the Party and masses. It does not weaken, but instead only makes the Party organization stronger.

**To Even More Satisfactorily Carry Out the Mobilization of the Masses to Take Part in Developing the Party**

A number of experiences can be initially gained from realities in mobilizing the masses to take part in developing the Party in many localities:

First, there must be a firm mass viewpoint, real confidence in the masses, and the development of democracy vis-a-vis the masses.

The direction, rely on the masses and mobilize them to take part in developing the Party, stems from the Party's very profound viewpoint on the masses. Consequently, in order to thoroughly understand and put this direction to correct use, we should educate cadres and party members about the Party's mass viewpoint. We should make all comrades really believe in the revolutionary spirit of the masses, in their intelligence and ability to distinguish right from wrong, and in their deep feelings and sense of obligation. At the same time, we should improve the spirit of serving the people, of putting the interests of the the people above individual interests, and of voluntarily accepting their inspection and criticism. A number of places have had experience in arranging for party chapters to analyze and discuss the masses' situation in units and localities. They have confirmed the revolutionary spirit of the masses from the vivid realities of units and localities. After each phase of criticism by the masses, party chapters and party members immediately use the masses' sincere attitude and high political awareness to strengthen their own confidence in the masses.

The masses boldly and enthusiastically take part in developing the Party in those places where party chapters and party members really develop democracy vis-a-vis the masses and encourage and sincerely accept the masses' criticism. At the same time, they also develop their positive revolutionary



character in production and combat.

The mobilization of the masses to take part in developing the Party is done as a formality and in accordance with rules in a number of places. Positive results have not been achieved here usually because cadres and party members do not really trust and rely on the masses, limit democracy vis-a-vis the masses, and even in some circumstances suppress people who have frankly criticized them. Only by sternly criticizing the cadre's and party members' erroneous thinking and attitude toward the masses can we broaden and improve the quality of the campaign for masses to take part in developing the Party.

Naturally, improving the mass viewpoint does not mean to deny the Party's leadership of the masses. On the contrary, in order for the campaign for masses to take part in developing the Party to have good results, Party organizations should strengthen the education and leadership of the masses. Party organizations should be concerned with developing the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. They should train the masses in the Party's lines and policies. They should educate the masses so that they have a firm grasp of the standards for party members and cadre. By doing this, the masses can increasingly take part in broadly developing the Party with high quality. We should give instructions in the most important and urgent matters so that the masses concentrate their thoughts and contribute their ideas. Party chapters should compile, analyze, select, and draw correct conclusions on the basis of the ideas contributed by the masses.

Trade union, youth, women, etc., organizations are the thread connecting the Party to the masses. They have an important role in organizing and mobilizing the masses to take part in developing the Party. Party committee echelons should streamline and develop the role of mass organizations. They should rely on these organizations to collect ideas from the masses on the Party, for selecting people for admittance into the Party, etc.

Second, mobilizing the masses to take part in developing the Party must be closely tied to carrying out the Party's political task. It must step up the completion of work in the localities and in units.

The objective of Party development is to ensure the successful implementation of the Party's political tasks. Mobilizing the masses to take part in developing the Party must thus revolve around the Party's political tasks and be directed toward the completion of these tasks. One of the important basis for evaluating the quality and effect of mobilizing the masses to take part in developing the Party is in how it has contributed toward accelerating the completion of political tasks, solving production and combat problems, and organizing the daily life of localities and units. If it is estranged from the Party's political tasks, generally speaking, and the specific production and combat tasks of the localities, in particular, the mobilization of the masses to take part in developing the Party will become disoriented and will have no noteworthy effect. On the other hand, only by orienting it toward the implementation of the Party's political tasks can the campaign for the masses to take part in developing the Party be rich in content. Only by so

doing can it have the capacity to vigorously mobilize the masses. Otherwise, this work will be poor and dull, and the masses will not enthusiastically participate.

Consequently, the best method -- as many localities have done -- is to line the masses' criticism of party chapters and party members during reviews of a production season, reviews of a phase of work, etc., to reviews and discussions on stepping up the implementation of the localities' and units' political tasks. Depending on the specific situation of each locale, grass-roots party committees or party chapters should have reports reviewing their past leadership, citing the main problems in production, combat, and life, and guiding the masses to participate in the analysis and solution of these urgent problems. As a result, the thoughts and ideas contributed by the masses are accumulated and concentrated. There are main points and no scattered thoughts and ideas. This is aimed toward effectively solving the problems which have arisen. Naturally, this does not mean to restrict or limit the ideas contributed by the masses. We should mobilize the positive spirit of the masses on the basis of democratic discussions and ideas contributed by the masses. We should arrange for the masses to become involved in specific acts and in accelerating the implementation of political tasks in the localities.

With regard to the criticism of cadres and party members, we should also call for the masses to be oriented toward the tasks of party members stipulated in the Party statutes and based on the functions of each cadre and party member and on the implementation of the Party's political task in the localities.

The selection and nomination of good people by the masses for the party chapters to review and admit into the Party can only be carried out through production, combat, policy execution, etc., movements in the localities. Good quality can only be guaranteed on the basis of the achievements reported and evaluated by the masses. If the movement is going slow and the political tasks of the Party in the localities are not being carried out satisfactorily, then we cannot request the masses to nominate many people to join the Party. To do so could possibly give rise to deviation.

Third, we must integrate the criticism of the masses with the self-criticism of party chapters and party members. Criticism must go hand in hand with correction.

The masses' criticism has an important effect on improving the leadership of party chapters. It develops the strengths and corrects the shortcomings of cadre and party members. However, it cannot replace the self-criticism of party chapters and party members. We should overcome a wrong tendency -- wanting to use the masses' criticism to pressure the party chapters and party members while neglecting the education and development of their sense of awareness and neglecting the implementation of self-criticism within the Party.

Self-criticism must always be placed first. Only with strict and sincere self-criticism can the masses be encouraged to boldly criticize themselves and correctly accept this criticism. And whether or not party chapters and party members effectively correct their own shortcomings is ultimately

decided by their spirit of self-criticism. The masses' criticism helps and supplements self-criticism in the Party, but it cannot have the final decisive effect. Although assistance from outside is important, ultimately it must be the spirit of awareness and enthusiasm of the party chapters and party members themselves. Only then can their effect be developed. Consequently, we should satisfactorily organize self-criticism in the Party and encourage the awareness of each comrade.

Criticism must go hand in hand with correction. The shortcomings and mistakes of party chapters, cadres, and party members which the masses have criticized should be truly and quickly corrected. After criticism, the masses keep very close tabs on us to see if we truly corrected our shortcomings. If we only make empty promises to the masses without undergoing changes in real acts, the masses will be skeptical and will lack enthusiasm.

A good method that is followed in many places is for party chapters to study and compile the masses' criticisms and then select the most urgent problems, the ones the masses were most concerned about, and the ones that can be corrected immediately. With regard to these problems, party chapters should discuss specific plans then solve them completely, using real results to mobilize and encourage the masses. With regard to problems which cannot be thoroughly solved all at once, party chapters should also make plans to be carried out gradually and should publicly announce them to the masses.

Fourth, we must develop the sense of initiative and awareness of the grass-roots level in conjunction with strengthening the supervision of the higher levels.

The campaign for the masses to take part in developing the Party being carried out at the grass-roots level is primarily aimed toward the problems of the Party's grass-roots organization. Consequently, in order to do this job well, we must develop the sense of initiative and awareness of grass-roots party committees, party chapters, cadre, and party members.

Party committees and party chapters cannot do this work in a passive way. They cannot simply execute the directives from higher echelons. Only when party committees and party chapters clearly recognize the benefits from this for them can they satisfactorily carry out self-reviews before the masses and have good plans for correction, tight leadership of the cadre's and party members' thinking, etc., in this campaign.

Cadres and party members should uplift their sense of responsibility and sincerely criticize themselves and accept the criticism of the masses. Leadership cadre in the grass-roots party organizations must increasingly uplift their spirit of setting examples.

Higher level leadership organs at the grass-roots level should strengthen their supervision. They should keep tabs on and closely lead the thinking of grass-roots party organizations. Deficient party organizations may be pessimistic. They may not even want to arrange for the masses to criticize their leadership. Good party organizations are complacent initially, but

they may become pessimistic and negative after the masses criticize them. Therefore, leadership cannot be slackened for deficient places or even for good places. Many difficulties and obstacles are frequently encountered particularly in deficient places. Higher echelons should provide concrete and direct assistance.

The higher echelons at the grass-roots level should supervise each grass-roots party organization in the problems that should be reviewed. They should also request that the masses discuss and contribute ideas that are tailored to the special characteristics of the situation in each place.

In conjunction with leading thinking, higher level organs of the grass-roots party organization should have tight organizational measures. They should establish clear systems on self-criticism in front of the masses, on using the ideas of masses before approving the admittance of people into the Party, etc. They should thoroughly inspect the implementation of these stipulations.

There are many matters in the masses' criticisms which are related to the policies, plans, and supervisory style of sectors and higher echelons. Consequently, higher level leadership organs should follow closely and compile the ideas and criticisms of the masses to supervise grass-roots levels in solving the problems at their level. At the same time, they must actively correct the shortcomings which relate to their own level. Only by so doing can we help the campaign for masses to take part in developing the Party obtain good results.

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Relying on the masses and mobilizing them to take part in developing the Party is a great direction for Party development. The implementation of this direction in the past few years has brought many important results. Through this, we have accumulated many rich and practical experiences which are increasingly illuminating the far-reaching significance of this direction vis-a-vis Party development and especially in conditions where the Party leads the government. We will surely make even more progress in Party development by thoroughly and profoundly understanding this direction.

#### Footnotes

1. Lenin: Complete Works, Vietnamese-language edition, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, Vol 7, p 119.
2. Lenin: Complete Works, Russian-language edition, Vol 32, p 336.
3. Congressional Documents, Vol 2, p 121 and p 55.
4. Ibid.
5. Le Duan: "Firmly Grasp the Revolutionary Socialist Line and Advance Toward Building a Firm Local Economy," Hoc Tap, No 8, August 1968.

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## TAN THANH CITED AS A MODEL MOUNTAIN COLLECTIVE

[Article by Tieu Gia Quy, Head of the Tuyen Quang Provincial Agricultural Department: "The Tan Thanh Cooperative Is Achieving the 'Three Objectives' in the Course of Struggling To Be Self-Sufficient in Grains and Developing the 'Three Strengths' in the Mountain Region"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1969, pp 52-58]

The Tan Thanh Cooperative is located in the rice region of Chiem Hoa District, Tuyen Quang Province. There are 72 Tay households and six Kinh households, or 557 people. The natural land area is 1,350 hectares, or an average of 2 hectares per capita. This includes 104 hectares of farmland (84 hectares of field and 20 hectares of hills), or a per capita average of over 5 sao [ $\sqrt{1}$  sao equals 0.1 hectare]. Previously, ricefields were frequently subjected to floods and threatening drought. Terraced hills suffered from erosion and forests were destroyed. As a result, the people of Tan Thanh lived in "golden forests" but were still in economic straits with insufficient grains to eat and a very scarce amount of money.

After the August Revolution and the democratic reforms coordinated with collectivization, production developed and life improved. But this was slow. The problem of grains had not yet been resolved. In 1964, the cooperative still had to purchase 12 metric tons of paddy from the State.

Since 1965, the cooperative has gradually resolved the problem of grains and is initially stepping up forestry, industrial crops, and livestock raising. This has been done by merging two small-sized cooperatives to form a medium-sized one, then raising it to a high level one. At the same time, it has actively carried out intensive cultivation, increased the number of crops per year, and increased yields.

By 1967, the cooperative had attained 4.3 metric tons of paddy per hectare for the entire year and three pigs (average weight of 36 kilograms per pig), two buffaloes, and 50 kilograms of fish per cultivable hectare. One laborer was in charge of 0.94 hectares of rice, secondary crops, and short-term industrial crops and 1.2 hectares of forest (reclamation and re-forestation). By 1967, the cooperative had gone from a shortage of food to

firmly resolving the problem of grains. The average amount of grain per person was 24.6 kilograms, and 52 metric tons of paddy were sold to the State. Additional forestry and livestock commodities were also obtained at the same time. Consequently, the life of the cooperative members improved (the income of 80 percent of the cooperative members was equivalent to the middle farmers of the past). Homes also have enough beds, blankets, mosquito nets, mats, tables, and thermos bottles of water. Some households even have cabinets, bicycles, radios, and so on. The cooperative's accumulation fund is increasing more and more each day.

	Unit of Measure	1965	1966	1967	1967 Compared with 1965
<b>Cultivation:</b>					
Total grain productivity (converted into paddy)	metric tons	198.5	244.8	327	+165%
Rice: output	metric tons/ha	2.8	3.4	4.3	+153%
productivity	"	158.2	204.7	289.5	
<b>Livestock raising:</b>					
Buffaloes	number	233		320	+137%
Pigs	"	191	306	484	+253%
Value of Commodities	dong	8,269	25,502	34,659	+432%
Grains	"		10,444	16,159	
Forestry	"	6,854	6,808	10,950	
Livestock	"	2,115	3,280	4,550	+212%
<b>Accumulated Funds:</b>					
Average Annual Income of One Laborer	"	153	193	326	+23%
Income per Workday	"	0.84	0.86	1.12	

If all the cooperatives in the rice region of Tuyen Quang Province reached Tan Thanh Cooperative's level, Tuyen Quang Province would have an additional 10,000 metric tons of paddy. As a result, it would have enough grain to supply 4,000 lowland laborers, would have 1,800 more buffalo to furnish draft power for the lowlands, and would have 17,000 more pigs. At the same time, there would be much more wood and bamboo to supply construction and combat needs.

So what has Tan Thanh Cooperative done to make these achievements?

Managed land and labor well and actively carried out intensive cultivation

Tan Thanh Cooperative's land is vast. Many capabilities for exploiting and expanding forestry, industrial crops, and livestock raising exist.

It has tremendous potential, but cooperative members used to cut down trees carelessly and practice slash and burn cultivation which destroyed forests and caused soil erosion. This was because the cooperative lacked grain and had an insufficient amount of manpower to organize exploitation. After studying the resolution from the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee on developing mountain region agriculture and the resolution from the Tuyen Quang Provincial Party Committee, Tan Thanh Cooperative clearly defined its production direction with a revolutionary assault spirit. This was a determination to struggle to become self-sufficient in grains which would serve as the springboard for developing the "three strengths" in the mountain region -- forestry, livestock raising, and industrial crops. To carry out this policy, the cooperative did its utmost to carry out intensive cultivation, increase the number of crops on the overall rice area and increase secondary crops, ensure self-sufficiency in grains on the spot, and create all conditions for developing a comprehensive business operation.

But how could it carry out intensive cultivation? The first problem the cooperative had to solve was good management of land and labor. Previously, each family usually worked from 1.5 to 2 hectares of hilly terraced fields on their own. Forestry products were also exploited on an individual basis. This does not even take into account backward customs and habits which affected the management of labor. For example, fairs and celebrations were held during the urgent period of the agricultural season. Consequently, the cooperative only managed one-half or, at times, only one-fourth, of the manpower in the cooperative, and most of this was secondary labor. This situation caused a great number of difficulties for the cooperative's production. Most of the farm area was only devoted to one crop. Some of it had been abandoned. Yields were very low. Grains were in very short supply as a result. To solve this problem, the cooperative organized discussions among cadres and party members on the collective ownership spirit of the cooperative. After studying, all the cadres and party members in the cooperative voluntarily quit cutting down trees and practicing slash and burn cultivation on their own. Manpower was put into the cooperative's terraced fields. Virtually all the cooperative members voluntarily followed this example.

At the end of 1964, two small-sized cooperatives in Thuong and Ha Hamlets were merged to form the Tan Thanh Cooperative. The cooperative made adjustments in manpower and land to create favorable conditions for water conservancy work. It also reassigned labor in the cooperative and formed such specialist units, as timber exploitation units, industrial crop planting units, livestock raising teams, carpentry teams, etc. Expanding the cooperative's size and raising it from a low-level to a high-level one created favorable conditions for the cooperative to rationally utilize land and manpower to develop production.

The income from forestry here is usually from seven to ten times higher than income from growing rice. A family engaged in forestry exploitation usually earns 7 to 8 dong a day. This situation induced cooperative members to work on their own and made it difficult for the cooperative to manage labor. To manage labor well, the cooperative had to somehow strengthen

the collective economy and, at the same time, devote suitable attention to the secondary economy of cooperative members and ensure an ever-increasing income. To solve this problem, the cooperative let the cooperative members work on the side and fully utilize their leisure time to carry on the small-scale exploitation of local forestry products -- such as large rattan, small rattan, palm leaf, cunao [plant yielding brown dye], false cardamom, etc. -- to sell to the State. At the same time, the cooperative formed a specialist unit consisting of 22 workers who specialized primarily in exploiting timber and bamboo for sale to the State. The cooperative would divert more accumulated funds from the exploitation sector than from the cultivation sector to ensure rational distribution among these sectors. Due to good management of forestry exploitation, the cooperative strengthened the collective economy. At the same time, it still guaranteed the secondary incomes of the cooperative members. Although income from individual exploitation was smaller than before, the common income of each household increased. Even the household with the lowest income made 800 dong annually, 20 dong more than before. Thanks to that, all cooperative members actively contributed their efforts to the cooperative.

Most of the male labor force here is engaged in forestry work. Women, who account for 62 percent of the total labor, are in charge of nearly all the farm work. They even do the heavy work such as plowing and harrowing, carrying fertilizer, building embankments, and shoveling. The women are used to working in the fields and they obtain high yields. Women cadres are trusted by the masses. They are the most important force in the ranks of the cooperative's unit commanders and deputies. Thus, the cooperative devotes a great deal of attention to the female labor force in order to increase manpower. The cooperative has built six nurseries, two kindergartens, and private bath houses for women. Women receive 15 days compensatory time off when they give birth and are issued 10 kilograms of glutinous rice. Thanks to this, women have more time and better health for production.

At the beginning of 1965, the cooperative received six households from the lowlands. They were assigned to various production units in the cooperative. These households quickly became involved in production and their lives got off to a good start due to satisfactorily solving all aspects -- food, homes, and work. At the same time, the cooperative teaches the concept of national solidarity through specific deeds in life and production. Thanks to that, Tay and Kinh united are increasing their labor efforts and production experience to step up intensive cultivation of grains and to develop all sectors.

The result of organizing and managing labor has been the mobilization of considerable manpower for the cooperative. The total number of workdays of cooperative members working for the cooperative has increased from 25,280 days in 1965 to 42,396 days in 1967. Previously, a laborer only worked an average of 160 days. Now he works 262 days. The least is only 217 days. The cooperative can mobilize 92 percent of its total labor during urgent periods.

The satisfactory management of land and labor has allowed the cooperative to expand water conservancy work. The cooperative has 84 hectares of terraced field running along the creeks on the hills. These fields used to be flooded regularly, floating away the fertile, alluvial soil and overturning the rice. And when it was hot, these fields were affected by drought very quickly. This made the area and crop output unstable and low as a result. Now, thanks to formulating land programs and having additional manpower, the cooperative has built 21 ditches and 1 kilometer of dikes for flood prevention, three reservoirs, and 30 kilometers of area and plot embankments. During 1966 and 1967, the cooperative spent 12,000 workdays -- an average of 65 days per worker -- and 10,500 dong to procure construction materials. Thanks to the relatively faultless water conservancy network, the cooperative has overcome floods and droughts and restored the terraced fields to large, flat tracts of land that are convenient for intensive cultivation. The cooperative had a comprehensive, long-term plan for restoring the terraced fields and gradually dealing with each area and plot of land. It first built ditches for flood prevention and dug waterways to distribute the flow of flood water. It then dealt with important links such as building dikes and digging holes to keep water in. To date, 100 percent of the tenth-month crop area and 80 percent of the fifth-month crop area have been irrigated and drained. Ten percent of the cultivable area is irrigated and drained scientifically. The result is that the land utilization coefficient has increased from 1 to 1.75. Farm area and crop yields have also increased. Presently, Tan Thanh Cooperative is devoting a great deal of attention to perfecting its water conservancy network so as to even more satisfactorily serve intensive cultivation.

The cooperative has mobilized 100 percent of the cooperative members to build pens, stables, and privies in order to have considerable fertilizer for crops. The cooperative has built six fertilizer compost sheds and one lime kiln. The annual productivity is 20 metric tons. At the same time, it is actively utilizing existing sources of green manure, such as "cho de" [a species of the *Phyllanthus*, L. family]. Thanks to that, the amount of fertilizer has increased annually. Stable manure alone has increased from 5 metric tons per hectare in 1965 to 10 metric tons per hectare in 1967. The amount of fertilizer is increasing each day and the quality is getting better each day. And it is being spread with the correct techniques. Consequently, Tan Thanh Cooperative's soil is getting more fertile, ensuring rapid increases in rice and secondary crop output.

The cooperative has overcome the shortage of seeds and has transplanted many types of various strains. Thus far, the cooperative has gotten rid of scores of bad, low yield strains. It has selected good types of strains with high yields and has set aside 5.4 hectares for the special sowing of seedlings and 10 hectares to serve as an experimental field. Thanks to supervision from scientific and technical teams, the protection and soaking of seeds and the sowing of seedlings has made considerable progress. Seeds are soaked in ponds and seedlings are sown in furrows at the right density. Now bad seedlings and a shortage of seedlings no longer exist and rice yields have increased as a result.



Going hand in hand with building the material and technical base, the cooperative has, over the past 3 years, spent 8,300 dong to purchase tools. To date, each hectare has 0.8 51-type plow, 1.6 steel-toothed harrows, one spade, one scuffle hoe, one animal-drawn cart, and one 64A weeder. Each production unit has a drying yard and warehouse. Thanks to that, rice is no longer dried on or left on fields. Each unit has one wind box [for blowing unhusked rice], one pond for soaking seeds, and two insecticide pumps. Relying on the abundant capabilities in draft power and timber in the localities, the cooperative has built one animal-drawn cart and one cart to haul fertilizer for each family. The cooperative has also built a 5-kilometer road to increase transportation efficiency. In addition, the cooperative has also formed a farm implement repair team composed of three people. This ensures prompt repair of damaged farm tools. Thanks to that, the cooperative has not only overcome the "plow later, transplant late" situation due to a shortage of manpower, but has also strengthened deep and careful plowing and harrowing, spread considerable fertilizer two or three times, transplanted with the correct techniques, and eradicated insects and disease which have damaged crops. Due to the increase in labor output, the cooperative has, over the past 3 years, pulled 10 percent of the labor out of the cultivation sector to develop forestry, plant industrial crops, and supply common needs. Although this is not a substantial achievement, it is a great effort on the part of the Tan Thanh Cooperative since this cooperative has risen from very low and deficient production conditions.

The realities of the Tan Thanh Cooperative indicate that there need only be correct production guidelines, suitable measures, and high determination for cooperatives in the mountain region to completely and satisfactorily solve the problem of grains in the present economic conditions of the mountain region. Tan Thanh Cooperative raised its rice output from 2.8 metric tons to 4.3 metric tons per hectare during the 3 years from 1965 to 1967. Rice and secondary crop area increased from 130 to 160 hectares. As a result, the total grain productivity (converted into paddy) rose from 198 metric tons to 327 metric tons. This raised the average amount of grain eaten per person from 18 kilograms to 24 kilograms. At the same time, 52 tons of paddy were also sold to the State. In 1968, 62 tons of fifth-month rice were sold to the State.

#### Initially develop forestry and livestock raising

The problem of grain being satisfactorily solved and labor output in the grain production sector being increased constituted the springboard for developing forestry, livestock raising, and industrial crops.

During 1966 and 1967, the cooperative planted, reclaimed, and restored 160 hectares of forest. Out of this, 10 hectares of bo trees were replanted, 120 hectares of "luong" trees were reclaimed, 20 hectares of bamboo, plum, and bulrush trees were planted, 10 hectares of palm trees were planted, and over 5,000 candlenut trees were planted. In 1967, 750 cubic meters of wood were exploited, nearly 15 percent over the State plan. During the first 6 months of 1968, 70 percent of the plan was attained. In addition, the cooperative also mobilized cooperative members to exploit many other forestry

products such as big rattan, small rattan, cunao, palm leaves, false cardamon, oleaginous seeds, etc. Thanks to that, the commodities from the cooperative's forestry sector increased from 6,857 dong in 1965 to 10,952 dong in 1967 (a 65 percent increase). To make this achievement, the cooperative organized and mobilized cooperative members to take part in reclaiming and restoring forests. In addition, it established a unit specializing in timber and bamboo exploitation and an industrial crop planting unit composed of 45 people -- 23 principal laborers and 22 secondary laborers. The cooperative devoted attention to educating cooperative members about forestry conservation. It explained the tremendous long-term and comprehensive benefits of forests. It analyzed the serious effects of indiscriminate exploitation. Thanks to satisfactorily carrying out education, the concept of forest conservation among the cooperative members was heightened. Presently, the indiscriminate slashing and burning of fields and the exploitation of timber and firewood without permission has been overcome.

Like many other places in the mountain region, Tan Thanh Cooperative has extensive terraced fields for growing food for domestic animals. Livestock raising, however, was previously self-sufficient in character. Consequently, the livestock raising sector developed slowly. Over the past several years the livestock raising sector has made initial progress. This has been due to thoroughly understanding the new production guidelines, satisfactorily solving the problem of grains, and developing more corn, potatoes, and manioc. It is also due to actively inoculating against diseases -- especially the eradication of tapeworm disease -- combatting the cold, and raising livestock in separate stables. During the years from 1965 to 1967, herds of buffalo increased from 233 to 320 (a 38 percent increase). All are fat and healthy and provide draft power. The birth rate is increasing. In 1967, 24 buffaloes were sold to the State. The number of pigs has increased from 191 to 484 (a 153 percent increase). The average weight has increased from 20 kilograms to 36 kilograms. In coordination with water conservancy work, the cooperative has expanded the area for raising fish in ponds and fields. In 1967, an average of 50 kilograms of fish were obtained per cultivable hectare. In addition, all families raise hundreds of chickens. Thanks to the development of livestock raising, the life of the cooperative member has improved distinctly. Meals regularly include meat and fish. The value of products from the livestock raising sector has also increased from 2,115 dong to 4,500 dong (a 112.8 percent increase). Concerning the organization of livestock raising, the cooperative only raises 22 pigs collectively. Buffaloes are turned over to families to raise for work points. Presently, each family raises from 5 to 10 buffaloes. Eighty percent of the cooperative's buffalo herd consists of breeding buffalo. This is the main direction for development in the cooperative's livestock raising. The cooperative first formulated plans for developing grasslands.

Grain, forestry, and livestock raising are all developing. They have increased the cooperative's commodity rate from 17 percent in 1965 to 33 percent in 1967. Although the results attained by forestry are only initial ones, they have clearly pointed out the cooperative's direction to prosperity. The value of forestry and livestock products accounted for nearly one-half the value of the cooperative's commodities. Of the former, forestry accounted for nearly two-thirds.

The realities in the development of Tan Thanh Cooperative's production demonstrate the significance and effect of struggling to attain the three objectives in the rice-producing areas of the mountain region. These objectives are aimed toward creating the basic conditions in grain and labor so as to advance toward developing a comprehensive agriculture. While concentrating efforts in the initial stage on solving the problem of grains, one must gradually develop forestry, livestock raising, and industrial crops and make these sectors initially assist one another. Tan Thanh Cooperative should strive even more in this aspect. The cooperative's potential for forestry, industrial crops, and livestock raising is very great, but realities have shown that the cooperative's incomes from these three sectors in 1967 only accounted for 18.6 percent of its total income even though it did constitute a 72 percent increase over 1965. Although the area devoted to industrial crops increased fairly rapidly compared with 1965 (an increase of 448 percent), it only accounts for 6.2 percent of the total farm area. The development of production is clearly not balanced with the cooperative's potential. In order to satisfactorily solve this problem, the cooperative should overcome the complacency and self-satisfaction that is budding in the cadre and cooperative members. Man and material power should be concentrated on strengthening even more the cooperative's material and technical base for the forestry and industrial crop sectors. For example, the cooperative could utilize the current from streams and build a small power station and then a small sawmill. At the same time, it could purchase a number of hand saws. If this requirement is satisfactorily resolved, the output and value of the cooperative's timber exploitation sector will double. This demands the assistance of industry, especially local industry. At the same time, the cooperative should boldly acquire more laborers from the lowlands to take part in building and developing the economy in the mountain region. This is a very important direction for the new division of labor. It helps the cooperative expand production more vigorously. It develops the "three strengths" of the localities. This is Tan Thanh Cooperative's path to prosperity. At the same time, it is also the direction for ably supporting and developing the local economy of Tuyen Quang Province.

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## COLLECTIVE LIFE COMES TO 783 FAMILIES IN CO BI

[Article by Chu Ung: "Co Bi Supply and Marketing Cooperative Serves Production and Life"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1969, pp 59-65]

The Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative of Gia Lam District in the outskirts of Hanoi was established during the middle of 1963. Since then, the cooperative has every year made many accomplishments in serving production and the lives of the people within the township. Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has been recognized as the leader of the Vietnamese supply and marketing cooperative sector and has been awarded a medal by the Government.

Following are several things the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has been able to do and first steps in experience which can be gained from these things.

1. Thoroughly understand the viewpoint of service to production and the lives of the people.

Since its establishment, Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has clearly recognized that the basic problem deciding the success of a cooperative is a need to thoroughly understand the viewpoint of service to production and the people's lives, taking this job in the township as the central mission of all its activity. On the basis of that fundamental realization, the cooperative began with the characteristics and demands of agricultural production within the township and the consumer needs of the township's people to decide a business course. All needs in draft power, seeds, fertilizer, machinery, agricultural implements, etc., types of daily consumer supplies, industrial goods, miscellaneous supplies such as betel, betel-nut, bark, etc., were given attention by the supply and marketing cooperative, including a search for locations to purchase, trade, and receive the items to organization of transportation to the township and distribution to the consumer.

The Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative cadres' spirit of production service is clearly expressed in their patient deliberations to find the best way to serve production. If they find a place which produces good agricultural implements or has good animal breeds or crop strains, they immediately go there to make purchases for supply to the cooperatives and their members, even if



there is no profit or at times they suffer losses. For a long time, the people in the township have been accustomed to only growing hien rice, a strain of low yield. With the concurrence of the township party committee, the supply and marketing cooperative exchanged all the seed rice in the township for a new rice strain of high yield while supplying the agricultural cooperatives with raw materials to construct a seed handling oven. The supply and marketing cooperative found and purchased duckweed plants and muong and sesbania seeds to supply the agricultural cooperatives in order to develop green-manure crops. In order to serve and promote stock raising, the supply and marketing cooperative boldly found and purchased new poultry breeds such as Black chickens [Vietnamese: ga đen], Lion geese [Vietnamese: ngong su tu], and Haiphong duck [Vietnamese: vit bau Hai-phong] for supply to the collective stock raising camps and cooperative member families. The supply and marketing cooperative established a duck egg incubator to yearly supply the people with from 4,000 to 5,000 breeder ducks at a low price. The cooperative also purchased many small fruit trees to supply the three orchards in the township. It also supplied the cooperative member families with more than 5,000 orange, longan, coconut, and lichee trees while establishing a tree nursery itself to supply the people with more than 5,000 papaya trees and a great many bottle gourds and luffa gourds. The supply and purchasing cooperative has assisted in the purchase of plow buffaloes, fertilizer, and improved agricultural implements for the agricultural cooperatives, supplied the raw materials to construct improved carts, sold common agricultural implements and production tools, and repaired common agricultural tools for the agricultural cooperatives and their members.

Parallel with service to and stimulation of agricultural production development within the township, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has well served the lives of the people. Service to the development of family supplementary economy and good management of service occupations such as iron forging, sewing, dyeing, and bicycle repair not only produce benefits for production but also directly raise the living standard of the people. Consequently, the monetary income of the people has constantly increased. The supply and marketing cooperative has also given concern to the supply of raw materials to the people to build wells, privies, bath houses, etc.

The spirit of service to the lives of the people is also clearly expressed by the cadre of the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative constantly seeking methods to distribute goods to the consumer. During holidays, all cadres of the cooperative, from the director to the members, carry goods down to each production unit for distribution to the people, working late into the night. Goods distributed to the people during Tet by the state, from dong leaves and food seasoning packages to candy, cake, liquor, etc., are all carefully wrapped by the supply and marketing cooperative precisely in accordance with the standards of each family and are delivered directly to each home. Thanks to this, people in the township do not lose time lining up and waiting.

In order to create favorable conditions for the work of the people, to assist the people in avoiding loss of time going to market, and to limit the number of people leaving their work to trade, the supply and marketing cooperative assists the people in buying and selling, from peppers and bunches of vegetables to baskets of potatoes, manioc, etc. Within the township, when someone



is sick, or if there is a funeral, wedding, etc., the supply and marketing cooperative sends someone there to serve. The cooperative regularly visits, pays its respects, and serves, especially those families with few helping hands in which someone is sick and, if the sick person unfortunately dies, the cooperative assists in planning a decent burial.

Because the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative knows the direction of all its activities in service to production and the lives of the people, it has satisfactorily completed its business plan. This experience has clearly shown that, only when a supply and purchasing cooperative thoroughly understands the viewpoint of service to production and the lives of the people and properly sets a business course consistent with the nature of a socialist collective economy organization, can it strongly develop and well serve the missions and demands of the socialist revolution in the rural area. Only by working in such a manner can the supply and marketing cooperative truly avoid the mistaken tendency of pure business, running after profits, an extremely commonplace tendency in many supply and marketing cooperatives.

2. Develop the economic role and function of the supply and marketing cooperative in order to serve production and life.

In the practice of its work, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative profoundly realizes that, in order to correctly execute its role as the competent right arm of state-operated trade and the responsible housewife of the people in the township, the supply and marketing cooperative must not only have a viewpoint of service and a proper business course but must also know how to apply its economic functions. From that realization, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has firmly coordinated its functions as a marketing agent of state-operated trade, purchasing agricultural products and food supplies for the state, engaging in self-enterprise, and participating in market management.

In order to satisfactorily carry out its function as a marketing agent for state-operated trade, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative not only carries out receipt, transportation, and maintenance of goods but also looks after the fair, rational, and democratic distribution of goods to the township members. At the same time, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative realizes that, in order to satisfactorily serve production and the lives of the people in the township under conditions of limited state supplies, the cooperative cannot depend on state supply sources and cannot limit its activities to the function of serving as marketing agent of state-operated trade but must rise to expand self-enterprise of locally produced goods, aimed at promptly serving and maintaining close contact with the needs of production and the lives of the people in the township. Consequently, during four successive years (from 1964 to 1967), the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative promoted business enterprise along the two directions above, engaging in the business management of over 300 industrial products of state-operated trade and over 200 locally produced products, far surpassing the business activities of other supply and marketing cooperative and increasing the amount of business each year. The statistical chart below clearly indicates the business activity

of Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative during the past four years.

Item	1964		1965		1966		1967	
	Achieved	% of Plan Completed	Achieved	% of Plan Completed	Achieved	% of Plan Completed	Achieved	% of Plan Completed
Total Amount of Business Percentage of Total:	301,374	137%	398,426	115%	426,773	121%	467,027	119%
-Marketing Agent	49		49		57		62	
-Purchasing Agent	15		14		12		10	
-Self-Enterprise	36		37		21		28	

If the yearly relationship between the amount of marketing business of state-operated trade and self-enterprise is compared, that of self-enterprise makes up from one-half to two-thirds that of state-operated trade. If the yearly amount of self-enterprise business is compared with the total amount of business, it accounts for approximately one-third. This relationship clearly indicates that the self-enterprise functions play an extremely important role in the business of the supply and marketing cooperative. The accomplishments above clearly express the self-reliant viewpoint of the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative.

Thanks mainly to the business activities above, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has the conditions for satisfactorily serving the production needs of the agricultural cooperatives such as seeds, fertilizer, tools, etc. It has contributed to intensive cultivation to increase rice yield and to increase the output of products and foodstuffs, and has assisted the agricultural cooperatives in the township to raise the rice yield from 4.4 metric tons per hectare (1965) to 5.6 metric tons (1967) and attain 2.2 hogs on each planted hectare. At the same time, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has effectively urged family supplementary economy to develop in the proper direction. Also mainly through the business activities mentioned above, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has increasingly many more products to serve the lives of the people in the township.

During the process of business development, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has not only satisfactorily carried out the job of state-operated trade marketing agent and self-enterprise but has also well carried out its function of market management participation. Essentially by economic methods, namely through self-enterprise, assistance in buying and selling products of the agricultural cooperative and cooperative family supplementary income, and expanding its retail network all the way down to the village and

hamlet, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has taken over the rural market. This fact has helped the agricultural cooperatives to manage their manpower, reduced the number of persons leaving their work to trade, and created conditions for leading the small rural merchants to the collective way of life. On that basis, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative stimulated more than 40 small merchants and members of their shops to return to production in the collective stock raising camps. Here, also through fine execution of its market management function, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative created favorable conditions for the development of its business. Here also is an outstanding strong point of the cooperative. Thanks to the closeness of its activities to the lives of the people in the township and its service closely connected with their daily needs, the cooperative has built a fine political relationship with the people and has their full confidence. The amount of share capital contributed to the supply and marketing cooperative by the people increased from 4,617 dong in 1963 to 11,213 dong in 1968. The people here also actively supported the cooperative, assisting it every year to complete and overfulfill its purchase of agricultural products and food supplied for the state.

Due to good application of the economic functions mentioned above, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has truly become a collective economy organization of the township members and farmers, not just an organization serving as a marketing agent for state-operated trade like many supply and marketing cooperatives in other places. Through its uniform activity, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has helped strengthen economic alliances between the worker class and the collective farmer class, subsequently helping to strengthen the political alliance between these two basic classes. Clearly, here the economic and political aspects are firmly coordinated with each other. This is the basic reason and also the secret of success of the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative.

3. Thoroughly understand the mass nature of a collective economy organization and develop the collective ownership role of the township members in supply and marketing cooperative management participation.

Beginning with the realization that a supply and marketing cooperative is a collective economy organization of the working people in the township, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has thoroughly understood that the basic principle in building a supply and marketing cooperative is to truly assure the collective ownership rights of the township members. Every activity of the supply and marketing cooperative cadres and members is under the supervision of the township members and every job of the cooperative relies on a basis of stimulating the cooperative member masses to raise their collective ownership spirit by management participation. Consequently, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has well achieved the principle of democratic management from formulation of the business plan, handling of capital and profits, and machine organization to the distribution of goods with the proper objectives and demands.

Co Bi Township has three agricultural cooperatives in three villages,

composed of 783 families divided into 22 production units. The Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has utilized these 22 production units to form 22 supply and marketing cooperative member teams. The management section, control section, and supply and marketing personnel divide up with one person active in each cell. The teams hold a meeting once a month to hear a report on the business situation and to discuss the work. Each team has a register to record the resolutions, suggestions, and criticisms of the township members concerning the supply and marketing cooperative. These ideas are all answered by the supply and marketing cooperative or accepted for correction and achievement. When the township members criticize any individual or team, during the next meeting, that individual or team must come to accept the criticism before the township members. The Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has carried out precisely the by-law of holding a township member representative meeting once every six months and a periodic township member congress every two years to reelect a management section and a control section. These things enable all the township members to clearly see that they truly control their own organization.

Each time there are goods to distribute, the supply and marketing cooperative informs the Party committee of the amount, the distribution standards, and its distribution forecast. With the concurrence of the Party committee, men in the supply and marketing cooperative meet with leaders of the township member teams to ascertain their needs. Afterwards, a team meeting is held and problems are presented for discussion by the township members. Thanks to such methods, the supply and marketing cooperative has been able to develop a spirit of love and mutual concession between the township members in the teams. With the unanimous concurrence of the township members, the supply and marketing cooperative carries out the goods distribution. Due to its grasp of each cooperative members family's purchase register and register of sales to the state, the supply and marketing cooperative has an extremely firm grasp of the number of persons within each family (including their age and sex). Consequently, goods are sold to the precise objective and, although goods are short, there is no situation of "drawing lots" or average distribution as in other places. Because of the regular meetings, the propaganda and education work is good. In the meetings, the people discuss and remind each other to carry out the consumer policies of the Party and state and to carry out their duty of selling agricultural products and food supplies to the state. The township members, recognizing that they truly control both production and distribution, concernedly follow and enthusiastically contribute their opinions to improve the supply and marketing cooperative.

Due to the development of the people's spirit of collective ownership in supply and marketing management ownership, the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative has well achieved its financial and economic management. Since its founding, there has never been an incident of corruption, loss of money, or damage to property in the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative. Here, there is thorough respect for the procedures and provisions of invoices, documentary proof, cash management, goods liquidation, and daily submission of cash receipts. No one has the right to buy goods on credit or borrow money from the supply and marketing cooperative. The monthly liquidation is participated in

by the control section. Monthly and quarterly public financial reports and periodic distribution of profits are regularly and promptly carried out by the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative. Pricing, purchasing, and market management policies are strictly executed by the cadre and members of the Co Bi supply and management cooperative.

4. Firm and proper leadership of the township Party committee concerning the work of the supply and marketing cooperative was one of the conditions which decided the success of the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative.

The success of the Co Bi supply and marketing cooperative cannot be separated from the firm leadership of the township Party committee. The Co Bi Township Party committee has clearly recognized the extremely important role and position of the supply and marketing cooperative concerning service to production and improvement of the people's standard of living. It has also seen the relationship between the supply and marketing cooperative, the agricultural production cooperative, and the credit cooperative in the rural area revolutionary undertaking. Consequently, the township Party committee has given concern to leadership of the township supply and marketing cooperative, utilizing it as a carrying pole to stimulate economic development and as a responsible housewife in the large socialist family of the township people. However, the Party committee did not immediately hold these realizations. They were confirmed and gradually raised through the process of leading the supply and marketing cooperative, through study of Party and state documents, instructions, and resolutions concerning the supply and marketing cooperatives, and through struggles to resist incorrect viewpoints within the Party organization such as considering the supply and marketing cooperative as a purely business organization pursuing those enterprises with a great deal of profit.

The Co Bi Township Party committee has especially concerned itself with education of the cadres and members of the supply and purchasing cooperative to thoroughly understand the political, production, mass, and socialist enterprise concepts, causing them to clearly realize that their accomplishments must be essentially expressed in results of service to production and life, not in great amounts of business and high profits. Therefore, the township Party committee has directed every activity of the township supply and marketing cooperative into service to the principal components of agricultural production and to the development of the agricultural cooperative economy and the supplementary economy of the cooperative member family, while improving good distribution aimed at satisfactorily serving the lives of the township people..

In its leadership, the Co Bi Township Party committee has formed a democratic and collective style and a specific and total supervision. When discussing the production course of the agricultural cooperatives, the Party committee does not forget to include representatives of the supply and marketing cooperative for their idea contributions. When discussing work of the supply and marketing cooperatives, the Party committee also includes representatives of the agricultural cooperative management sections and of the credit cooperative. If the Party committee sees that any suggestion of the supply and marketing cooperative has advantages for production and life, no matter



what the difficulties, it actively supports that suggestion.

In order to effectively create favorable conditions for the work of the supply and marketing cooperative, the Co Bi Township Party committee gives extreme emphasis to education of the township cadres and people concerning the consumer policies of the Party, the viewpoint of self-reliantly building the supply and marketing cooperative, and the industrial and agricultural alliance in the anti-U.S. undertaking and agricultural alliance in the anti-U.S. undertaking for national salvation and socialist construction. The Party committee gives extreme concern to regularly stimulating and maintaining the emulation movement of selling food supplies to the state, promptly mobilizing the people with good examples on billboards, over the radio, and in the periodic meetings of the township members.

The Co Bi Party committee gives attention to improving Party organization in the supply and marketing cooperative and cultivating and training the ranks of cadre and members in the cooperative to have good qualities and ethics and outstanding professional abilities. The Party committee gives great concern to educating the cadre and men of the supply and marketing cooperative in a spirit of justice without partiality and thrift and honest administration in business, and the comrades of the Party committee themselves are good examples of these aspects. Each Party committee member and each cadre and member of the supply and purchasing cooperatives accepts distribution of goods to himself like all the other township members and carries out first and well the mission of selling food supplies to the state. They never take advantage of their position to purchase goods contrary to principle. These things have a great educational effect on all the cadre and Party members of the township. The proper leadership and spirit of example of the Co Bi Township Party committee and organization is a basic condition assuring that the supply and marketing cooperative satisfactorily carries out its role and function. This is extremely precious experience for the rural area primary level Party organizations in Party development and in assuring the good leadership of the supply and marketing cooperative.

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'GOOD PEOPLE, GOOD IDEAS' THEME IS BASIS OF NEW MAN

[Article: "Strengthening and Exemplifying Good People and Good Ideas to Enable the Good People and Good Ideas Campaign to Constantly Broaden"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, No 4, Vietnamese, April 1969, pp 66-69]

The old society was built upon the foundation of man oppressing and exploiting man. It glorified individualism, egoism, and the worship of military force and money. As a result, it was full of bad people and bad ideas. For example, American society considers itself as "civilized" and the leader of "the free world" (meaning the capitalist world). But according to an official report, which is surely far from complete, in 1965 alone the following events occurred:

9,850 murders; 22,467 robberies and rapes; 118,916 thefts; 206,662 fights; 1,175,201 burglaries; 762,352 petty thefts; and 486,568 auto thefts. (1)

That only takes into account some of the social disaster. It does not count the exploitive and oppressive actions or the barbarous murders committed by the United States' ruling class against the Negroes, the workers who hire themselves out in the United States, or the peoples of the world, whom it enslaves and invades.

Our socialist society is a civilized one and one completely different from the old in substance. The human principles of "loyalty to the country and faith with the people" and a "diligent administration with justice for all" are upheld in our society. The number of people recording outstanding accomplishments, such as in the case of heroes and emulation soldiers, grows continuously. At the same time, the number of ordinary people who act according to the "one for all" and "what is good for the country is good for the people" ideas also grows larger each day. Duc, a mere six year old, was smart enough to save a little three year old who had fallen into a pond. Pham Quoc Thu, age nine, picked up dropped property 24 times and returned it each time. Lo Van Hac, faced with a situation wherein both her house and the cooperative warehouse had been set afire by enemy aircraft, abandoned her house in favor of going to the aid of the warehouse. Dinh Thi Tuc, a very small girl belonging to an ethnic minority group, disregarded food and tramped continuously through the passes and streams to successfully capture two US

pilots. Me Tan bravely operated a ferry across the river for the army, in spite of his old age and enemy strafing. He also happily delivered his own coffin to the soldiers so that they could spread it out on the road and pull artillery pieces over it into their positions, from which they could quickly attack the enemy. Mr. Tran Ke Thien, a very old man, continued to make great efforts and planted more than two thousand royal poinciana trees in order to provide snacks for the cooperative, to which he had been relocated. Nguyen Ham Chat, who is blind, has worked continuously in communications for twelve years. He has not missed one single broadcast, even though he has occasionally been sick. Nguyen Thi Le, who is paralyzed in both legs, continues the assault by teaching supplementary education in the township. On many afternoons and nights she has gone to campaign among the people and get them to study. She does not know the meaning of fatigue.

The above does not begin to consider the examples of ordinary people among all classes, especially among the young men and women, who do good things. They work on all of the fronts of fighting, production, communications and transportation, culture, education, medicine, and so forth.

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Why does our society have such good people and good ideas?

First, the nature of our society, a socialist system, is very beautiful.

Secondly, our people enjoy the teachings and leadership of the party, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party headed by the beloved President Ho.

Thirdly, our people have inherited and developed the beautiful traditions, which our ancestors built up through several thousand years of defending and maintaining the country.

Fourthly, our people have been polished through the practical experience of many years of constant revolution, starting with the August Revolution. This has been especially true in the fires of the anti-United States resistance for national salvation and in the building of socialism.

The above-mentioned four factors are interdependent and each intensifies the effect of the other. But among them, the party leadership factor has an important meaning. When it is said that the nature of our social system is beautiful, it does not mean that the new man or socialism is self-generating; it does not mean that good people and good ideas just appear from nowhere. In fact, the new man and good people in our society can appear and flourish only under the diligent care and cultivation of the party. The party and President Ho have relied upon the basis of the ethical guidelines of the working class, the highest ethical standards of mankind, and associated that with the beautiful traditions of our people to build the new man and Vietnamese nationalism. The party and President Ho have always taught us the principles of a "diligent administration with justice for all" and "loyalty to the country and faith with the people ensures that all tasks can be completed, any difficulties overcome, and any enemy defeated."

The party, President Ho, and revolutionary leadership in our country have all been involved in education and training during the last several score years. As a result, countless numbers of outstanding revolutionary soldiers have devoted their lives to the struggle for national and class liberation. Especially during the anti-United States campaign for national salvation and the building of socialism during the past several years, in every locality and every sector, and at all echelons of the party, government, and people's groups they have trained hundreds collectively, as well as individual heroes. There are thousands of socialist labor units and progressive units and tens of thousands of emulation soldiers, valiant soldiers who kill Americans, "three skills" soldiers, "two skills" soldiers, "three goods" soldiers, "two goods" soldiers, progressive workers, and outstanding workers. In addition, there are countless numbers of good people doing good things routinely. This also has a significant meaning. It clearly illustrates the quality and ethics of the new man, who is contributing to the building of a beautiful and civilized society and to the great revolution of our people.

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The emulation soldiers and heroes are the outstanding collective symbol of our beautiful socialist system. The party and the state have exalted, rewarded, and exemplified these people in order that everyone could study them. Many books have been written about emulation soldiers and heroes. They have been widely published and distributed among the masses. But in addition to the examples of these emulation soldiers and heroes, there are a great many good examples among ordinary people doing good things. These have also been held up for everyone to study. Exemplifying these ordinary people has a greater meaning from a standpoint of those good examples which often do not greatly exceed the capacities of most of the people. Our people have always been very proud of the beautiful and ethical nature of the new man in our society because of the teachings of the party. That is why they have always been aware of the advantages of collectivization and a sense of responsibility about those things entrusted to them. They have always been ready to respond to and follow the example of good people and good ideas.

But "exemplifying and encouraging good people and good ideas not only has a significance in relation to mobilizing everyone to fulfill all immediate revolutionary obligations. It is also one of the fundamental measures for building up the party, a nucleus for the revolution, the new man, and the new life." (2) In fact, it is not only the ordinary masses who must study and follow the examples of good people and good ideas. All party members, cadres, youth group members, and members of all revolutionary groups must also use models of good people and good ideas as their own personal example in order to cultivate their own ideology and revolutionary ethics and to increase their determination throughout a lifetime of struggle in the interests of the Fatherland and socialism. As a result, the nucleus of the revolution becomes stronger as the good people and good ideas campaign becomes more widespread. It also strengthens party elements, the new man, and the beautiful and civilized new life of our social system.

The party and President Ho are very interested in training and exemplifying good people and good ideas because of their importance. President Ho has personally followed the reflections of good people doing good things through press reports or through reports from the localities and departments. Since 1950, President Ho has awarded presidential citations to more than four thousand groups and individuals for good performances. The various publishing houses have recently selected some models from among those four thousand groups and individuals, who were decorated by the President. They are correlating the names for publication in booklets called "Good People and Good Ideas," which will be widely distributed so that everyone can study them and follow the examples. The "Good People and Good Ideas" campaign will develop continuously in every locality, working unit, party leadership organization, local government, and mass organization if they fully understand the meaning of exemplifying and encouraging good people and good ideas. On the other hand, the "Good People and Good Ideas" campaign in those localities and work units, which do not devote the necessary attention to training and exemplifying good people and good ideas, will not develop. Improper actions and people (self-interest, corruption, waste, bureaucracy, irresponsibility, disorganization, and a lack of discipline, etc.) will have a greater chance to develop. We must be profoundly aware that a struggle between the good and the bad, the new and the old, and the progressive and the backward is a rule for the development of our society. Training and exemplifying good people and good ideas, limiting and correcting improper people, and limiting improper ideas must be considered as essential tasks of the cultural and ideological revolution currently underway in the country. Fully understanding and obeying that rule and being attentive to exemplifying and encouraging good people, good ideas, new people, new factors, progressive people, and progressive actions are fundamental measures. They are aimed at building a new society and developing the good, the new, and the progressive so that they will become more and more universally practiced. Only in this way can we overcome, and move toward the eradication of, the bad, the old, the backward, and the remnants of the old system in our society.

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All echelons of party committees, local governments, and people's organizations must make plans to closely watch, quickly discover, and praise good people doing good things in the localities, work units, or departments in order to promote the "Good People and Good Ideas" campaign in accordance with directives of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee. This must be done within these circles through daily emulation campaigns and through preliminary reviews and critiques. They must select outstanding individuals and groups worthy of application for commendation by President Ho (inspections must be carefully carried out). Upon receipt of the presidential commendation, a suitable presentation must be organized. Attention must be paid to developing the effects of the individual or group being commended, thereby enabling the "Good People and Good Ideas" campaign to expand continuously and broadly.



For their part, press, communications, and publishing organizations must make regular and timely selections and preparation of material on examples of good people and good ideas as a symbol for mass campaigns. They must be attentive to pinpointing the experience and ensuring that books and newspapers on good people and good ideas are distributed right to the readers in the elements so that they will be more and more appreciated. Local newspapers and radio stations and correspondents in the elements must regularly strive to uphold examples of good people and good ideas with a primary view toward upholding good people and good ideas in their own locality and element if they are to be prompt in exemplifying and encouraging good people and good ideas. All sectors, localities, and work units must create an eager campaign to read books and newspapers written about good people and good ideas and to follow the examples presented in those written accounts. This must be closely associated with ideological activities and routine emulation campaigns in the sectors, localities, and units.

The "Good People and Good Ideas" campaign is broadly expanding, and many models are appearing. But in addition to the marks of the common quality and ethics of the new man, each model is tinged with individuality. Therefore, during each period, all localities and elements must actively select models which are appropriate to specific conditions in the locality or element. When these models are introduced, primary lessons must be gleaned and promulgated so that everyone can study them with a view toward developing the strong points and overcoming their remaining weaknesses.

Strengthening and exemplifying good people and good ideas will surely have a great effect upon developing revolutionary heroism. This is so because it will receive the concerted leadership of the Party Central Committee, the government, and President Ho. It will also enjoy the direct supervision of all levels of party committees, the local governments, organizations, and people's groups. It will mobilize the broad masses to fulfill all immediate revolutionary obligations. At the same time, it will develop good morals and customs and build up the new man and the new life with a view toward defeating the US aggressor and successfully building socialism.

(1) According to "Document Recording and Study," France, Issue Number 3479, dated 9 April 1969.

(2) Party Central Committee Secretariat Directive Number 168 CT/TU, dated 13 January 1969, on Strengthening and Exemplifying Good People and Good Ideas.

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'GOOD PEOPLE, GOOD IDEAS' BOOK HOLDS THOUGHTS OF HO

[Article by Phan Hien: "Our Entire Nation is a Beautiful Garden of Flowers"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, No 4, Vietnamese, April 1969, pp 70-75]

All of the localities have quickly responded to, and carried out, the directive of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee on "Strengthening and Exemplifying Good People and Good Ideas." Hundreds of thousands of books on good people and good ideas have been published and quickly distributed to readers by the publishers of Lao Dong, Quan Doi Nhan Dan, Thanh Nien, Phu Nu, Kim Dong, and Pho Thong in compliance with that directive. They are small, blue books, which can be carried in the pocket. The material is presented clearly. There is a picture of the presidential medal on the cover along with the meaningful words: "Heroic Nation; Progressive Class; For the People and the Country; Heroic Generation; Bravery and Responsibility; Small Job - - Large Meaning; Rear Area Emulates Forward Area."

During past years, especially during the anti-United States years for national salvation, there have appeared hundreds of thousands of good examples among our people in fighting, building socialism, and revolutionary heroism. The party and the state have promptly praised these heroes, emulation soldiers, and valiant soldiers who kill Americans in order that everyone would follow their example. Millions of people have performed their duties well every day because of such brilliant stories. A young railroad engineer bravely drove his entire train of cargo safely to its destination, even though he was heavily wounded in the leg. A young girl in a self-defense unit stood on an observation station to count the number of enemy planes and the number of bombs dropped. A female cadre with four small children overcame all difficulties to go from the second grade up to the university. Parents with children in the army have been even more attentive to production, stockraising, and selling paddy and meat to the state for use in feeding troops. Little children have devoted themselves to relaying torches in the ricefields while destroying insects and building improved vehicles to transport fertilizer. Teachers carry children to school and doctors consider their patients as blood brothers. Those efforts are the various representatives of the beautiful nature of our people. They are the new morals and customs of the nation under the leadership of the party. President Ho has for a long time

carefully watched, and presented medals to, thousands of good people doing such good things. The people who have been commended by the President includes the old, the young, women, and men from every class and nationality, from every area of the country, and in every sector, both on the front lines and in rear areas. There must be many more publications recording the normal stories of the heroes among the new men, whose nature is very simple but full of feeling. There must be stories about the men who are genuinely making history and who form the steel-like bulwarks of our system. We were very happy to read some of those first publications.

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We are living at a great time and during a period of revolutionary heroism. This has been illustrated, and is now being illustrated, by the day to day actions of millions of our people. There is no book which could adequately record the pictures and stories of a nation engaged in the most wonderful struggle of the last half of the 20th century. We can also see those things which symbolize the activities of a great nation through thousands of good people doing good things, who have been commended by President Ho, and through the first books, which are telling the stories of these people. We can see this not only in the hundreds of thousands of major ideas, but also in the millions of small, day to day actions.

Our people have experienced thousands of years of fighting the aggressor to keep the country and to win the right to live. The children of Vietnam, bearing the tradition of determination from the time they were embryos, have grown up in the cradle of socialism. Their feelings have been illuminated by the light of Marxism-Leninism and the ideology of the party. Therefore, the concept of "Young in years, but old in determination," a wonderful product of the revolution, has become a universal phenomenon. Four and five year old children have learned to hate the US aggressor and happily play at soldiers killing the "bandit Johnson." Millions of Vietnamese children on the heroic roads of fire fight the aggressor along with their parents, brothers, and sisters. There are 13 and 14 year old valiant soldiers who have killed scores of US, puppet, and satellite troops. The children in the rear area emulate to follow "Uncle's five points" and do "thousands of good things" every day. They set traps to catch spies and raiders. They collect rags, which they give to the soldiers for cleaning rifles. They care for the rice and the buffalos in the cooperatives. They watch the pigs and ducks, take care of the house, and cook to help their parents, just as Miss Tam did in ancient times. Throughout those countries referred to as the civilized west, people kill each other for money and golden rings. But Vietnamese children, upon picking up something that has been dropped, always return it to the person who has lost it or they turn it into the police. These children are the manifestation of countless numbers of brilliant examples of self-sacrifice for the common good. Even those who do not know how to swim have jumped into the marshes along the river, struggling to keep themselves above water, and saved a friend from drowning. They have carried crippled friends to school every single day. There was a young child who brought his

lessons home every day so that he could teach them to a paralyzed friend, who had not been able to go to school for three years. The result was that both passed the Level 2 school with honors. Later, he continued to carry his friend to the Level 3 school and never asked anything in return. The children of Vietnam today are obedient children, skillful scholars, and good citizens. How are we to accurately count the number of "Uncle Ho's obedient children" in our country?

We also come in contact with the dignified behavior of the young generation, born since the August Revolution, through the pages of these books, which are beautifully printed in red. Those are the men who have joined in the great purpose of their fathers and brothers. They have feet of brass and shoulders of steel. They take part in operations covering thousands of kilometers, fight the aggressor everywhere, and go anywhere required by the Fatherland. The world has often remarked upon the young men and women of Vietnam who walk freely into the aggressor's lairs in Saigon. They have turned the "phantom jets" and "thunder chiefs" of the U.S. air force into piles of crushed aluminum in the fields of North Vietnam. But the impression of Vietnam's youth becomes perfect if one knows that "the youth is present wherever it is needed and wherever there is difficulty." At one time, they are driving through bombs to get vehicles out to the front lines. At another time, they are carrying and disassembling delayed action bombs. They might be seen guaranteeing the safety of communications along the roads or at essential ferry piers. Or, they might be rowing boats out to distant islands on supply runs. Our youth does not only fight the aggressor to save the nation. It also leads in studying science and technology to build the great socialist rear area today, and actively prepares for the tomorrows to come for the whole country. Who can count the miles they have travelled throughout the year, penetrating deeply into the jungle to search for resources for the country? Who can count the number of days they have spent among the masses searching for medicinal herbs and learning from the folk medicine, stories, and dances of the people? There have been young teachers, recently married, who have enthusiastically volunteered to go to work in the highlands. Prior to becoming teachers, they had to become students and learn the local language. They could not simply know how to teach. They also had to know such other jobs as barber, tailor, carpenter, and metalworker. They also had to know how to do the jobs of doctors and political, economic, military, and police cadres. They must know how to campaign among the compatriots to organize cooperatives, improve agricultural techniques, and suppress criminals.

Our youth goes into the army and out onto the dense front lines as though it were a pilgrimage. They enter the various fields of economics, culture, and sociology in the rear areas with the same enthusiasm they employ to fight the aggressor. They have a profound awareness of their historic obligation, which has been entrusted to them by the party. They defeat the US aggressor, poverty, and backwardness in order to quickly build up a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam. Together with their fathers and brothers in the same trench, they have created the "Vietnam miracle" in the struggle against the imperialist United States. They are



determined to develop the "Vietnam miracle" throughout the building of the economy and the attack on science and technology. In building the new man and the new life, they follow communist theory and follow the teachings of President Ho, which say, "Through loyalty to the country and faith with the people, any task can be completed, any difficulty overcome, and any enemy defeated."

Our country is very proud that there are leaders in the revolution, and in all three branches of the armed forces, who are women. The traditions of thousands of years have been brilliantly manifested in the new system, which enables every Vietnamese woman to be a Trung or Trieu Sister in the anti-United States undertaking for national salvation and the building of socialism. The long-haired military units and small guerrilla bands, which have boldly escorted the tall and strong U.S. pilots to jail, have become the famous images of the Vietnamese woman and Vietnamese people during this century. What pen could write the stories of heroism, tirelessness, loyalty, and responsibility displayed by the new woman? They fight with their husbands and children on the front lines and assume responsibility for thousands of jobs in the rear area. Their plowing efforts are carefully planned and the fruits of their labors are divided into four parts: the major portions go to fighting the aggressor, building up the fatherland and the cooperative, and their families; the small portion is for themselves. There have been women paralyzed in both legs and old women, blind in both eyes, who have refused to sit quietly by. Rather, they found appropriate work in order to contribute to society. Living for other people and living for society has become a way of life for our women. The scope of today's woman is not limited to the family. They are everywhere and participate in all activities of the country. The women carry extremely heavy loads, while also carrying a child, and consider the load light. If the mother is saintly, the children are devoted. If the mother is heroic, the children are heroic. How gloriously the Vietnamese mother has integrated and trained her young with the countless beautiful qualities of our people. She has taught determination with patience, firmness with gentleness, frugality with generosity, and an iron will with tenderness.

The old people in Vietnam, bearing the historic traditions of Dien Hong, have refused to sit idly by while the new slavemakers of the times are invading the land and skies of the Fatherland. While the children boldly chase the aggressor in the air and on land, the old people hold their rifles and knives to protect themselves and their villages. There are countless numbers of the young ready to devote all to the Fatherland. They help poor families, care for the soldiers throughout the villages, care for the buffaloes so that they will become fat and healthy, help in the nurseries and kindergarten, and do many other necessary jobs to contribute to the anti-United States effort for national salvation. There are old people, who never miss a day visiting the schools. Little children and old people help families whose children have gone off to remote battlefields by getting the children off to school and doing the housework. Some old people have led in the campaign to plant trees, started by President Ho. The old people have brought the young

to see the trees planted in their birthplaces or in relocated positions. There was an 86 year old man, who, upon returning to his old village, presented more than two thousand Japanese lilac trees, which lined all of the roads in the village, to his compatriots. The old have lived a life of difficulty under the old system. But now the land has been returned to us. They understand that socialism is a very real thing. It is the bank of a pond, a bunch of bananas, the drying yard in the cooperative or home, a level 1 or 2 school in the village, children wearing red scarves, a Cu Ho soldier, or a planel marked with a red flag bearing a gold star. For more than 20 years the old people have witnessed the wonderful changes that they had never dreamed possible. They have been deeply touches by the words of President Ho, "There is nothing more precious than freedom and independence." The old people work to strengthen the new life, which is many times more beautiful than before, every day of their lives.

The pictures gathered together in the "Good People and Good Ideas" books are pictures of people with one heart to fight the aggressor, save the nation, and build a new life. The most valuable to come from these short and simple stories is the beautiful quality of the broad masses. They are the people who love their country ardently and hate the aggressor deeply. The traditions of a four thousand year history and the light of Marxism-Leninism brought about by our party, have intensified the ancient patriotism and transformed it into a socialist patriotism. They are the people who have stood up and collectively master their homeland and personal destinies by intelligence and the great feelings of the times. They know how to arouse their grandparents and fathers, and to teach them to fight to keep the country. They have fought victoriously with the force of a new society, a socialist society. They are the people who are aware of their historic role and high international purpose. They have a capacity for integrating the old experiences of the people with the most modern knowledge of mankind. They are very brave but clever, ardently patriotic but not at all bound by blind obedience, proud but very modest, and independent but very oriented toward the proletariat world. They share nothing in common with the hated imperialist enemy, but feel only brotherhood toward their friends on all five continents. Those brilliant qualities have become an instinctive way of life and are illustrated throughout their day to day activities in a most simple and real way. Those new men do good things every day but absolutely refuse to be motivated by praise and rewards. They are even occasionally embarrassed when someone remarks upon their accomplishments or work.

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President Ho has known, through nearly half a century of observing the ordinary Vietnamese, that their earth-shaking strength could topple the colonialist and semi-feudalist systems and win independence and freedom for the nation. He cultivated, sowed, and created the first seeds of our party, from which were born the revolutionary groups, revolutionary army, and new generation. From the dawn of the new system until the light had completely broken through and there was a beautiful and fresh flower garden, he continuously cultivated and sowed so that the country would become more and more

beautiful.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that revolution is the undertaking of the masses and that the masses are the ones who make history. The secret of the success of a legitimate revolutionary party is that it recognizes and arouses the power of the masses. Our people are forever grateful to the party and President Ho, who enabled everyone to "light up his eyes and his heart," caused thousands of streams to become rivers and oceans, and performed wonderful things. But the party and President Ho have always taught cadres and party members that they must have faith in the masses, rely upon the masses, and follow the mass line. President Ho has personally set the most brilliant example of a revolutionary by living his life for the masses. The President's interest in strengthening and exemplifying good people and good ideas clearly shows us that it is one of the important and fundamental mass efforts of a revolutionary soldier.

President Ho has always reminded us that we must teach Marxism-Leninism in a practical manner so that everyone can understand it and know of its advantages for the country and the people. It is not proper to memorize each sentence or each word written by Marx and Lenin because the revolution makes it clear that to assign one thing and do another is not good. By keeping close track of, and making timely rewards to, good people doing good things President Ho also points out to us an active Marxist-Leninist teaching method and concept, which has the greatest effect upon the broad masses.

A nation desirous of defeating an aggressor and forcefully moving ahead in the building of the country cannot possibly be without an adequate understanding of its historic mission. It must also understand its personal strength in association with the mission and strength of the world revolution. Party Central Committee directives, the concern of President Ho, and countless numbers of examples of good people and good things will enable all of us to acquire additional strength and spirit and additional faith. We shall then be able to continue performing hundreds of thousands of good things in order to move toward the total defeat of the US aggressor and the successful building of socialism.

We are passing through a period of most violent war. Right is winning over wrong, and civilization is winning over barbarism. The most beautiful and good things are most forcefully and abundantly developing and are eradicating the worst remaining traces of old systems. The struggle between the good and bad, the new and old, and the progressive and backward is not only taking place in society but within each man as well. However, along with brilliant examples of ethics, selfless efforts, and an attitude of one for all there have also appeared traces of individualism and self-interest. Along with brilliant examples of an aggressive revolutionary spirit in actively and creatively applying scientific knowledge to the practical experiences of the country, there has appeared a delay caused by complacency, conservatism, and laziness. Along with brilliant examples of living a clean and simple life and the effect of staying close to the masses, arrogance, self-interest, and

bureaucratic authoritarianism have also appeared, causing estrangement from reality and estrangement from the masses. The strengthening and exemplifying of good people and good ideas, and studying and encouraging people to follow good examples, is a revolutionary struggle built upon the momentum of the attack upon the building of the new man and the new life. Our cadres and party members will mold themselves according to the standards of communist party members during that struggle and revolutionary organizations will constantly strengthen themselves. Many new groups and individuals from among the masses will appear to fill the ranks of the party and the Lao Dong Youth. For the nation to become a beautiful garden of flowers there must be many more beautiful blossoms. It is a beautiful society with the philosophy of "one for all," the ageless dream of countless numbers of eastern and western philosophers, that we are actively realizing. And we are building both for today and tomorrow.

The "Good People and Good Ideas" books, although small, have a great potential because they bear the pictures of a great society and emit the brilliant qualities of millions of average people. They are also solid but simple, like buds of potatoes or rice. Each one of us will find reflections of his own thoughts and day to day actions in those pictures. We will all see there the great ideology and feeling of the party and President Ho and will know that we must do everything everyday to be worthy of the times, the people, the party, and the beloved President Ho.

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## KINDERGARTENS PUT WOMEN IN LABOR FORCE, MOLD NEW MAN

[Article by Tran Thi Tinh: "The Kindergarten Sector in the Building of the New Man and in Support of Production, Combat and Living Standard"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 4, April 1969, pp 76-83]

The kindergarten sector, also known as the pre-school educational sector, has the responsibility to provide care and education to children from 3 to 7 years of age. Although it is still new in our country, the kindergarten sector has made great progress. In areas where the movement has developed rapidly and steadily, like in Hanoi, (former) Hung Yen, Thai Binh, Nam Ha and Ninh Binh for instance, many townships have admitted to their kindergartens from 85 to 95 percent of the children of this age group. The movement has developed rapidly even in areas subjected to fierce fighting. During the 1966-1967 school year, the number of children attending kindergartens in Nghe An increased by 7 times and in Ha Tinh by 4 times over the 1964-1965 school year. The movement has also begun to develop in mountain and coastal areas like Hoa Binh, Lao Cai, Cao Bang and Quang Ninh. Kindergarten classes have also been organized and taken care of by the authorities and trade unions in various government agencies, factories, construction sites and state farms. Despite the war, many localities, like Hanoi and Nghe An for instance, continued to maintain and conduct kindergarten classes in evacuation areas. At the end of 1968, the total number of children from 3 to 7 years of age attending kindergarten and preparatory (senior kindergarten) classes reached 1.6 million, an increase of 4 times over the pre-war period.

The kindergarten sector has developed at such a fast and steady pace in the past few years primarily because it has closely associated itself with each and every phase of development of the building of socialism and the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation of our people.

In meeting the needs of the revolutions in production relationship and in technology, the kindergarten sector has contributed to liberating the woman labor force, increasing the number of work days of the cooperative and stepping up the new rural labor distribution. Released from the family burden, our women have become a main labor force of the cooperative. And

as they now have time and opportunity to improve themselves culturally, they have tried hard to acquire for themselves a good scientific and technical knowledge, and they are becoming a key force in the application of advanced farming techniques, such as transplanting rice seedlings in straight rows, growing duckweed, processing fertilizers, spraying insecticides, etc. Many of them have been promoted to leadership positions in townships or cooperatives. Women in general, and the kindergarten sector in particular, have contributed a great deal to the success of many localities in transforming their once low-yield ricefields into 5-hectare or 6-hectare ricefields. Here are a few examples:

The township of Truc Binh in Truc Ninh district, Nam Ha province, has 1,050 laborers. 70 percent of them are women. The expansion of the township kindergarten classes and nurseries has contributed greatly to increasing the number of workdays and the rice output per hectare. In 1964, when the whole township had only one kindergarten class, its workdays numbered only 157,000 and its rice output per hectare averaged only 43 quintals. In 1965, when the township had 7 kindergarten classes, its workdays increased to 178,000 (the women alone accounted for an increase of 7,000 workdays), and its rice output per hectare increased to 53 quintals. In 1966-1967, when its kindergarten classes increased to 10, its workdays increased to 285,195 (of these, 169,215 were women's) and its rice output per hectare was up to 62 quintals. Sister Nhais's production team, whose members were mostly mothers with small children, attained 68 quintals per hectare. In 1968, when the number of children attending kindergarten reached 98 percent, the output of the fifth-month rice crop alone was already 32 quintals per hectare. This result was, of course, also due to many other factors, such as technical investment, rational use of labor, etc., but it is obvious that the rice output increases in accordance with the increase of workdays, and that the number of workdays increases in accordance with the increase of kindergarten classes.

Before its kindergarten classes were opened, the Na Oai cooperative in the township of Nam Tuan (Cao bang province) was short of 12,000 workdays a year. But since the establishment of its kindergarten classes and nurseries, not only the cooperative has not been in short of workdays, but its workdays have also increased by tens of thousands. If before, it could only mobilize from 30 to 40 people to work on the road daily, today it can mobilize hundreds of people. Of 6,000 workdays put up for water conservancy work, 4,200 were by women. 85 percent of the cooperative's women have participated in straight row rice transplanting and in fertilizer processing, increasing the amount of fertilizers used for each hectare of rice from 4 to 6.5 tons. Also thanks to the increased number of workdays, the cooperative's tobacco area has increased from 70 to 116 hectares, and the tobacco income has increased from 300 "dongs" to 600 "dongs" for each family.

Before its kindergarten classes were established, the Da Nguu cooperative in the township of Tan Tien (Hai Hung province) had only about 283,000 workdays, of which 119,000 were put up by women and 164,000 by men. After its kindergarten classes were organized, the cooperative's workdays increased to 332,000; of this, the women's workdays increased from 119,000 to 281,000

while those put up by men decreased from 164,000 to 51,000, as the men were transferred to other jobs.

Thanks to its nurseries and kindergarten classes, the Thanh Dong cooperative in the township of Dong Phong (Thai Binh province) has increased its workdays by 2,204. Of these, 1,015 or 85 percent were credited to the women. Thanks to this increase in workdays, the cooperative has been able to create many additional jobs such as raising animals, processing lime, growing fruit trees, etc., and to put more labor in such technical jobs as transplanting rice seedlings in straight rows, weeding, processing fertilizers, etc.

Because of this clear and great effect of the kindergarten on production, many cooperatives have set up their kindergarten plans along with their production plans.

In meeting the needs of combat and combat support, kindergarten classes, which have been maintained, expanded and safely protected against air raids in the past few years, have contributed actively to developing the militia and self-defense forces and to increasing the parents' combat efficiency. This has been proved clearly in areas subjected to fierce fighting like Vinh Linh, Quang Binh, Ha Tinh, Nghe An, etc. In the pre-war period, many districts like Anh Son, Nghi Loc, Nghia Dan (Nghe An province) had had only a few dozens of kindergarten classes. Yet, they have now increased their kindergarten classes to hundreds in spite of the war. Today, many local party committees have confirmed that the military duty in their localities is fulfilled well partly because of a good kindergarten movement. Before leaving for the front, many soldiers have written letters to their township party committee or administrative committee, expressing their confidence that their children would receive great care and that their wives would make progress in work and study. Especially in the years of fighting the U.S. for national salvation, there have appeared many all-women militia units. And despite the fact that some of their members are mothers with small children, several of these units have continued to find time for training, supporting combat and fighting, and have scored outstanding achievements (defending and ensuring communications, shooting down jet fighters, capturing enemy pilots, sinking enemy gunboats, etc.).

At government agencies, factories, construction sites and state farms, the kindergarten classes, which were already developed in peace time and further consolidated and maintained in wartime in evacuation areas, have proved their useful role more clearly in the fight against the enemy war of destruction. The fact that the evacuated children are raised and reared in boarding schools and kindergartens is a great source of encouragement to their parents to fulfill well their production and combat tasks. To the children's mothers, this is also a condition helping them assume heavier work responsibilities.

In meeting the needs of the ideological-cultural revolution, the kindergarten sector has contributed to the effort to eliminate the thinking

that men are superior to women, and to achieve full sex equality. The kindergarten and nursery system is helping relieve the women from their children burden to enable them to make advances in their work, study and other social activities and to fulfill every task of the "three responsibilities" movement.

The kindergarten undertaking has also helped change the face of our society, particularly the rural society. We can only realize fully the superiority of our present system when we recall of so many pathetic scenes of skinny, dirty and ragged children wandering on the streets, drowning, dying of diseases, etc., that often happened in the past under the feudal and imperialist rule. Today, the human being, considered the most precious asset, is raised and reared with great care at the earliest age. The image of today's kindergarten children, who are healthy, clean, happy, polite and innocent, has beautified the country and brought happiness to the family. How happy the parents are when, after a day of hard work, they can sit down, sipping tea and enjoying a dance or a song performed by their kindergarten children, or listening to a story about the kindergarten. What would an adult think when he or she hears a child make the following remarks:

"Mother, if you keep drinking unboiled water you might get a stomach upset."

"Sir, if you keep wearing your pants low like that you will be criticized by the teacher."

The kindergartens have helped popularize and build a civilized way of living, reform backwards habits and customs and change the wrong concept of child raising and rearing left among our people by the old system.

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If the task of the ideological-cultural revolution is to reform the old man and build the new man or the socialist man, it must be carried out right in the kindergartens. As President Ho said, "teaching children is just like planting young trees. Good planting will produce good trees. Good teaching will produce good men." (1) The education of kindergarten children is aimed at producing a new socialist generation 15 or 20 years from now, but it must originate from the children's need and ability to learn.

We all know that man's main characters are formed at the kindergarten age. The important condition for the psychological development of the child is his body development, and particularly the development of his nervous system. From his birth to the age of three, the child is completely defenseless and helpless, and lives with complete dependence on the adults. He lives with emotions only, and has no self-control. His moods depend on his emotions.

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(1) President Ho Talks About Education, Giao Duc publisher, Hanoi, 1962, p.217

At age three, the development of his body and nervous system and his accumulated experiences enable the child to move to the multi-faceted relations with people and objects around him, to move to more complicated forms of activity and to become more conscious of his surroundings. He gradually becomes more independent and begins to think, learn, act with consciousness and distinguish right from wrong and good from bad, although he is still doing it at the simplest level. Here, the development of speech in the child should be emphasized. In his relations with adults the child feels the need to use his speech and to understand others'. Having gradually grasped the words, the child begins to develop his relations with people around him, understand simple explanations, express his thought by use of words and follow instructions. Thanks to this development, the three-year old child begins to have a strong desire to learn about nature and society. There are so many mysteries that the child could not explain.

- Why does a frog have four legs while a chicken has only two?

- Are the mothers of the U.S.-Diem clique cruel?

These "why" questions mark a change in the child's thinking. Children are not satisfied with appearances. They want to learn the cause of everything. Especially our Vietnamese children, descendants of a heroic people, living in a heroic period and witnessing countless heroic events and heroes, have a much stronger desire to learn about the society.

Another interesting point is that at age three the child likes to play with his friends; this is the beginning of a collective life. To enter kindergarten is to enter the collective life. In their tiny collectivity, the children will gradually get used to the collective life, playing and learning together, sharing things with one another, and from there learning about collectivism, unity and mutual aid. The collective life would enrich the children's mind. At age 6, the child begins to enjoy studying. He likes to learn how to write, read and draw. The senior kindergarten class (or preparatory class) will satisfy this need of the child.

Educating the children at their kindergarten age in order to develop fully and in the right direction their mental abilities is the best way to prepare them for the primary school. This will also have an important effect on the effort to improve the quality of primary education. In fact, at the kindergarten, the children will play games under the teacher's guidance and learn to listen, to speak, to count, to draw, to sing, to dance and to answer the teacher's questions. The 6-7 years old children will learn to read, write and calculate. All this has the effect of developing the child's physical and mental abilities in a balanced manner, and will give the child many advantages when he enters the primary school. Actual experiences have shown that children who have attended kindergarten usually prove to be more intelligent and articulate when they enter the primary school, and they often become head of their class and represent a high percentage among good pupils and "uncle Ho's good nephews."



However, there still are many people who think that if there are people to take care of the children at home, the children need not attend kindergarten. This proves that they have not fully realized the kindergarten's overall educational effect on the children and its important contributions to the building of the new man in the future.

As a part of the ideological-cultural revolution and with its special task of helping build the new man at the pre-school age, the kindergarten sector provides the children with an overall education in five fields: physical, moral, aesthetic, intellectual and labor, through 14 subjects in the program: hygiene, physical education, games, labor, speech, poem listening, story telling, drawing, molding, singing, dancing, rhyme, counting, and writing. All these subjects are taught with the "studying while playing" method.

Physical education is put at the top because of the child's physiological characteristics. At this young age, the child's physical structure is still imperfect and his physical energy is still weak, therefore he is susceptible to contagious diseases such as measles, smallpox, influenza, diarrhea, cough, etc. Physical education forms used in the kindergarten are all consistent with the child's activity, such as walk in the open air, light exercises, guided games, basic physical movements like walking, running, jumping, climbing, etc.; the kindergarten also sets up regular eating, sleeping, resting and playing schedules for the children. All this is aimed at developing the children's physical ability, improving their health, protecting and developing their senses, and helping them acquire good habits in hygiene and collective living.

Moral and aesthetic education in the kindergarten is essentially an education of sentiments. Kindergarten children live mostly with emotions. Enriching their sentiments would later help them have a more passionate, deeper and richer life. In the kindergarten, children are taught to love the fatherland, the people, Uncle Ho, the collectivity and their international children friends, and to hate the American imperialists and their henchmen. They are also taught to appreciate beauty, not only in pictures, nature, dances, songs, stories and poetry but also in the civilized way of living of the family and society. They are also taught to acquire such virtues as unity, discipline, honesty, bravery, modesty and simplicity and other civilized habits and behaviors consistent with the requirements of the new life.

The task of intellectual education is to develop the child's knowledge and to constantly improve his perceptivity by encouraging him to learn about his environment and about natural phenomena, and by the closeness of the society to him. This will also improve his observation, judgement, desire to learn, wit, imagination, concentration of mind and memory in order to make his learning easier when he enters grade 1.

Labor education is an indispensable aspect in the education of the child, although it is not the main activity in the kindergarten. The task

of labor education is to train the child to do simple and useful things for himself and to provide him with games that are based on adults' jobs in order to interest him in labor and technology, to nurture his love of work and foster his perseverance and mutual help spirit in collective labor.

All these aspects of the child's education are inseparable. They are closely related and complementary to each other, and they form the foundation of the whole process of producing the new man through socialist education.

To achieve this purpose, the kindergarten education applies the basic method of "learning while playing." This method is based on the characteristics of the kindergarten child, to whom playing is the main activity. Living among adults, the child loves to imitate the adults in everything. But due to his limited ability, the child cannot fulfill that desire. So he tries to imitate the adults in his own plays and games. In the kindergarten, most of the child's time is spent in constructive games, educational games and physical games. Through these games, the child is trained in collectivism, friendship and other virtues.... The "learning while playing" method, fully applied in every activity in the kindergarten, is the best way to provide the child with an overall education.

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Although it is still young, our kindergarten sector has overcome many difficulties, especially during the war years, and it is developing rapidly. This result is due to our party's growing concern about the education and protection of the children in the nation and about the liberation of women. This result illustrates clearly our people's traditional love of children, the symbol of which is our respected President Ho. This result is also due to the fact that our kindergarten teachers have realized that teaching kindergarten is a revolutionary task which serves the nation directly and contributes to the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation and the building of socialism, and therefore they have tried their best to overcome hardships and difficulties to give the children the best education.

However, there still exists in the kindergarten sector a big problem: a lack of uniformity and quality in its development. The main reason for this problem is that our people and a majority of our cadres still fail to realize fully the important role of the kindergarten. The selection, training and treatment of kindergarten teachers are still too superficial; the material bases are still too weak; the senior kindergarten class (or preparatory class), which is the bridge between the kindergarten and the primary school, has not received proper attention. To bring the pre-school education to new highs, we should pay attention to the following problems:

1- To further satisfy the urgent and great needs of the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation and of the three revolutions in the North, we should attach great importance to the development of the kindergarten in the rural

areas as well as in factories, construction sites, state farms and industrial centers, where most of the blue- and white-collar workers are women (areas where the kindergarten movement is still weak). Attention must be paid to both the delta and the mountain areas, especially populated mountain areas.

2- In addition to quantitative development, it is necessary to gradually improve the quality of child education. The central link in the effort to gradually improve kindergarten quality and to step up the kindergarten movement is the building up of the rank of kindergarten teachers. The kindergarten teacher is the caretaker of the "nursery." She is a living example for the children to follow. Everything she does, from eating, dressing and speaking to expressing sentiments and teaching, has a strong influence on the children. She is not only an educator but also a mother and a physician. In war, she is the person who protects the children's lives. To live up to her role as a good educator, mother and physician, she must first of all build for herself a deep affection and love for the children. She must love other people's children like her own. "Children, first of all, live mostly with emotions and love through their sentiments. Therefore, one should pay attention to sentiments and must teach the children with love. Good teaching can only come with love. Even the children's first smiles are already full of sentiments. Sentiment is the basis of intelligence. Therefore, every teacher, from the kindergarten to higher levels, must have affection for others. One can only become a good teacher when one has a deep affection for others." (2) The kindergarten teacher is also a political cadre. She must know how to mobilize the masses, and at the same time serve as an advisor to the party committee in matters relating to kindergarten education. Her responsibility is heavy, and her work is difficult and complicated. But at present, not everybody has fully realized the importance of the kindergarten teacher's role. Some people even say that the kindergarten teacher "has not much to do. All she does all day is to play with children." Due to this wrong thinking, many local party committee and government authorities have failed to do a good job in their selection, training and treatment of kindergarten teachers. They still fail to give encouragement and praises to kindergarten teachers. They still fail to admit good kindergarten teachers to the youth corps or to the party. They still fail to give proper treatment to kindergarten teachers. All these shortcomings have adversely affected the effort to build up the kindergarten teachers' love for profession and children, thus bringing instability to their rank.

3 - Additional material bases must be built for the kindergarten, for this is one of the most important conditions to improve the quality of education. The kindergarten's material bases include school, desks, chairs, air raid shelters, sanitary equipment, toys, playing grounds, etc. The kindergarten children learn mostly through activities and not through books and explanations. Material bases built for the kindergarten must, of course, be consistent with the situation of each locality, but they must ensure the

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(2) Le Duan: "Address to the All-North Conference of Educational Cadres," 12 May, 1966, Documents of the Ministry of Education.

minimum educational requirements. At present, some localities, like Nam Ha and Ninh Binh for instance, are trying to set up establishments specialized in manufacturing educational materials and toys for kindergarten children, which is very good.

4- The concern and leadership of local party committees and government authorities, particularly township party committees and administrative committees, over the kindergarten movement are the most important factors. This has been asserted by the experience of localities that are successful in this movement, and of such advanced townships as the Tan Tien, Hai Hung Province; Phu Dong, Hanoi suburbs; Dong Phong, Thai Binh Province; Dai Thang, Haiphong; Truc Binh, Nam Ha Province; Vinh Trung, Vinh Linh Province; Duc Bui, Ha Tinh Province; Nam Tuan, Cao Bang Province; etc. With a correct realization of the important role and function of the kindergarten, the party committees and government authorities in these localities have constantly mobilized the positiveness and inventiveness of the masses and led every sector and organization, such as the public health sector, the commercial sector, the women organization, the youth corps, the militia force, etc., to contribute to building an increasingly successful kindergarten movement. The concern of the township party committees and administrative committees is not limited to building material bases and encouraging the people to bring their children to the kindergarten. These committees have also taken concrete steps such as selecting good young people and training them so that they become good kindergarten teachers, carrying out well the political work among the teachers, implementing faithfully every system and policy concerning the kindergarten, and making suggestions to improve kindergarten education.

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The revolutionary tasks in both zones are creating new needs and good prospects for the kindergarten sector. In our growth, we are encountering many difficulties. But with the concern and leadership of the party and state, with the new production relationship that is constantly consolidated, with our people's traditional love of children and with a rank of cadres and teachers full of enthusiasm and experience, we have every reason to believe that the kindergarten will fulfill the task entrusted to it by the people and party, thus contributing effectively to building the new men, liberating women and supporting production, combat and living standard.

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## HUNGARY SHOWN AS SHOWCASE OF CENTRALIZED PLANNING

[Article by Nguyen Duong: "Socialist Industrialization in the Hungarian People's Republic"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No. 4, April 1969, pp 84-89.]

The Hungarian People's Republic was for a very long time under feudalism, imperialism, and capitalism. Its area is small and its resources are few.

Before liberation Hungary's industry and agriculture had been underdeveloped and backward because of the remnants of feudalism and extreme dependence on other stronger capitalist countries. Foreign capital, accounting for a pretty large portion of its economy (35 percent of all shares), had controlled the greater part of its raw material-producing and processing sectors. One-third of its cultivated land had been owned by 1,070 landlords. Domestic and foreign commercial capital had seized most of its foreign trade. World War II had inflicted extensive damages valued at about 300 billion forints (at prewar value, equal to the total of five years of national income) upon the Hungarian economy.

After liberation, particularly after 1957, the Hungarian party and state proposed basic policies and measures to reform and rebuild the country and scored many big victories.

In 1945, after Hungary's liberation, the party and state redistributed land and abolished the system of landlords, capitalism of big land ownership, and foreign trade monopoly by the bourgeoisie. In 1948 and 1949, Hungary adopted a policy of limitation to pave the way for complete abolition of the capitalist economic system. The socialist economic sector gained strength in industry, transport and communications, foreign trade, domestic trade, and credit organizations. The work of establishing agricultural cooperatives was done by 1948. Socialist ownership has been prevailing in agricultural production since 1959. Production of small goods was reduced in scope at a fast rate.

The Hungarian party and state, after switching the means of production to national and collective ownership, gradually achieved socialist industrialization and assumed leadership over a planned rebuilding and development of

the people's economy. Hungary has become an industrial and agricultural country having a developed industry because of the results it obtained in the first three-year (1947-1949) and five-year (1950-1954) plans, the one-year plans (of 1955, 1956, and 1957), and the second three-year (1958-1960) and five-year (1961-1965) plans.

Those were the very big achievements of the fraternal Hungarian people. Those were the fine results of socialist industrialization, adopted by the Hungarian Workers Party of yesterday and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party of today.

The Hungarian party and state, in the course of carrying out the work of socialist industrialization, had plans to change the structure of industrial production. Heavy industry, particularly the machinery and chemical industries, was developed more rapidly because of the needs of expanded production and socialist industrialization. The situation that had existed before the war; namely, light industry and processing of farm products occupying more important positions and also reflecting the backward state of the economy, was basically changed. Heavy industry reached 66.5 percent of the total industrial output in 1960, as compared with 39.4 percent in 1938, 47.1 percent in 1949, and 55 percent in 1958. The machinery industry showed big changes: in 1950, it accounted for 19 percent of the total industrial production; in 1955, 22.8 percent; in 1960, 26.8 percent; and in 1965, 28 percent. An expanded machinery industry both satisfied the needs of all sectors in the people's economy for equipment and served as an important source of exported goods. The development of those key industrial branches greatly helped to increase labor output, modernize industry as a whole, and raise its technical level. Hungary, which realized it did not have a great deal of raw materials and electricity, but plenty of skilled workers, paid much attention to manufacturing the pieces of machinery that would be the most helpful to its economy.

The socialist production relationships, along with the rapid development of Hungary's socialist industry, were strengthened; the base of proletarian dictatorship was enlarged and consolidated.

Socialist industry in Hungary consists of state-operated industry and cooperative industry. The socialist industrial sector began gaining ground in 1960. In 1949, socialist industry accounted for 72.7 percent of all the manpower in industrial production (with the state-operated sector accounting for 71.3 percent, and the cooperative sector 1.4 percent), and private industry 27.3 percent, but in 1965, those figures became 96.1 percent (84.8 and 11.3 percent) and 3.9 percent, respectively. As to the output value, private small industry now accounted for only 1.5 percent of the total value of industrial output.

The socialist industrialization process made industry more centralized and modern. In 10 years (1949-1959), Hungary built 100 new industrial enterprises and enlarged hundreds of factories, the technical base of which was reformed.

High labor output was a characteristic of a centralized industry having modern technical facilities. Labor output in Hungary's industry, exactly as expected by the party and state in the period of the second five-year (1961-1965) plan, increased by 69 percent in 1960 as compared with 1949, and 32.33 percent in 1965 as compared with 1960.

As Hungary was carrying on its socialist industrialization, it realized that lacking new technical equipment, firm discipline in production, and the spirit of ownership among workers would make labor output drop and the workers' living more difficult. The Hungarian party and state, hoping to have high labor output in industry and in the people's economy in general, encouraged more investment in technical reforms, set up new technical application funds in all enterprises, and developed the workers' ability to take initiative in improving equipment and achieving technical progress. First, technical progress was to improve the quality of products and to master the necessary techniques to manufacture new goods. Second, technical progress was to perfect and modernize production. This would demand replacement of the old equipment with new equipment having higher output, technical improvement, rationalization of production, and application of new, more advanced labor methods. Finally, the principal measures to speed up technical progress would be mechanization and automation in production.

One of the major tasks Hungary did to speed up its socialist industrialization was to train men for the people's economy as a whole. That task was, from the very beginning, systematically done through the state vocational system, vocational middle schools and colleges, worker training schools, and middle-level technical schools. In 12 years (1949-1960), 700,000 workers and public servants were trained for the state-operated industrial sectors, including construction. In the period from 1949 to 1966, the total number of people working in Hungary's socialist industry increased from 521,000 to 1,480,000 and the total number of workers and public servants from 1.63 to 3.4 million.

Hungary, with its present population of 10 million, has enough manpower to supply to the growing socialist industry. The major source of manpower is the young people. They enter industry after having gone through the state vocational system and benefited from a full educational system of schools ranging from middle schools to universities. Women are considered an important supplementary source of manpower for various industries. The number of woman workers increased in proportion to the rate of economic development and the liberation of women from household work, cooking, babysitting, and the new work created by expansion of kindergartens and public dining halls. Mechanization in agriculture freed more and more manpower in the countryside, which also became a growing source of manpower for industry. In the period of the first five-year plan, about 360,000 people in the countryside were switched to the industrial labor force.

The need for manpower will be less urgent when industry is equipped with more machinery, which replaces men to do heavy-duty work and helps to raise labor output. Conversely, the fact that industry gets more technical

equipment and labor output is increased requires that the workers' professional capacity be constantly raised. Hungary, therefore, encourages its workers to reach the minimum level of technical capacity set by the state, increase their knowledge by taking correspondence courses in addition to the regular ones, and create favorable conditions for themselves to go more deeply into science and technology.

The system of vocational colleges and middle schools helps to provide the people's economy with a new group of cadres having high technical capacity and loyalty to socialism. According to statistics, the number of students majoring in engineering and chemistry increased from 1,052, or 9 percent of the total number of students in Hungary, in school year 1937-1938 to 6,552 in 1949-1950, 20,436 in 1943-1945, and 29,687, or 31.1 percent of the total, in 1958-1959. The number of graduated engineers increased every year. Between 1951 and 1958, each year Hungary had an average of 2,000 engineers being awarded their diplomas, as compared with 236 in 1938. Each year 7,000 technical cadres were graduated. At present, 42 percent of all persons working in state-operated industries are skilled workers, and there are 17 engineers in every 1,000 workers.

Hungary also adopts, along with political education, a system of special privileges, payment by products and in accordance with difficult or simple work, and rewards for good workers having obtained high output.

Labor enthusiasm, total devotion to one's work, and the right of ownership are important factors that the Hungarian state and party highly appreciate and consider as a necessity to speed up industrial development and carry out the socialist industrialization task. Over 20,000 people coming from the ranks of progressive workers and farmers, right after the state had seized control over all the big industries, were made leaders. As the political and ideological educational work was speeded up, the workers' and cadres' concept of ownership was further heightened. The masses' labor enthusiasm, because of such measures, was developed. The socialist emulation movement started early in Hungary. On 15 March 1948, workers of the Csepel machinery factory, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Hungary's revolutionary struggle for freedom and independence, made an appeal to workers throughout Hungary to join their emulation movement and got quick responses, thus starting the new period of building of socialism in Hungary. But only after all the major means of production had become public properties and the new workers' attitude had been affirmed was the socialist emulation movement in Hungary turned into a widespread one. That movement was directed toward saving raw materials and materials, fully using waste products, and speeding up the building of socialism.

The fact that the socialist emulation movement was developed led to Hungary's movement to rationalize production. Between April 1947 and April 1948, 656 suggestions were made to rationalize production. In 10 years, from 1948 to 1958, 1.3 million out of 2.7 million suggestions were applied to production and allowed the state to save 1 billion forints a year. In 1960, the 253,000 suggestions that were applied to production saved 1.5 billion forints for the state.

The emulation movement to get the "socialist labor unit" title was launched in Hungary in the spring of 1959.

Industry in Hungary, in the course of socialist industrialization, was redistributed on a more logical basis. That was a very urgent need for Hungary. Budapest, right after the liberation, put 62.3 percent of its labor force in industry, which was responsible for 60 percent of the country's industrial products. Industry was more concentrated in the north while, south of the Danube, it remained underdeveloped.

The Hungarian party and state, eager to correct that situation, moved industry nearer to the sources of raw materials and developed industry in those areas having rich resources. Industrialization of the industrially poorer areas was speeded up at the same time. Not only was it an important move in the economic sense, but it also helped to raise the Hungarian people's cultural and material living standards and create favorable conditions to eliminate gradually the basic differences between the cities and the countryside. Hungary's industry made a big progress in that direction.

Hungary has, in addition to the industry under management of the central government, a widespread network of local industry. The latter operates under the leadership of local people's councils and in accordance with the only economic plan drafted by the state. In the local economy, there are, in addition to the state-operated industries, thousands of handicraft cooperatives that effectively serve the local people's life, and cover nearly 200,000 blacksmiths, plumbers, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, etc. The strength of these cooperatives comes from the fact that they fully use the waste products of the big state-operated enterprises and thus save a lot of materials. They constitute a necessary complement to the local state-operated industry.

As industry was rapidly developing, the countryside also underwent big changes. The number of farm workers has now dropped to 31 percent of the total labor force from 52 percent in 1949. The portion in the national income as provided by agriculture dropped from 66 percent in 1938 to 30 percent in 1960, but the absolute index of agriculture has not ceased increasing. At present, 97 percent of the cultivated land is the property of the state and socialist collectivity. The masters of Hungary's countryside are now 1,021,000 cooperative members (924,000 families) in 3,181 agricultural production cooperatives. The number of remaining individualistic farmers -- about 59,700, who till 3 percent of the cultivated land -- is insignificant. Hungary now has 67,500 farm tractors, which provide the major portion of draft power in its agriculture. Water conservancy work and the use of chemicals in agriculture both increase rapidly. Hungary's agriculture, with much assistance from industry, is moving in the direction of intensive cultivation and steady all-out development. Last year drought continued for six consecutive months, and the rainfall in 1967 was much lower than normal, but the crops, in spite of all that, were unexpectedly good.



Hungary's agriculture now assures enough supply of raw materials for the local industry to develop in a steady manner.

The Hungarian people are now struggling to fulfill their third five-year plan. Two-thirds of the increase in industrial production in 1966, the first year of the current plan, were due to the measures taken to increase labor output. The plan this time is aimed at developing the people's economy, speeding up the building of socialism, and turning Hungary into a fully developed socialist country.

The Hungarian worker class and people, loyal to the ideals of proletarian internationalism and led by the Hungarian Workers Socialist Party, are contributing to the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The Hungarian People's Republic, a member of the socialist bloc, is actively struggling, along with other socialist countries, to protect the achievements of socialism and fight against the West German imperialists' aggressive plot for defense of peace in Europe and in the world.

The fraternal Hungarian people, with a clear-cut concept of their international duty and comradeship toward other peoples having the same goals and ideals, consider our people's struggle against the American imperialist aggressors, the common enemy of the people of the world, as their own struggle. All strata of the Hungarian people, in thousands of demonstrations, meetings, and wires sent to us, resolutely protest against all the savage acts committed by the American imperialists in our country. The fraternal Hungarian people are happy about and encouraged by our people's achievements and victories. The fraternal Hungarian party, government, and people consider the Vietnam problem "the most important international problem" (communique issued on 6 March 1969 by the Central Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian revolutionary worker-farmer government) and lend our people a growing support and assistance. We always remember the Hungarian people's fine sentiments expressed by comrade J. Kadar in these heartfelt words: "The Hungarian people consider the struggle of Vietnam as their own struggle and will actively help the Vietnamese people until final victory."

We are deeply grateful to the Hungarian party, government, and people for the wholehearted support and assistance they lend to our people's anti-American resistance for national salvation. We wholeheartedly wish the fraternal Hungarian people, led by their Socialist Workers Party, success in the work of building socialism in their land and in their contributing to the common struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

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